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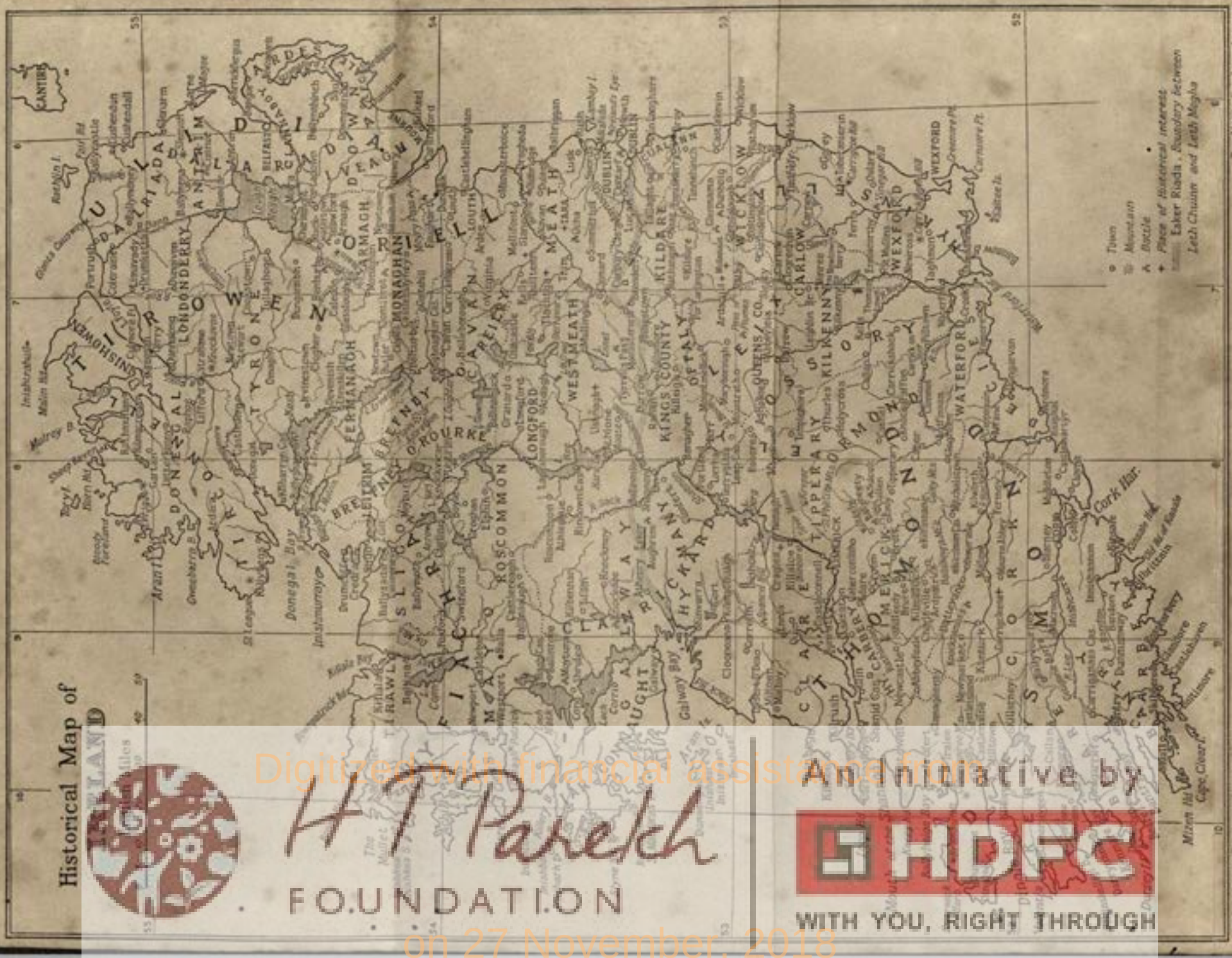

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A SHORT HISTORY OF THE IRISH PEOPLE

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO 1920

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PREFACE

THIS work embodies the results of a varied experience in assisting students to acquire a clear view of the history of the development of the Irish People. Its only claim to originality is with regard to the manner of presentation, the method of arrangement, and the general treatment. It endeavours to unfold the story of a never-ceasing movement of living forces in which remote causes produce ultimate results, rather than to present a series of unconnected historical sketches. The study of our history is regarded as one of *dynamics* and not of *statics*.

While writing from a frankly national stand-point, the authors have made every effort to attain accuracy and avoid prejudice. Events are dealt with, as far as possible, in the spirit and atmosphere of their own times, but are judged by their final effects upon the destinies of the nation.

The leading events of contemporary history, especially such as exercised an influence on Irish affairs, have been, from time to time, touched on. The dates of some of the most important are given, distinguished from those of Irish history by the use of brackets, at the end of the various chapters.

A section in each period is devoted to the Literature of the time. While thus giving a synopsis in chronological order of the history of Irish Literature it is presented as one which was as fluctuating yet as continuous as that of the nation itself. Our literature is thus shown as the product, not of an isolated age or period, but of successive generations from the remote past down to the present day.

The treatment of the earlier periods differs from the conventional one. The difference is, however, in treatment only. The method that has been adopted is in the first place, to discover the essential factors of Irish political life in positively historical times, and, next, to trace these factors back to their earliest sources. From the starting points so found the consistent development of the various forces that exercised a permanent influence upon Irish history down to the seventeenth century is described. This method may present difficulties to the minds of readers accustomed to the histories of strongly centralised States like those of Rome

and England. But it is hoped that it may be found not only more accurate but also more appropriate and helpful with regard to many important phases of the national history.

The earliest legends and traditions are treated with caution. Some of the most improbable are rejected, and some are given a place in the literature of the country rather than in its history. Certain modern theories and speculations regarding them are stated without comment. In general, apart from the development of the permanent political forces just alluded to, the reliability of early tradition is left open for future discoveries by workers in that field.

In the spelling of proper names the practical difficulties that have confronted every writer in English or Irish history or literature have induced the adoption of a plan which is neither scientific nor consistent. Wherever an Irish proper name is now accurately represented by a conventional spelling in English, that spelling has been adopted (*e.g.* "O'Connor," "O'Brien," &c.). But in cases where there is no such accurate synonym, as for the older septs before the introduction of surnames (*e.g.* "Dal g-Cais," "Cineal Eoghain," &c.), and for certain territories which it would be misleading to name by so-called "translations" in English (*e.g.* "Laighean" and "Leinster," "Ulaidh" and "Ulster," &c.), the Irish form is used. In some cases in which there is no English equivalent a modified phonetic spelling is employed (*e.g.* "Muirkertach," "O'Maolachlan," &c.).

The authors desire to express their appreciation of the interest shown in the work by Mr. P. O'Daly of the Talbot Press and of his assistance in preparing it for publication.

The responsibility for the work is shared by the joint writers as follows: for the first two books and for the literary sections of the entire work by the writer whose name appears second below; for the rest of the work by the writer whose name is placed first.

Máire Ní Aodáin: Mary Hayden.
Seóirse Ó Muanáin: Geo. A. Moonan.

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A Short History of the Irish People

BOOK I

GAELIC IRELAND

CHAPTER I

IRELAND TO THE FIRST CENTURY B.C.

SECTION I. EARLY INHABITANTS

Early Races in Europe.—From the earliest times of which we have any knowledge, Ireland was inhabited by people speaking a language which they called *Gaelic*. This was one of the languages spoken by the *Celtic* group of the "*Aryan*" branch of the human family. The "Aryan" or "Indo-European," or "Caucasian" race had occupied Europe before the dawn of history, having absorbed or exterminated the *pre-Aryan races*. They formed four great groups which were situated approximately as follows: the *Græco-Latin* along the Mediterranean; the *Teutonic* around the Baltic; the *Sclavonic* in the East, and the *Celtic* in the Centre and West. Almost all the languages spoken at the present time by the nations of Europe belong to one or other of those great groups.

The "Celts."—The most important to us of those families of mankind are the "Celts"—a name, however, which was not their own, but was given to them by the Greeks. Their original home appears to have been on the *Upper Danube* from whence they had spread over Central and Western Europe, and had entered Spain and Northern Italy four centuries before the Christian Era. More than a century later some Celtic tribes crossed into Asia Minor, where centuries afterwards they were known to St. Paul as the *Galatians*.* This last migration, however, seems to have been due to some serious upheaval. The power of the Celts thenceforward declined, and they gradually sank under Roman influence on the South, and Teutonic influence on the North.

* *"Galicia" in Spain and "Galicia" in Austria similarly derive their names.*

Language versus Race.—Whenever the various races came into contact, much intermingling took place. Tribes of one race were often interspersed with those of another race. This appears to have occurred in particular in the North, where many of the Teutonic tribes, prior to the third century B.C., were tributary to their Celtic neighbours. There was much similarity in the social and economic systems of both, especially in the tenure of land—so important in primitive societies. To this is probably due the fact that in later history we find some tribes of Teutonic race speaking a Celtic language. Neither in early history nor in modern times is the language spoken by a people a reliable test of the race to which that people belongs.

The Earliest Inhabitants.—The fact that a Celtic language was the earliest tongue that we know with certainty to have been spoken in Ireland is not, therefore, a sure indication that the earliest inhabitants of the country in historic times were purely of Celtic race. It is certain that Ireland was early occupied by *pre-Aryan peoples*, traces of whose language even are said to be found in some of our place-names. The extent to which these were absorbed by the later Aryans is uncertain. Our annals suggest that the early colonies completely disappeared, and that the later ones were almost altogether supplanted by their respective successors. Modern critical students hold, on the other hand, that a large proportion of the inhabitants of Ireland were pre-Aryan in race, whose identity became merged in that of the later Celtic speakers.

There is uncertainty, too, as regards the origin of the Celtic speakers themselves. We know nothing positive as to their race, the countries from which they came to Ireland, the number of colonies which came, or the respective periods at which they arrived. Tradition says nothing of their race, but tells, as we shall see, of various waves of immigration, all of which are said to have originated in *Greece* and the countries on the east of it, and to have come to Ireland, some from the North, and some from the South, each succeeding wave supplanting the one which preceded it. It is also held, on the other hand, that the process of colonisation was gradual, and that some of the latest arrivals of Celtic speakers were originally *Teutonic* in race.

The Gaels and the Brythons.—The one fact of which we can be certain, therefore, is that when first we get a definite view of early Ireland we find it inhabited by a people who called themselves Gaels. They spoke a Celtic language which they called Gaelic, and which still lives under that name. *Gaelic* was the language of the earlier of the two Western waves of Celtic immigration whose tongues are still spoken. The second wave—which did not reach Ireland—was that of the *Brythons* or *Cymry*. To the *Gaelic* branch belong *Irish* and *Scottish*

Gaelic, and *Manx*: *Welsh*, *Cornish*, and *Armoric* or *Breton* (spoken in Brittany in France) are of the *Brythonic* branch of the "Celtic" group of languages.

Physical Features.—The country thus inhabited by the Gaels was an island fringed almost entirely by mountain chains. The interior was mostly a level plain, much of which consisted of bog and swamp, from which numerous rivers flowed slowly to the sea. The plains and the mountain sides were thickly wooded, and in many places covered with dense forests. The early settlers had gradually established themselves in scattered bands in the cleared spaces on the slopes of the mountains, or on the banks of the rivers along which they had penetrated into the country.

The Names of Ireland.—The island was known amongst the Gaels by various names which figure prominently in our literature. Of these the chief was Éire (*Eire*); while Fódla (*Fodhla*) and Banba (*Banba*) were also common. The three are said to have been the names of three queens of the *Tuatha Dé Danann*. Another name which is still in common use was that of Inis Fáil (*Inis Fail*) or the *Isle of Destiny*. To Latin writers it was known chiefly as *Hibernia* or *Scotia*. The Irish were known on the Continent as the *Scots* until as late as the fifteenth century.

The Divisions of Ireland.—Tradition tells of various divisions of the country, but of these the names of only two survive. The first was the five-fold division into the "Cúig Cúigi" or "Five Fifths" attributed to the Firbolgs (*page* 4): Ulaid (*Ulaidh*) or Ulster*; Laigin (*Laighin*) or *Leinster*; Connacta (*Connachta*) or *Connaught*; and Dá Mumhain (*Da Mumhain*) or the *two Munsters*. To these was afterwards added the central territory of Mide (*Midhe*) or Meath (*page* 13). The *second* division was that made in the time of Conn of the Hundred Battles into Leath Chuinn (*Leath Chuinn*) or *Conn's Half*—Northern Ireland—and Leath Mogha (*Leath Mogha*) or *Mogha's Half*—Southern Ireland (*page* 14).

These divisions, however, were *not permanent political divisions*, but their names continually occur in our literature, and they are still in ordinary use amongst Gaelic speakers.

Section II. Mythology and Legend

"Mythological" History.—The traditional accounts of the earliest colonies are frankly mythological, and convey no impression of an attempt to deal with real events. The exploits of gods, heroes, and men are narrated without distinction, and incredible details are given with a minuteness which defies reason. Whether these fables are based upon any real events of importance, and what the nature of such events may

* "*-ster*" *was a Norse suffix added to three of the native names.*

have been, are questions of the merest conjecture. This applies especially to the accounts of all the colonies which are said to have landed before the coming of the "Milesians," and they may, therefore, be summarised as "mythological" history.

Earliest Colonies.—The first colony after the Flood is said to have been that led by *Partholan*, whose followers occupied the plains of Moynalta, north of the Liffey, for 300 years until they were all cut off by a plague. Thirty years afterwards the *Nemedians* came from Scythia. Their possession of the island was contested by the *Fomorians*, a race of sea-robbers of uncertain origin, whose great stronghold was in Tory Island. So oppressive were the exactions of the Fomorians that after two hundred years the bulk of the Nemedians fled from the country in three bands, from which eventually sprang the *Firbolgs*, the *Tuatha Dé Danann*, who were successive colonists of Ireland, and the *Britons*, who occupied what is now England and Wales.

The Firbolgs.—Two bands of the Nemedians had fled to Greece. The descendants of one of these bands, after a lapse of two centuries, again returned to Ireland under the name of the Firbolgs. They landed in three separate bodies, numbering 5,000 in all, and occupied the country without opposition. They divided the island amongst five of their princes, and thus originated the popular conception of the "five provinces." To the Firbolgs is ascribed the erection of the great stone forts such as Staigue Fort in Kerry and Dun Aengus in Arran.

The legend of the Firbolgs is generally accepted as representing a *real race of men*, who probably settled in various small groups in Ireland. Who they were, however, is uncertain. They are thought to have been related to the *Belgae*, a Celtic-speaking people, probably Teutonic in race, one branch of which occupied the south-west of Britain, while another branch was situated on the rivers Seine and Marne, between the Celts of Gaul on the South and the Teutons on the North.

Tuatha Dé Danann.—The next colony consisted of the descendants of the other Nemedian band which had settled in Greece. These were known as the Tuatha Dé Danann. They had become skilled in all the arts, and were feared on account of their magical powers. They travelled across Europe to *Lochlann* or Scandinavia, where they remained for a time teaching in four cities. Next they moved to the *north of Britain*, where they stopped for seven years. Thence they came to Ireland on the heels of the Firbolgs, when the latter had been only 36 years in occupation of the country. Under their King, "*Nuadha of the Silver Hand*," they defeated the Firbolgs in the battle of *South Moytirra* near Cong (in Co. Mayo), and 27 years afterwards defeated the Fomorians—

who still infested the country—at the battle of *North Moytirra* (in Co. Sligo). For two centuries they retained possession of the island. Many of the Firbolgs remained, however, especially in the West; and they figure as a distinct people long after the Tuatha Dé Danann themselves had been swept away.

To this people are ascribed the great sepulchral monuments at *New Grange* on the River Boyne. They, too, are said to have brought to Ireland the Lia Fáil, or "Stone of Destiny," upon which the High King was crowned at Tara. Some believe that this famous stone was brought in later times by an Irish Colony to Scotland, and was thence taken to Westminster by Edward I of England. It is more strongly held, however, that the stone is that which still crowns the hill of Tara.

It is fairly certain that the fabled Tuatha Dé Danann were *not a real people*. The references to them are not definite; and they disappear after the coming of the Milesians, when they vanish into the hills and raths to reappear as fairies. Their chief personages were probably the gods of the Pagan Irish, who, after the introduction of Christianity, came to be looked upon as having been human beings. It is probable also that to this mythical people were ascribed many of the adventures of other colonists in their struggles with the earlier inhabitants.

"Legendary" History.—The traditions of the coming of the "Milesians"—the last of the Celtic-speaking colonies which came to Ireland—are more definite than those of the earlier colonies. They convey a clearer impression of dealing with real people and real events. They are, however, full of impossible details, and abound in absurdities and inconsistencies. The details which are given of the prolonged travels of the Milesians from *Scythia* through *Egypt* and *Spain* are obviously improbable: while the list of unimportant kings—nearly every one of whom is alleged to have been killed by his successor—is also obviously fictitious. But the purely mythological nature of the earlier traditions is absent, and the stories, incredible as they are in many respects, appear to be based upon some truth in the important events. The accounts of the early "Milesians" may, therefore, be termed "legendary" history.

Origin of the "Milesians."—The "Milesians," the last and most famous in tradition of the early colonies, arrived, according to various accounts, between 1700 years B.C. and 1000 years B.C. The legends speak of their extensive journeyings during many centuries from their original habitation in Scythia through Thrace, Egypt, "Gothland," Britain and Spain. One of their leaders, named *Gadelius*, from whom the name of Gaedheal is said to be derived, is mentioned as a contemporary

of Moses. In Spain their leader was Míleadh, or *Milesius*, who had married an Egyptian princess named *Scota*, and from the two they took the names of "Milesians" and "Scots." Through all their travels they had been animated by the prospect of an "Island of Destiny" in the West, which was to be occupied by their descendants. Accordingly, in the time of Mileadh they despatched an expedition under his uncle *Ith* to discover this sacred island. Ith landed in Ireland, but was mortally wounded in an encounter with the inhabitants, and his dead body was brought back to Spain.

The "Milesian" Invasion.—Mileadh had died before the return of Ith's expedition, but his eight sons, and the other chiefs, resolved to leave Spain with their followers for the island of which they were told. In thirty ships, with thirty soldiers and a number of followers in each, they set sail, and landed at three different spots—Inbear Slainge (Wexford Harbour), Inbear Scéine (Kenmare River), and Inbear Colpa (the Boyne). Five sons of Mileadh were lost in the landing, including *Donn*, who was drowned in Kenmare River; and *Colpa*, lost in the Boyne; and *Ir*, who was shipwrecked on the western coast. The "Milesians" defeated the Tuatha Dé Danann in two battles; the first at *Slieve Mis* (in Co. Kerry), in which the defending force was led by their Queen Eire, and in which Scota was slain; the second at *Taillte* ("Telltown" in Co. Meath) where the Tuatha Dé Danann were finally overcome, and their three Queens, *Eire*, *Fodla* and *Banba*, were slain.

"Milesian" Settlement.—The victorious "Milesians" now divided the country between their principal leaders. It is evident, however, that the original inhabitants were not exterminated. The new colonists, comparatively small in numbers, established themselves as a dominant class, but sections of the pre-Milesian people remained distinct but tributary tribes in many parts of the country—and, indeed, in some districts retained their independence. *Heremon* and *Heber*, two sons of Mileadh, divided the sovereignty of the country: to the followers of their brother *Ir* was given part of "Ulster," while the followers of their uncle *Ith* settled in a territory in the south-west called *Corkalee* (Corca Luige). *Amergin*, the other surviving brother, who appears to have been the "soothsayer" of the expedition, was not allotted any independent position. Heremon and Heber quarrelled very soon: Heber was slain, and Heremon became the *sole ruler*.

The "Milesian" Families.—To the four princes of the "Milesians"—Heremon, Heber, Ir, and Ith—all the "free clans" of Ireland in later times, professed to trace their lineage. From Heremon the ruling families of most of Ireland claimed their descent, from Heber those of Munster, from Ir those of Ulaidh (counties Down and Antrim)

and from Ith certain tribes in the south-west. It is noteworthy that of these the descendants of Heremon and Heber, who were the only two who are said to have actually landed in Ireland with the invaders, became by far the most important.

Fabulous as these long lines of descent must be considered, they indicate roughly distinct groups of the Irish clans, and their historical influence was great. We shall find also that so far as regards at least two of those groups—the so-called "Heremonian" and "Heberian"—they can be traced to real historical characters.

Ollave Fola.—Of the many kings who are said to have succeeded Heremon we are told little of importance and nothing reliable. The legends show them to have been chiefly engaged in battles with one another and with the Firbolgs, the Fomorians, and the Picts or Cruithnigh.* Of nearly every one we are told that he governed so many years, and was slain by his rival who succeeded him. The one name which stands out prominently is that of Ollamh Fodla (*Ollave Fóla*), who was of the line of Ir. He is said to have been a king of great wisdom and learning, and to have established the *Feis of Tara*, an assembly of the nobles and learned men, which met every three years to revise the laws and records. He is also said to have placed a chief over every district and a sub-chief in every townland, "who were all to serve the King of Ireland."

Foundation of Emania (about 300 B.C.)—About three centuries before the Christian Era the light of reliable history begins to dawn, and we meet with the legends of *two important events*, which seem to be based upon actual facts. The first of these is the foundation of the famous palace of Eamhain Macha (*Eamhain Macha*) or Emania, which for six hundred years afterwards was the seat of the powerful kings of the line of Ir in the North. Its foundation is attributed to Queen *Macha*, whose right to succeed to her father's throne of Ulaidh was disputed by two rivals. Having defeated and slain one, she married the other—*Cimbaeth*—and compelled the sons of the slain rival to build the palace, the remains of which are now known as the "Navan" Fort near the city of *Armagh*.

The foundation of Emania is regarded by *Tigherneach*, a celebrated and critical historian, who was abbot of Clonmacnoise in the eleventh century, as marking the commencement of authentic Irish history.

The Naming of Laighin (about 250 B.C.).—The second legend is that connected with *Ugaine Mór* and his family. This powerful king of the line of Heremon reigned in the south-east of Ireland soon after the time of Macha. He divided the country among his twenty-five

* *Little is known of the race or origin of the "Picts." The legends say they landed in Ireland in the time of Heremon, and then proceeded, with some Milesian help, to Alba or Scotland, where we find them in the time of St. Columba.*

children, but of this numerous family only two figure in legend. These were Laoghaire (Layra) and Cobhthaigh (Coffey). Coffey had usurped the throne and banished Layra's grandson Labhraidhe (Lowry) called "Loingseach," or "The Mariner." Lowry fled to Gaul, where he gathered a band of mercenaries with whom he landed on the coast, marched up the river *Barrow* to Dinn Riogh (*Dinn Ree*), the royal residence, where he slew the usurper and his principal followers. From the lances or Laighne (pronounced Lyna), which the foreign auxiliaries of *Lowry Loingseach* carried, the name of Laighin (*Lyne*) or "Leinster," is said to be derived.

All of the so-called "Heremonian" families trace their descent through Ugaine Mór—those of Laighin from the successful Lowry, and the others from the defeated Coffey.

The *division of Ireland* into twenty-five parts made by Ugaine lasted for nearly three centuries, when it is said to have been ended by Eochy Feylagh, the father of Queen Maeve (*page* 12).

Tradition and Theory.—The foregoing traditions of early Ireland, beginning in pure mythology, obscured by wild legends, and only towards the end revealing an occasional glimpse of actual facts which are consistent with later circumstances, are obviously not history. Modern scholars have endeavoured to ascertain the truths that underlie them, and have formulated reasonable theories of the origin of the early inhabitants of Ireland. According to these the last colonisation was much more recent than is stated in our traditions, and consisted of different bands slowly pushing through the country, and establishing themselves as a dominant class over the earlier inhabitants, who, however, still remained in distinct tribes, and formed the majority of the population. These late arrivals, big, blond, fair-haired men as they are always described, were *Celtic speakers*, but probably Teutonic in race, who came to Ireland through Britain. In the densely wooded and thinly populated country many small bodies might be long settled in any part before arousing hostility, and even then it would be only that of their nearest neighbours.

It may be safely said that Irish history is reliable as to genealogies and the broad features of the principal events from the Christian Era, and that it is fairly reliable, from a more remote period, as a guide to such outstanding events as the foundation of Emania and the taking of Dinn Riogh.

Section III. The Period in Literature

The Use of Letters.—It is evident that the reliability of our early traditions must depend greatly upon the time at which written records were first made and preserved. The period at which the use of letters

was first introduced into Ireland is, however, yet another doubtful question. By some the introduction of writing is ascribed to St. Patrick: others believe that written records were kept in Ireland from much earlier times. The Irish words for everything connected with writing are derived directly from Latin. We have no manuscripts from the times before St. Patrick. On the other hand, neither are there manuscripts from the Romans who occupied Britain, although, of course, they were well acquainted with letters. There was much intercourse between Ireland and the Roman Empire: there are frequent references to books written before St. Patrick came, and to laws which were recorded before his arrival. The sudden general adoption of writing immediately after the time of St. Patrick suggests some knowledge of it before his time. The probabilities are that the use of letters was known in a certain degree to the Irish for some time prior to the introduction of Christianity, but was not generally known until after that event.

Ogham Writing.—There was one form of writing, however, which was peculiar to the Gaelic race. This was Ogham (*Ogham*, pronounced *Owum*.). The *Ogham alphabet* was simple and primitive, but ingenious. On each side or across a central line or stem, smaller lines were marked; the number, position, and direction of these lines indicating the letter which it was intended to represent. Ogham was mostly inscribed on wooden tablets, but was also cut in stone. The latter are the only specimens that have been preserved. Two hundred of them have been collected: most have been found in the south-west of Ireland, some in Wales, and a few in Scotland. The *key* to the Ogham alphabet was found in the "Book of Ballymote," written in the 14th century. The antiquity of Ogham is uncertain, but it is evident that it was too laborious as a method of writing to be adapted to anything like continued narrative.

Tradition.—Oral tradition, handed down from generation to generation, is, therefore, our only source of information about Ireland until after the Christian Era. As every clan had its specially trained historians, their tribal traditions may have been fairly well preserved. Especially would this be so respecting the genealogies of the tribal chiefs, although a false pride may have prefixed lists of spurious ancestors. Early tradition is, therefore, very limited in scope, and fails to give any comprehensive view of the development of the Irish people as a whole. The extent to which it may be considered as reliable has already been pointed out.

The "Mythological Cycle."—Although no literature has come down to us from this period it occupies, nevertheless, an important place in Irish literature. Later works and later writers during many centuries have narrated the strange adventures of the early colonies and the exploits of their mysterious personages who

figure at one time as gods and at another as kings and heroes. The literature referring to this period produced in later ages has been grouped as the "mythological cycle." The "Leabar Gabála" (*Lour Gawaula*) or "*Book of Invasions*," fragments of which are preserved in the Book of Ballymote and Book of Leinster, tells of the early colonies. The "*First Battle of Moytirra*" describes the battle in which the Firbolgs were defeated, and King Nuadh lost his hand. The "*Second Battle of Moytirra*" narrates the defeat of the Fomorians, the slaying of "Nuadh of the Silver Hand" by the Fomorian "*Balor of the Evil Eye*," and the death of Balor by the spear of Lugh Lamh-fhada ("*Lugh the Long-handed*"). In the "*Fate of the Children of Tuireann*." we learn how Lugh compelled his rivals to collect the *eric* or fine which enabled him to defeat the Fomorians. The "*Fate of the Children of Lir*" and the "*Destruction of Dinn Riogh*" are among the many other pieces which deal with events laid in this period.

Irish Mythology.—The frequent references in our literature to the gods and goddesses of Pagan Ireland render necessary some knowledge of those mysterious deities. They do not hold the position held by the classical deities, their different attributes are not so definite, and their relations to each other are not so clear. The *Dagda* and his son *Angus* resided in *Brugh na Boinne*, where are situated the great sepulchral mounds of New Grange on the Boyne. *Lugh* and *Ogma* were brothers of the Dagda. Lugh gave its name to the city of Lyons in France, and in Irish to the month of August (*Lughnas*), in which month the Games of Taillte (Teltown) were celebrated in his honour. *Manannán*, the son of Lir, was a sea-god; *Goibniu* was the metal-worker; *Diancecht* the healer. Amongst the goddesses were *Dana* or *Ana*, the "mother of the gods"; *Brigit*, a daughter of the Dagda, and the goddess of poetry; and the war-goddesses *Macha* and *Mór-rigu*.

There is much in the relations of the various deities to suggest that the gods of different eras had become grouped into one Pantheon.

TABLE OF PRINCIPAL DATES *

	B.C.		B.C.
(?) Arrival of Parthalonians .	2266	(*Alexander the Great*) . .	330
(?) Arrival of Nemedians . .	1936	Foundation of Eamhain Macha	
(?) Arrival of Firbolgs . .	1536	,, ,, *circa*	300
(?) Arrival of Tuatha De Danann	1500	The naming of Laighin . *circa*	250
(?) Arrival of Milesians . .	1300	Decay of Celts in Europe from about	250
(*Siege of Troy*) . . .	1200	(*Wars of Romans against Carthage*) . . .	264–146
(*Solomon's Temple*) . . .	1000		
(?) Ollamh Fóla . . .	800		

* *Events not connected with Irish History will be inserted in italics and brackets in the Tables of Dates appended to each chapter.*

CHAPTER II

FROM FIRST CENTURY B.C. TO THE COMING OF ST. PATRICK (A.D. 432)

SECTION I. DECLINE OF EAMHAIN AND RISE OF TARA

The "Five Provinces" (Eochy Feylagh).—The division of Ireland into twenty-five parts, ascribed to Ugaine (*page* 7) having lasted for three centuries, is said to have been ended by Eocaid Feidleach (*Eochy Feylagh*), who was King of the people of Leinster shortly before the Christian Era. He is said to have restored the legendary "*Five Provinces*" of the Firbolgs, and to have placed sub-Kings over each. This division, however, seems to have been as lightly regarded as were any of the previous ones, and it is not until the time of St. Patrick that we get *definite political sub-divisions* of Ireland (*page* 25). For the present, we can only witness the gradual development of the supremacy of certain families in different parts of the island. The conquering clans, who, in course of time, established the Irish states, gradually extended their power over the clans around them, leaving them undisturbed in their own territories under their own chiefs, but subordinate to and paying tribute to the chiefs of the superior clans. Whether or not these latter clans were more recent comers is still a matter of speculation.

The Decline of Eamhain (Connor MacNessa.)—Shortly before the Christian Era the most powerful Kings in Ireland were those who ruled in Emania founded three hundred years before. This family (said to be descended from *Ir*) was called the Clanna Rudraide (*Clanna Rury*) from one of its early kings. Its sway extended over Ulaid (*Ulaidh*—the people of Ulla, or "*Ultonians*"), and in early times spread over nearly all the North, and, at least, as far South as Taillte (in Co. Meath). Its king at this time was *Connor Mac Nessa*. "Ultonian" literature gives us vivid accounts of his power, his palace and court, and of his military knights called the "*Red Branch*" (Craeb Ruad—*Creeve Rua*). In his reign, however, internal dissensions broke out, and a number of the chiefs of the Red Branch seceded under the leadership of *Fergus*. Soon afterwards a war, which lasted for seven

years, broke out between Connor and Maeve of Connacht, who was aided by Fergus and other seceding Red Branch heroes. The power of the Clanna Rury was checked; and, from that time forward, steadily declined. The war between Connor and Maeve is celebrated in the "Táin bó Cuailgne."

It is thought that the Ulaidh belonged to an *early race of settlers*, who in the rest of Ireland had been overcome by later arrivals, and in Ulaidh alone had maintained their independence. Important clans claiming descent from the Clanna Rury are found in the centre, west and south of Ireland, occupying a subordinate but perfectly distinct position.*

Queen Maeve.—The war which broke the power of the Clanna Rury was shared in by contingents from every part of Ireland. It was led by the celebrated princess *Maeve* (Meadb). She is said to have been a daughter of Eochy Feylagh, and to have married a Firbolg chief of Connacht, who was made sub-King of part of Connacht by Eochy. By her was founded, according to legend, the palace of Cruachan (*Croghan* in County Roscommon), which afterwards became the seat of the founders of the Kingdom of *Connacht* (*page* 19).

The "Attacotti" Revolution.—The next event of importance is that which is revealed in the stories of the rising of the "*unfree clans*," which occurred soon after the Christian Era. The subject tribes or Attacotti (Aitheach Tuatha), oppressed by the exactions of their conquerors, rose in revolt, and were aided by the King of *Ulaidh*. They slew or expelled most of their masters, but were at length subdued by *Tuathal* "*Teachtmhar*" or "The Legitimate," who defeated them in the battle of *Aicill* or Skreen (in Co. Meath).

The accounts of this revolution are clear enough to indicate some *great political upheaval*, out of which arose a great central dynasty to rival those of Eamhain on the north and Laighin on the south.

Dynasty of Tara Founded.—When Tuathal had subdued the revolting clans, he is said to have founded a new province called *Midhe* or "Meath," by cutting off portions of the other provinces. The centre of this new Kingdom was the palace of *Tara* (Teamhair), while other royal palaces were those of *Uisneach*, *Tlachtgha* (the Hill of Ward), and *Taillte* (Teltown). To Tuathal may therefore be ascribed the foundation of the Kingdom of Meath, and the establishment of the *great dynasty of Tara*, which ruled the clans of the great open plain from the sea to the Shannon, and afterwards sent out *branches* to rule over the clans of more than half of Ireland.

The "Borumha" Tribute.—Tuathal is also said to have originated the famous *Borumha* (Boruma) *tribute*, which for 500 years was the cause

* *The "Ultonians" are also said to have been of "Pictish" origin.*

of fierce fighting between the Kings of Tara and the people of Leinster. The traditional cause of the Borumha was an act of treachery on the part of the King of Laighin towards Tuathal, in revenge for which the latter imposed a heavy tribute upon the people of Leinster. It would appear that the Kings of Tara, endeavouring to extend their power southwards over the plains between the Leinster Mountains and the Bog of Allen, and to bring the tribes settled there under tribute, were resisted by the descendants of *Lowry Loingseach*. Whatever may have been the origin of the Borumha, the rivalry between the two families of Ugaine lasted for many centuries; the Kings of Meath asserting a right to tribute from all Leinster, and their opponents claiming as strongly to be the independent rulers of all its tribes. It is to be noted that the Borumha was supposed to be divided amongst the "*Heremonian*" families only—that is Meath and its off-shoots* (*page* 18), the rulers of which were all descended from Tuathal, and his grandson Conn.

SECTION II. THE "ROYAL FAMILIES" OF IRELAND

Genealogies.—Nothing was of greater importance to the clans of Ireland than the records of their *ancestry*. Until the time of the final destruction of the clan system itself, every tribe jealously preserved the tradition of its descent from some famous ancestor. In early times these records were of vital importance: they were the title deeds of the clan to the territory it occupied; they formed the bond which united various clans into one great tribe; they justified the tributes which the different Kings imposed upon their subordinate clans. The genealogies of the clans were, therefore, carefully recorded, especially in the cases of those "*ruling clans*" who imposed tribute upon their neighbours, and who afterwards supplied the Kings who ruled over the great divisions of the island.

The Three Dynasties.—We have seen that those "ruling clans" claimed to be descended from the early leaders of the "Milesians" (*page* 6). This is pure fable, due to a boastful tribal spirit which, not content with a really historical origin, traced back an ancestry through a line of unknown Kings to Heremon, Heber, Ir, or Ith—and even beyond them to Noah! These spurious ancestors may be rejected. But, having discarded them, we still find remaining as cardinal facts in Irish History the *great groups of families*. We also find that of three of these groups each has a common ancestor in three famous rival Kings. It is certain that the Kings and "ruling clans" of all the independent Kingdoms of Ireland (except Ulaidh) during historical times descended from one of three real personages—*Cahir*

* *Tara, Oirghialla, Aileach and Connacht.*

Mór, Conn, and *Mogh Nuath*—who flourished about the middle of the 2nd century. In them we find the *origin of the chief dynasties* of Ireland, and of the families who in later years professed to trace their ancestry back to mythical times.

Leinster Dynasty; Cahir Mór.—Soon after the reign of Tuathal, the rival Leinster family of Ugaine found themselves in conflict with new enemies on their west. These were some *southern tribes* who crossed the Barrow and overran the plains on the east of that river. The Leinstermen, with the aid of "Irian" and other auxiliaries, succeeded in defeating the invaders. A large territory on the west of the Barrow was granted to their Northern allies, who occupied it as a sort of military outpost, and became known as the "*Seven Tribes of Laoighis* (*Leix*)." Thus secured on the south they renewed the contest with the Kings of Tara on their north. Their King, Cahir Mór, was finally defeated and slain by *Conn*, the grandson of Tuathal, but he had firmly established the dynasty of Laighin, and his posterity reigned as independent Kings of that territory.

From Cahir Mór are descended all the "*ruling clans*" of Leinster, from whom the Kings were chosen, and who were free of tribute. Through him, also, all the other families of the Leinster branch of "Heremonians" trace their descent.

Tara Dynasty: Conn "of the Hundred Battles."—No sooner had Conn defeated his Leinster rival than the King of Tara found himself forced to defend Meath against the same power which had previously attacked Leinster. Having been foiled in one direction the *Southern tribes* now moved in another, and advanced along the south bank of the Shannon between that river and the Slieve Bloom Mountains. Here under their King *Mogh Nuath* (Nuadhat) they came into conflict with the grandson and successor of Tuathal. The two antagonists at first agreed to divide the whole island between them, "*Leath Chuinn*" the northern half, going to Conn, and "*Leath Mhogha*," the southern half, to his rival. But within twelve months Conn vanquished and slew his enemy in the battle of *Magh Leana* (near Tullamore). The two-fold division quickly ended as a *political* factor, but the *names* remain in ordinary use in Irish speech to the present day. His many victories won for Conn the title of "Céad Cathach" or "*of the Hundred Battles*,"* but he fell at length fighting against *Ulaidh*.

From Conn were derived the Kings and "free clans" not only of Meath, but also of the Kingdoms to the north, north-west, and west, which were afterwards founded by his successors (*page* 18). In other words the second and more important branch of "*Heremonians*" are all

* *More correctly "the Hundred Fighter."*

descended from this opponent of Cahir Mór and of Mogh Nuath. The posterity of Conn—the famous " *Siol Chuinn* "—form a group of kingly families which figure prominently through all Irish history.

Munster Dynasty : Mogh Nuadhat.—The *third great dynasty*, destined in future years to contest the supremacy with the preceding two, was that founded in *Munster* during the same period. Mogh Nuath (also called *Eoghan Mór*), the rival of Conn, first laid the foundations of this Kingdom. With the help of some forces from Leinster he succeeded, not without difficulty, in bringing the tribes of the South under his control. It was his son *Oilioll Olim*, however, who completed the conquest, and became first undisputed King of Munster. At first from the stronghold which he established at *Bruree*, and afterwards from the more famous Rock of *Cashel*, the descendants of Oilioll Olim ruled over the tribes of the South. From his two sons—*Cormac Cas* and *Eoghan* (Owen), sprang the *two great families* from which alone were chosen the Kings of Munster—the *Dal Chais* or *Dalcassians* of Thomond or North Munster, and the *Eoghanachta* or *Eugenians* of South Munster or Desmond.

Ulster Dynasty : Clanna Rury.—The ancestry of the " *Irian* " or " *Red Branch* " Kings—the *Clanna Rury*—who, from their ancient seat in Eamhain Macha, ruled over the tribes of Ulaidh, is more remote and less authentic than that of the preceding three dynasties. They claimed descent from *Connal Cearnach*, one of the great heroes of the war with Maeve. To *Fergus*, the Red Branch chief who seceded from Connor Mac Nessa and allied himself with Queen Maeve (*page* 12), many other " Irian" tribes which are found scattered as subordinate clans throughout the other kingdoms trace their origin. This northern dynasty, whose legends in many other ways suggest an origin different from that of the other independent tribes, is the only one whose ancestry goes back to a period earlier than the second century.

" Ithians."—A small group of families, most of whom were settled in a limited district in the south-west, called *Corkalee*, represent the alleged descendants of the unlucky *Ith*. They, too, all unite in a single personage called Lughaidh (Lewy) Mac Con, who is said to have led an unsuccessful revolt of the non-Heberian tribes of Munster against Oilioll Olim, and also to have defeated Art, the son of Conn of Meath, in the battle of Magh Macruimhe near Athenry. The " Ithian " families, however, were *of slight historical importance*, as they were completely dominated by the posterity of Oilioll Olim.

Historical Clues.—Hence we find in the second century the origin of the *three great dynasties*, which supplied the independent rulers of all parts of Ireland (except Ulaidh) for hundreds of years, and which contested with each other the supremacy of the country. Here, too, we have

the clues to the alliances and rivalries which took place up to the coming of the Normans, and also to the historical reasons for the conflicting claims which prohibited unity before and after that event.

"MILESIAN" AND AUTHENTIC ANCESTRIES

Legendary Ancestors.		*Later Ancestors.*	*Dynasties.*
Heremon }	(Ugaine)	Cahir Mór	.. Leinster
		Conn	.. Meath (and offshoots)
Heber		Mogh Nuadhat	.. Munster
Ir }		Fergus	.. Ulster
		Conal Cearnach	.. (Clanna Rury)
Ith		Lewy Mac Con	(unimportant)

SECTION III. GROWTH OF TARA AND OF CASHEL

The chief interest in the dynasties thus firmly established in the second century centres around the descendants of *Conn* and of *Mogh Nuadhat*. During the next two centuries we find the vigorous descendants of Conn building up a strong and compact Kingdom whose centre was Tara, until eventually his posterity overflowed to establish new dynasties of the "*Siol Chuinn*" in other parts of the island. During the same period the race of Mogh Nuadhat—or more correctly of his son Oilioll Olim—not only maintained their supremacy over the numerous powerful tribes of the South, but extended their sway further, both north and east, until their Kings from their *new seat in Cashel* ruled over nearly all Leath Mhogha.

Cormac Mac Airt (A.D. 227–266).—In the reign of Cormac Mac Airt, a grandson of Conn, Tara reached its greatest splendour. During a long reign of forty years he carried on wars against the Clanna Rury, the descendants of Cahir Mór and of Oilioll Olim, and also against the tribes of Connacht. But his greatest fame was as an administrator and as patron of laws and learning. To Cormac are ascribed most of the buildings which covered the Hill of Tara, chief among them being the "*Teach Miodh Chuarta*," or Banqueting Hall, of whose glories the early literature contains glowing descriptions. Colleges for war, history, and law were also established by him, and during his reign the first mill erected in Ireland was built on the slopes of the royal hill. He is said to have had compiled the "*Saltair of Tara*" (now lost), which contained an account of the territories ruled over by the King of Tara, and the tributes payable to him in respect of them. Retiring from the throne, he wrote "Teagasg Rioġ," or "Instruction of a Prince," full of enlightened principles of conduct and government. Tradition says that Cormac had gained some conception of *Christianity*, and that accordingly he left instructions that he was not to be buried in the Pagan cemetery of the Kings called "Druġ na Bóinne" at Newgrange on the Boyne.

The "Fianna."—Cormac Mac Airt is one of the principal characters in the mass of literature which narrates the exploits of the Fianna or "Fenians." That these were organised bodies of *professional soldiers* under their own leaders, independent of all tribal ties, seems to be clear. Although the stories relate mostly to the Fianna who dwelt on the borders of Leinster and Meath, there were also similar bodies in Connacht and in Munster. Mostly we find the Fianna in opposition to the Kings of Tara. Under their leader, Cumhal (Cool), they were defeated by Conn at Cnucha or Castleknock, but in the time of Cormac, we find them under *Fionn, the son of Cumhal*, in alliance with the King, a fact which may account for some of the splendour of his reign. In the reign of Cormac's son, *Cairbre of the Liffey*, they again are hostile, and are finally destroyed by him at the battle of *Gabhra*, near Skreen in Meath (A.D. 284).

Niall of the Hostages (A.D. 379-405).—So powerful had the Kings of Tara become that in the next century we find them carrying their arms into the neighbouring island, and even to the Continent of Europe. Three hundred years before, the *Romans*, having subdued the Celts of what is modern France, had also conquered (A.D. 81) the southern part of Britain, known to the Gaels as "*Albion*," and now called *England*. The Britons were all enslaved except those in Wales and other parts of the West. In the north of "*Alba*" or *Scotland*, the "Picts," and some Gaels, who had settled in a district called *Dal Riada*,* remained independent. The Roman dominion was now on the decline, and Britons and Picts and Gaels assailed the common enemy. In their attacks they were aided by different expeditions from Eire. One of the most famous leaders in these expeditions was *Niall, King of Tara*, called "of the Nine Hostages." He first aided the Gaels of Dal Riada against the Picts, and then led both against the decaying Roman power. Eventually, Niall carried his arms across to the Continent, and was killed on the banks of the Loire. Soon after his death the Romans finally withdrew their soldiers from Britain (A.D. 411).

In the accounts by Latin writers of these attacks the name "*Scots*" generally signifies Gaels, as it was not until long afterwards that Alba became known as Scotland—taking its name, indeed, from the Gaelic colonists who in later years established it as a unified Kingdom (*page* 49).

The Southern Kingdom of Caiseal.—While the descendants of Conn were thus engaged in establishing a compact Kingdom in the central plain stretching from the Shannon to the sea, another great power was being slowly developed in the South by the posterity of his rival, Mogh

*"*Dal Riada*" consisted really of, two sections, one in Ireland and one in Scotland, separated only by a narrow sea.*

Nuadhat. Of the two branches of his family, the Southern, or *Eoghanacht*, was at first the more powerful. At first these occupied all the territory on the southern bank of the Lower Shannon, but gradually penetrating into the mountains on their west, and through the great forest of *Coill Mór*, which lay on their south, they settled colonies and brought all the tribes of the South under tribute. Then they turned eastwards along the slopes of the Galtees to the upper waters of the Suir, and in the 4th century seized upon the Rock of Cashel. This conspicuous and imposing place upon the border of their territory became thenceforward regarded as the seat of the Southern Kingdom—a Tara of the South—and the "*King of Caiseal*" was entitled to the services or tributes of the tribes of Munster.

The Dal Chais cross the Shannon.—At the same time as the Eoghanachta were establishing their supremacy in South Munster, their rival kinsmen, the *Dal Chais*,* were expanding on the North. Eventually they *crossed the river Shannon* into the traditional province of Connacht, and under Lughaidh Meann, settled down in permanent occupation of a large territory corresponding to most of the present County Clare (A.D. 300). Many of the surrounding tribes, also, were brought under tribute. Their movement northwards along the banks of the Shannon continued for many years, and was only finally stopped in the fifth century when a king of the new Connacht dynasty planted the *Ui Maine* tribes as a barrier to their progress (*page* 20).

The Dal Chais had the right of "*alternate succession*" with the Eoghanachta to the throne of "Cashel." In early years the rule was fairly well adhered to, but in later times it was frequently broken.

Section IV. Expansion of Tara

The New Kingdoms.—The descendants of Conn of the Hundred Battles had constructed around Tara a strong and consolidated Kingdom, and the two branches of the posterity of Mógh Nuadhat had established the supremacy of Cashel over the South. Between those two Kingdoms the successors of Cahir Mór in Leinster preserved their independence against the aggressions of their neighbours. In the North, the Clanna Rury still occupied their ancient seat of Eamhain Macha, although their power had steadily waned since the time of the "*Táin Bó*." New Kingdoms now arose, created by chiefs of the seed of Conn. *Three new dynasties* are founded closely related to the Royal House of Tara, and their members rule over the clans of their respective Kingdoms so long as an independent clan remained in Eire. These new Kingdoms were formed shortly before or during the reign of Niall of the Hostages.

* *The older, and literary, spelling is* "Dál g-Cais."

The Three Collas in Oirghialla (A.D. 331).—The first of the offshoots of Tara was planted on part of the territories of the Clanna Rury. Three brothers called "*The Three Collas*," grandsons of Carbery of the Liffey, having been defeated in a family contest for the Kingship of Tara, fled to Scotland. They soon returned, and became reconciled to their successful relative. Under his auspices, and with the aid of auxiliaries from "Alba" (Scotland) and Connacht, they attacked the Clanna Rury, defeated them, and captured their palace of Eamhain. They made "swordland" of a large territory stretching "from sea to sea"—from Dundalk Bay to Sligo Bay—and there established an independent state called "Oiṙġiallа" or *Oriel*. The Clanna Rury, thenceforward, were hemmed in east of the line of the Bann and the Mourne Mountains, in a territory which they ruled as the Kingdom of *Ulaidh*.*

Aileach: The Northern Ui Neill (circ. 400 A.D.).—The most important expansion of the Tara dynasty took place in the time of Niall of the Hostages, when two great historical lines of Kings were founded by his immediate relatives. The first of these was in the North-west, with its seat at the *Grianan of Aileach* near the modern city of Derry. What power, if any, was possessed by the Clanna Rury over that district of the North in early times we are not certain. But we know that four of the sons of Niall established themselves here, and that their descendants from that time forward ruled over a Kingdom stretching north of the Oirghialla from the Atlantic to the Bann.† The posterity of Niall thus settled in the Kingdom of Aileach are known in history as the "*Northern Ui Neill*": the descendants of Niall who remained in Meath are known as the "*Southern Ui Neill*." Of the four sons of Niall who established this new Kingdom the most famous were *Eoghan* and *Conall* from whom respectively the celebrated families of the "*Cineal Eoghain*" and "*Cineal Chonaill*" were descended, and the territories of Tiṙ Conaill (*Tirconnell*) and Tiṙ Eoġain (*Tyrone*) were named.

Cruachan or Connacht (circ. 400 A.D.)—About the same time as the sons of Niall were establishing the line of Northern Ui Neill Kings in Aileach, a kindred line was being founded on the west of the Shannon. We have no clear information as to any definite political organisation prior to this time of the tribes of Connacht—nearly all of whom appear to have been pre-"Milesian." During the reign of Niall, however, his *two half-brothers—Brian* and *Fiachra*—established themselves in the palace of *Cruachan* (*page* 12), and from that time forward the Kings of the Western Kingdom were selected from their posterity alone. Various districts were occupied by their own immediate clans, but in

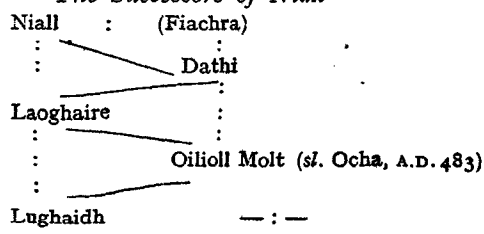
* *Equivalent to most of the modern Counties of Down and Antrim.*
† *Corresponding to the modern counties of Donegal, Derry, and most of Tyrone.*

most of Connacht the *original tribes* remained paying tribute, however, to the new Kings of *Cruachan*. By the introduction of the Ui Maine, a branch of the Oirghialla, as a sort of military colony on their southern border, a stop was put to the advance of the Dal Chais on the western bank of the Shannon.

The Ard Rí.—Thus we find immediately before the introduction of Christianity the permanent establishment of four Kingdoms ruled over by the posterity of Conn of the Hundred Battles—*Tara, Oirghialla, Aileach,* and *Cruachan*. The bond of kinship between these Kingdoms is clearly recognised by them. The nominal *head of this confederacy* is easily the Chief King *in* Eire, and he is given the title of Árd Rí or *High King*. The title is, to a great extent, a nominal one, and implies no power in the government of any of the kingdoms but his own. The title and its implied superiority is generally accepted by the kindred states. It is not so readily recognised, however, by the other dynasties of *Ulaidh, Laighin* or *Caiseal.*

The Battle of Ocha: The Ui Neill.—For two generations after Niall, the Connacht branch shared with Niall's family the succession to the title of Ard Rí. In Gaelic Ireland, succession, although limited to members of a certain family, did not follow the direct line. Accordingly we find that Niall was succeeded as Ard Rí by *his nephew Dathi*, King of Connacht, who, we are told, was killed at the foot of the Alps while leading an expedition against the Romans. Dathi was succeeded by *Laoghaire, son of Niall,* who was Ard Rí during the mission of St. Patrick, and upon his death the title again reverted to the Connacht branch in the person of Oilioll Molt, a son of Dathi. Oilioll, however, was defeated and slain by Lughaidh, the son of Laoghaire, in the battle of Ocha (A.D. 483), and the Connacht branch were thenceforward excluded. For over 500 years from that battle the title of Ard Rí was borne exclusively by the immediate posterity of Niall—either the Southern Ui Neill of Tara, or the Northern Ui Neill of Aileach, and it was not until the 12th century that the claims of the *Western Siol Chuinn*, which were crushed at the battle of Ocha, were revived in the person of *Turlough O'Connor* (chap. 7, sec. 3).

The Successors of Niall



Section V. The Period in Literature

The "Red Branch" and "Fenian" Cycles.—Although from this period, as from the preceding one, *no manuscripts* have been preserved, it occupies, nevertheless, a prominent position in Irish literature, one even more important than that occupied by the earlier era. It is the period in which occurred the events around which are woven all the stories of two of the three great cycles of Irish Literature. The preceding period was that of the "Mythological Cycle"; the present one is that of the "Red Branch Cycle," and the "Fenian Cycle." The stories which have been grouped into those cycles were produced, in the form in which they have come down to us, in times much later; but as the latter two deal with the characters and events of this period, it is appropriate to refer to them here.

The *contrast between the two cycles* which deal with this period is very marked. The "Red Branch" literature treats of events which occurred two centuries before those dealt with by the "Fenian" stories: not only are the characters different, but also the localities in which the scenes are principally laid: the literary tone and style, and the whole outlook, of the two cycles belong to different types.

Character of "Red Branch" Literature.—The "Red Branch" Cycle has also been named the "Ultonian" Cycle because it is devoted to characters and events belonging to the "Irian" Kingdom of Ulaidh. Its centre is Eamhain Macha, and its outlook is that of the Clanna Rury. It is markedly local and self-contained, and it regards the rest of Eire in a spirit of aloofness. Its style is terse and vigorous, and its tone heroic and even aristocratic. It falls naturally into *two sections*, of which one is the sequel to the other. The first deals with Eamhain Macha and the sons of Uisneach: the second is concerned with Cuchulain and the "Táin Bó."

The Sons of Uisneach.—The earliest stories tell of the foundation of *Eamhain* by the Amazonian Queen, *Macha* "of the Golden Hair"; of the glories of its royal palaces, and of the "*Craobh Ruadh*," and of the power of Connor the son of Nessa, who reigned over most of the North of Ireland just before the time of Christ. It is in the reign of Connor that the third of the "*Three Sorrows of Story-telling*" is laid. This is the "*Fate of the Children of Uisneach*," which tells of the love of Deirdre for Naesi, the son of Uisneach, and the jealousy and treachery of Connor, culminating in the death of the three sons of Uisneach and the secession of Fergus Mac Roigh and many others of the "Red Branch" warriors.

Cuchulain and the "Táin Bó."—The stories connected with the

career of the celebrated hero Cuchulain and with the "Táin Bó Chuailgne," in which he took a prominent part, form the second section of the "Red Branch Cycle." The events take place while Connor Mac Nessa is still on the throne, and follow closely on the deaths of the sons of Uisneach. We are told how the young Setanta leaves his father's fort at Dun Dealgan (Dundalk) for Connor's Court, where he gets his new name of Cuchulain (the Hound of Culan), and of his heroic exploits as boy and man. Then the "Táin" begins. The "Táin Bó Chuailgne," or "*Cattle Spoil of Cooley*" originates in the desire of *Maeve* of Cruachan to obtain possession of a famous Brown Bull which was the property of the Chief of Cooley—the mountainous district in the north of County Louth, between Dundalk Bay and Carlingford Lough—a vassal of King Connor's. Sweeping up auxiliaries from all parts of Eire, and aided by Fergus and the other seceding Red Branch heroes, Queen Maeve marches by Kells and reaches the borders of Ulaidh. The Northerners are unprepared, and Cuchulain alone withstands the invaders at the River Dee. Here occurs the famous "*Fight at the Ford*," where Cuchulain encounters, and eventually slays, his former companion-in-arms, *Ferdiad*. Finally, Cuchulain is slain and the Brown Bull is driven off to the plains of Connacht, but bursts back to its former home—to die.

The most famous of the other characters in the "Red Branch Cycle" are: Emer, the gentle and loving wife of Cuchulain; Conall Cearnach, the "Victorious"; and Bricriu, the malicious satirist and mischief-maker.

Character of "Fenian Cycle."—The "Fenian Cycle" is also called the "*Ossianic Cycle*" from the name of *Oisin* (or Ossian), to whom have been attributed, erroneously, most of the poems which it includes. It deals with a period which begins two centuries later than that of the "Red Branch Cycle," and comprises a large and disconnected mass of prose, saga and poems concerning the exploits of the Fianna and of the Kings of Tara. More popular in its appeal than is the Ultonian literature, much of it still remains in the Gaelic traditions of Ireland and Scotland.

Diarmuid and Grainne.—The period covered by the Fenian literature includes the successive reigns of Conn, Art, Cormac and Cairbre of the Liffey, and these four generations of Kings are represented by four generations of leaders of the Fianna: *Cumhal*, and his son *Fionn*; *Oisin*, the son of Fionn; and *Oscar*, the son of Oisin. The historical element in this cycle, from the Battle of Cnucha, in which Cumhal fell, to that of Gabhra, where Oscar was slain, has already been dealt with. But the major portion of the Fenian literature is taken up with *isolated adventures* and romances which are not of historical

interest, and do not permit of continuous narrative. The most important of them is "*The Pursuit of Diarmuid and Grainne*," which tells of the elopement of Grainne, daughter of Cormac Mac Airt, with *Diarmuid na m-Ban*, one of the Fenian chiefs, in order to escape from marriage with the aged Fionn, and the pursuit by the latter of the eloping pair.

Amongst the other famous heroes of the Fianna were Caoilte Mac Ronain, Fergus Finnbheoil, and Conan Maol; while Goll Mac Morna, a Connacht champion, also figures prominently.

Miscellaneous Saga.—A good deal of Irish literature is also devoted to miscellaneous *saga* dealing with events of this period, which relate neither to the Red Branch nor the Fianna. These include the tales of the imposition of the *Borumha* tribute, and the struggles to enforce it; the *foreign expeditions* of various Kings; the wanderings of the tribe of the *Deisi*, who were expelled from Meath by Cormac, and eventually settled between the River Suir and the sea; the death of *Conaire Mór*, who is described as Ard Rí at the time Connor Mac Nessa also reigned, and who was killed by British pirates at Bohernabreena, near Dublin.

Lost Literature.—Although, as has been pointed out, no literature produced in this era remains, there are references in later writings which indicate the existence at one time of works written at this period. Allusion has already been made to the works attributed to Cormac Mac Airt, "The Saltair of Tara" and "Teagasg Rioġ." We are also told of a book called the "Cuilmenn," a repertory of history, the "Cin of Drom Sneachta," containing history and genealogies, the "Book of Ua Congbhail," said to have been in existence in the 17th century; and the "Book of Aicill"—all of which are said to have been written "before the coming of Patrick to Ireland."

TABLE OF PRINCIPAL DATES

	B.C.
Eochy Feylagh	1st century
Connor Mac Nessa	,,
Queen Maeve	,,
(*Romans conquer Celts of Europe*)	51
	A.D.
Tuathal Teachtmhar, (*Romans invade Britain*)	1st century 43
Cahir Mór	2nd century
Conn	,,
Mogh Nuadhat	,,
Cormac Mac Airt	227–266
Battle of Gabhra	284
Dal Chais cross Shannon, *circa*	300

	B.C.
(*Christianity adopted by Roman Empire*)	312
Oirghialla founded	331
Niall of Nine Hostages	379–405
Aileach dynasty founded, *circa*	400
Cruachan dynasty founded, *circa*	400
Caiseal made royal seat of Munster *circa*	400
Dathi, Ard Rí	405–428
(*Alaric, King of Goths, sacks Rome*)	410
(*Romans depart from Britain*)	411
Laoghaire, Ard Rí	428–

CHAPTER III

POLITICAL CONSTITUTION AT THE EARLY CHRISTIAN PERIOD

SECTION I. THE "FIVE FIFTHS": THE SEVEN STATES

The Seven States.—The establishment of the new dynasties in the West and North-west by the brothers and sons of Niall respectively completed the political organisation of Ireland as we find it in strictly historical times. The *seven independent states* into which the island was thus divided, remained—modified under changing conditions—the fields of political influence in Ireland until the whole Gaelic fabric was destroyed after the Battle of Kinsale in 1603. The formation of the seven dynasties has been traced; their existence as independent political bodies at the time of the coming of St. Patrick is proved, as will be seen, by an authority, which professes to date from that period; it is certain that for ever afterwards it was those dynasties, and those alone, which gave independent rulers to any part of Ireland, and, in later troubled times, the recognised leaders of the Gaelic clans.

Modified at Different Periods.—To follow the fortunes of those seven dynasties is the aim of any history of Gaelic Ireland. Their supremacy in their own Kingdoms remained *permanent*, the rivalries which often convulsed them were between competitors of their own families. It is possible that Christianity may have helped to secure political stability. Certainly from the time of its introduction the various royal lines in each Kingdom *continued without a break*. But the extent of the Kingdoms was not rigid, and their boundaries frequently shifted. The federated clans of which they were comprised continued in the main to occupy their original lands. But the ambition, strength or energy of their rulers often led them to endeavour to bring adjoining clans under their sway, and the Kingdoms thus expanded or contracted. Therefore, while the clans remained fixed, the *extent of the Kingdoms varied*. To present "Ancient Ireland" in a single map would be as misleading as to present one of "modern Europe" which purported to give in one picture the European states as they existed in the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries.

The "Five Provinces" or "Cuig Cuigi."—A tradition dating from long before those seven dynasties divided Ireland into Five Provinces —the "Cúig Cúigí." There is uncertainty as to what those traditional Provinces were, but they are generally given as Ulaidh, Connacht, Laighin, and the two Mumha.* When Tuathal founded the dynasty of Tara, it is said that he grouped parts of the others into a new Province, and that as the two provinces of Mumha coalesced about the same time, there still remained only five Provinces. The origin of the "Cúig Cúigí," or "*Five Fifths*" is ascribed to the legendary Firbolgs. But their existence as *political facts* is inconsistent with the stories of the division between Heremon and Heber, the centralised power of Ollamh Fodhla, and the twenty-five fold division of Ugaine Mór—the latter lasting for centuries, and ending at an important date just before the Táin, and not long before Tuathal founded or developed Tara. Of the *extent* of these Kingdoms we are told little but their respective coast boundaries, and that they all met at the Hill of Uisneach (in modern Co. Westmeath).

The Five Provinces as Political Facts.—The tradition of "*Five Fifths of Ireland*" is still a living reality in Gaelic speech. But the instance of "Leath Mogha" and "Leath Chuinn" warns us that popular names may be widespread and permanent, and yet be based upon *very temporary political facts*. Accepting, therefore, the existence of five Provinces in Ireland at some time, it is still a matter of learned speculation as to when they originated and how long they continued. Their existence at the time of St. Patrick is now rejected, for it is accepted that there were then in Ireland *not five, but seven independent states.*† The evolution of the dynasties which then and ever afterwards ruled these states has been indicated, but the earlier political conditions which they superseded is uncertain. The seven dynasties of Ulaidh, Laighin, Tara, Caiseal, Oirghialla, Aileach and Connacht are the *keys to all subsequent Irish history*.

The Modern Provinces.—The traditional Five Provinces are popularly supposed to be represented, with certain changes, by the modern four provinces. As regards Connacht and Munster, this is fairly accurate, although *traditional* Connacht included the County of Clare, and *historical* Connacht included the County of Cavan. Modern Leinster also represents both the traditional and historical states of Laighin and Tara, together with the County of Louth. Modern Ulster,

* *Or, according to some, two in Laighin and one in Mumha. The divisions of Mumha are sometimes given as North and South, and at other times East and West.*

† "*Already in St. Patrick's time the Five Fifths were only a memory of the past. Then, and for centuries afterwards, instead of five, there were seven co-ordinate chief Kingdoms, and a monarchy over them.*"—Mac Neill, "*Phases of Irish History.*"

however, although its coast line is nearly the same as that of the traditional Province of Ulaidh, includes only a portion of its territory; and, on the other hand, comprises nearly all of three of the historical Kingdoms.* The first division into four provinces was *ecclesiastical* when the Synod of Kells in 1152 (*page* 101) grouped the Church around the four arch-dioceses of Armagh, Cashel, Tuam, and Dublin. The creation of provincial "Presidents" in the 16th century by the Tudors gave them definite recognition in *political* affairs.

The "Book of Rights."—The existence of the seven states of Ireland about the time of St. Patrick is testified as has been already mentioned by an authority which is accepted as originating in his time. This is the book called "Leabhar na g-Ceart" or the "Book of Rights" (*page* 53). This important work was traditionally ascribed to *St. Benignus*, the disciple and successor of St. Patrick, and O'Donovan believes that it was originally *framed* by him. But the form in which it has come down to us is not the original work. In the 10th century, Cormac Mac Cuilleanain (*page* 82) incorporated "Leabhar na g-Ceart" in the "Saltair of Caiseal," and in doing so, modified it considerably, while in the next century it was again modified by another Munster King—Brian Boroimhe. Thus modified, it has been preserved in the "Book of Ballymote," and the "Book of Lecan," two works compiled at the end of the 14th century. The "Saltair of Caiseal," which contained it, was in existence in the time of Keating (17th century), but has now been lost, and the two copies mentioned are the oldest left.

Importance of the Book.—Originally framed soon after the introduction of Christianity, the "Book of Rights" is an index to at least the *internal political constitution* of the Irish states. Its account of them is consistent with their previous history; it is borne out by what we know of contemporary events such as the mission of St. Patrick; it agrees in every important detail with all the later history of the seven states. The alterations made in the book were made at the instance of *two ambitious monarchs*, and most probably affected the relations of the chief Kings with one another, and especially with the titular "Ard Rí." So far as concerns the relations of the "provincial" Kings with the many and diverse clans that comprised their Kingdoms, it is a true and reliable description. The "Book of Rights" is, therefore, probably the *oldest work on its early political constitution that any European nation possesses*. It was edited with valuable notes by O'Donovan, but Professor MacNeill, in recent years, first drew attention to the importance of the information it contains when applied to early history.

* *Ulaidh, Aileach, and Oirghialla—the evolution of "Ulster" is a peculiar historical study.*

Section II. The Organisation of the States

The "Ard Rí."—"*Leabhar na g-Ceart*" takes in orderly sequence each one of the seven independent states of Ireland, enumerates the clans which comprise them, and records the *tribute* which each clan must pay to the King, and, on the other hand, the "*tuarastail*" or *wages* or *stipends* which the King bestows in return on the chief of each clan. The work is preceded by an account of the rights of the "*King of Eire.*" This is, as has been said, the least reliable part of the work, and it is remarkable that the rights of the "Ard Rí" are only given under the section allotted to Caiseal, and he is dealt with as if he were also King of Caiseal. The "rights" too, are purely *personal*, being merely the privilege of bestowing gifts or "tuarastail" on the other provincial Kings, and receiving hospitality from them in return. The supremacy of the Ard Rí was, as has been seen, in fact only a *titular* one, was confined to the *Ui Neill* for five centuries, and was little recognised except by the "*Siol Chuinn*" states, of which he was the nominal head.

Relations of Kings and Clans.—But the work is much more definite and practical in dealing with the internal arrangements of the states. Each state comprises several "clans," each occupying a definite territory, which form the units of political organisation. The members of each clan are—in theory, although most probably not in fact—of common descent, and each clan is ruled by its own chief, the King of the state being also the chief of his own particular clan. To each King of a state, nearly all the *clans pay a fixed tribute* in kind—cattle, sheep, hogs, cloaks, etc. These are carefully set down, and vary considerably in amount. On the other hand, to each chief of a clan the *King makes gifts*. They are of a different nature from the tribute from the clan, as they consist of swords, shields, tunics, steeds, hounds, etc. These gifts are the "wages," the acceptance of which is equivalent to an *act of homage* to the King by the chief, presumably on behalf of his clan. The clans whose tributes were thus regulated were called "*saor-chlanna*," or "free tribes"—"free" in the sense that they occupied their own lands under their own chiefs, subject only to this fixed payment. There were also in every state "*daor-chlanna*," or "unfree tribes," who appear to have been subject to arbitrary impositions.

The Dynasties and the Clans.—In each of the states there was a large number of the "free clans," varying roughly from ten to fifteen. These, it is important to note, came of *various stocks*, and, more remarkable still, the clans akin to the dynasty were only a *small minority*, and occupied only a small portion of the territories of the state. The majority of the clans traced their ancestry to sources other than the

creators of the dynasty. The states, therefore, were not at all homogeneous but consisted of *different clans of diverse origins*, and with varying obligations towards the head of the state. They were federations accepting the leadership of recognised dynastic families.

"Ruling Clans."—There were, accordingly, in each state a limited number of clans—not more than two or three—which boasted of a *descent from the founder of the dynasty*. These clans, and these alone, were *free from tribute*; the "gifts" to their chiefs, too, were profuse and dignified. From them, alone, the Kings of the states were selected. In all the course of history no member of any other family appears as an independent King. They were "*ruling clans*" free of tribute, descended from the founder of the Kingdom, and privileged to put forward, from one or other of their clans, the ruler of the state. Their leadership is hardly ever disputed, and it is recognised in some form as long as the Gaelic polity exists.

"Subordinate Clans."—All the other "free clans" had to pay the tributes laid down by ancient law. These, the majority of the inhabitants, were not, as has just been said, of the same lineage as the "ruling clans" (except in one or two cases). Instead of finding their origins in the founders of the dynasties, they traced their ancestry to *other and less reliable sources*—mostly external. Many clans scattered through different Kingdoms claimed descent from a common head.* The most numerous and important of these were the many clans in different parts of Ireland (chiefly on the western sea-board), who all derived their lineage from *Fergus Mac Roigh*, the "Red Branch" hero of the "Táin." † The *tributes* these clans paid *varied* considerably, and appear to have depended upon the conditions under which each clan became part of the Kingdom—as kindred, or as allies, or as defeated clans making terms with their conquerors.

The Names of the Clans.—The "ruling clans" all took their names from their respective ancestors—generally the *immediate descendant of the founder of the dynasty*. This name was prefixed by some such word as Síol, Dál, Clann, Uí, Cineal, etc., all of which indicate *descent* from the person whose name is appended. When the clans, in course of time, became split up into different families under new names (*page* 85), the original name was still used to include them all collectively. Many of the other clans were named in the same manner. But a very large number bore names which were based on a *different system*. Instead of

* *From four or five ancestors nearly all the "subordinate clans" claimed descent. But these ancestries are legendary, and in some cases far from creditable.*

† *This circumstance (and others) has led to the suggestion that the "Ultaigh," or Clanna Rury, were the representatives of earlier rulers of the whole island, who retained their independence only in Ulaidh.*

being named after a common ancestor, they were known by descriptive and collective or "group" names. Of these it is noticeable that most of them terminate in the suffix -ꞃaꞇoe (*-ree*). Another remarkable feature is the number of these "subordinate clans" in different parts of the country which bear the *same name* and boast of a common origin.*

Names of Territories.—The territories occupied by the different clans, both "ruling" and "subordinate," were generally known by the *name of the clans* that inhabited them. Thus, "*Tír Eoghain*" was the territory occupied by the various families that belonged to the "*Cineal Eoghain*"; and "*Muscraidhe*," "*Dal Riada*," etc., came to signify not only the clans themselves, but the lands they owned. In many cases, however, there were *distinct territorial names*, either descriptive or coming down from pre-historic times. Many of these figured constantly in history, such as *Breifne*, *Cuailgne* (*Cooley*), *Magh Breagh* (*or Bregia*), *Fercal*, *Cuala*, etc.

The Titles of the Kings.—The supremacy of the Kings, therefore, was only to a limited extent a territorial one. They were the chiefs and rulers of *their own clans only*, and they were also entitled to tribute from the subordinate clans. But in the internal affairs of the latter they had only a very nominal—if any—right to interfere. On this account the titles always given to them are, in most cases, derived from their *chief seats*. The annalists always refer to the Kings of Tara, Aileach, Cruachan, and Caiseal, and rightly so. They were Kings *in* those places, and there they received the tributes of their Kingdoms. To speak of a King of Connacht or of Munster would be to suggest a much more centralised authority than he possessed.† Similarly there were Kings of the Leinstermen, or Laighin; the Ulstermen, or Ultaigh, and Oirghialla. The local titles used by the annalists are, therefore, more accurate than the wider territorial ones, and will be mostly employed in this book.

Seven Federal Kingdoms.—The seven states, therefore, were not simple organisms of one piece, but *federated groups of diverse elements* in which the *two or three dynastic families* were a minority. In Tara, Oirghilla and Aileach the subordinate clans, although numerous, were not individually conspicuous in history; in Cruachan, Caiseal, and Laighin, however, they are not only numerous but important (especially on the entire western sea-coast), and many play an important part in later events; in Ulaidh, the *Dál Riada* in the North, occupying both shores of the narrow sea, are only nominally subordinate. A peculiar position is occupied by *Osraidhe* (*Ossory*), lying between the Kingdoms of Laighin

* *Like the Muscraidhe, Conmaicne, Dealbhna, etc.*

† *Compare "German Emperor," "Emperor of the French," "King of the Belgians," as being more democratic forms in modern times.*

and Caiseal, claimed by both, and yet maintaining a doubtful independence —the only one of the "*raidhe*" peoples to do so.

[As the "ruling clans" become the recognised leaders of the country, and their relations with each other and with their subordinate clans affect very deeply the future history, the attached table and map should be useful for reference.]

THE SEVEN STATES

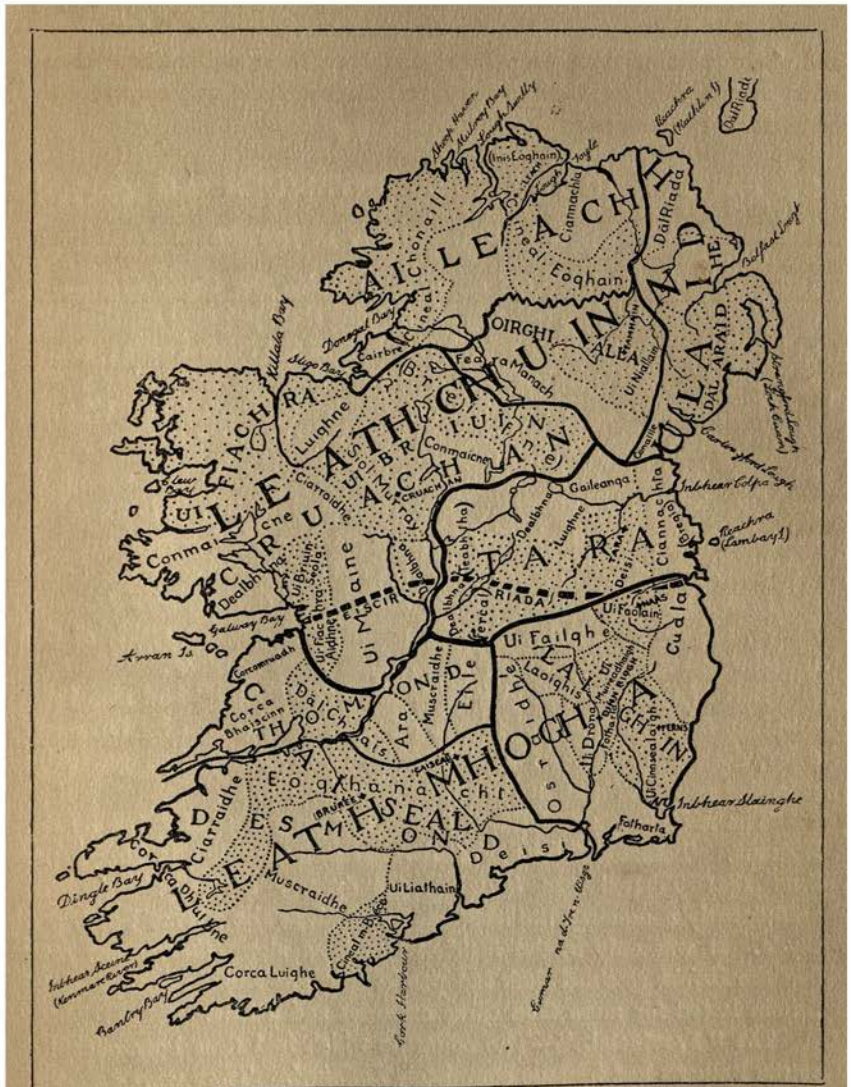
THEIR "RULING" AND "SUBORDINATE" CLANS

(The descent of the "ruling" clans is indicated in *italics* bracketed)

Kingdom.	*Ruling Clans.*	*Chief Subordinate Clans.*	*Important Territorial Names.*
Tara	*Southern Uí Neill	Cianachta (Keenaght) Gaileanga Dealbhna (Delvins)	Magh Breagh (Bregia): Fercal: Teabhtha (Teffia).
Oirghialla	*Uí Niallain *Uí Breasail (*Colla "Da Crioch"*)	Feara Manach (Fermanagh)	——
Aileach	*Cineal Chonaill (Conall) *Cineal Eoghain (Owen) (*Northern Uí Neill*)	Cianachta (Keenaght)	Inis Eoghain
Cruachan	*Uí Briuin *Uí Fiachrach (*Brothers of Niall*)	Uí Maine Luighne (Leyney) Conmaicne Dealbhna (Delvins)	Breifne
Ulaidh	Dal Araidhe (Dal Aria) (*Clanna Rury*)	Dal Riada	Cuailgne (Cooley)
Laighin	Uí Cinnsealaigh (Uí Kinsella) Uí Muireadhaigh (Uí Murray) Uí Faolain (*Cahir Mór*)	Osraidhe (Ossory) Uí Failghe (Offaly) Laoighis (Leix) Fotharta (Forth)	Cuala
Caiseal	Dal Chais (Dalcassian) Eoghanacht (Eugenian) (*Cas and Eoghain, sons of Oilioll Olim*)	Deisi Muscraidhe (Muskerry) —two groups. Ciarraidhe (Kerry) Corca Dhuibhne (Corkaguiney) Corca Luighe (Corkalee) Corca Bhaiscinn (Corkabaskin)	Eile

[As the names employed at this period were, to a great extent, superseded when surnames were adopted, they have no modern equivalents. Wherever any difficulty might arise, however, a "key word" has been added in brackets.]

* "*Siol Chuinn*"—*descended from Conn the Hundred Fighter.*


Inis Eoghain
Aileach
Dal Riada
Oirghialla
Fearnmanach
Ui Niallain
Ulaidh
Dal Araidi
Belfast Lough
Fiachra
Luighne
Connaicne
Ui Briuin
Ui Maine
Ui Fiachrach Aidhne
Ui Briuin Seola
Ui Briuin Breifne
Ui Briuin Ai
Ui Briuin Cuallachta
Ui Briuin Ai (Dealbhna)
Gaileanga
Inbhear Colpa
Cianachta
Cianachta (Breagha)
Teamhair (Tara)
Ui Faolain
Ui Failghe
Laoighis
Cuala
Osraighe
Corca Modhruadh
Corca Bhaiscinn
Dal gCais
Ara
Muscraidhe
Eoghanacht
Caisel
Deisi
Deas Mumhan
Inbhear Slaine
Fotharta
Ui Liathain
Corca Luighe
Dingle Bay
Kenmare River
Bantry Bay
Galway Bay
Arran Is
Donegal Bay
Sligo Bay
Killala Bay
Lough Foyle
Lough Swilly
Lough Mulroy
Lough Swilly
Lough Foyle
Lough Neagh
Carlingford Lough
Dundalk Bay
Strangford Lough
Dublin Bay
Howth Head
Howth
Roaring Water Bay
Roaring Water Bay
Roaring Water Bay

CHAPTER IV

ST. PATRICK TO THE NORSE INVASIONS (A.D 432-795)

SECTION I. CHRISTIANITY IN EUROPE

The Romans.—During those centuries in which the Gaels of Ireland, undisturbed by any intruder, were developing their political constitution, a *great change* had taken place in the fortunes of the other Celtic speakers of Europe. Their position was now very different from that which they held in those early days when they occupied Central and Western Europe, and dominated or absorbed large sections of the other Aryan peoples. The loss of their power was chiefly due to the spread of the *dominion of the Romans*. That Latin speaking people had steadily extended the sway of their City of Rome, at first under a Republic and afterwards under an Empire, until in the third century all the South and most of the West of Europe, as well as great territories in Asia and Africa, obeyed their rule. All the countries of Europe south of the Danube and west of the Rhine were subject to the Romans.

East of the Rhine, in Central Europe, the "Celts" had also been supplanted in the cradle of their race. But there it was by *Germanic tribes*, descendants of the early Teutons (*page* 2) who had gradually extended southwards from the shores of the Baltic.

The neighbouring island of *Britain* had early been invaded by the Romans. Before the close of the first century—that is about the time that Tuathal was founding the dynasty of Tara—they had permanently conquered the island as far north as the Rivers Forth and Clyde. It was only in the districts stretching along *the western coast* that the *British* retained their independence. The Roman occupation of Britain lasted for more than three centuries and a half.

The "Provincials."—The countries which had thus been occupied by the Romans had become completely *Latinised*. They were parcelled out into provinces under Roman governors, and permanent colonies of Roman soldiers were established in numerous centres. The Latin language, laws and customs were introduced, and were everywhere adopted. The Celtic inhabitants of those great districts lost all the distinctive marks of race. They became, as their conquerors called them, Roman "Provincials." The only places in which remnants of the Celtic

peoples remained distinct were *Armorica*—now *Brittany*—on the Continent, and the districts of *Cornwall*, *Wales*, and *Strathclyde* * on the west coast of Britain.

Ireland was the *only* Celtic-speaking country which remained completely free from Roman dominion.

Spread of Christianity.—For many years after the full development of their Empire, the Romans remained *Pagan*. The Christian religion, however, had steadily advanced, despite the most fearful persecutions, until it permeated all the Roman dominions. With the conversion of the Emperor *Constantine* (A.D. 312) it had become the official religion of the Empire, and soon it completely supplanted the old Paganism. Accepted and practised throughout all the Roman territories, Christianity now spread from the Caspian to the Irish Sea.

The "Barbarians."—At the time of St. Patrick's mission, however, Christianity and the Roman Empire were alike threatened by serious dangers. These were caused by the incursions of the peoples whom the Romans called the "Barbarians." They were mostly tribes of Teutonic race, who, as we have just seen, were steadily advancing southward. Fierce and savage Pagans, they now hovered on the borders of the Empire, and threatened to overwhelm both religion and civilisation. Already the *Goths* had sacked Rome, and the *Vandals* had penetrated into the Spanish peninsula and Africa. Other German tribes were ready to move across the Danube and the Rhine. Some of them were taken into the pay of the Empire to defend it against their neighbours, as, for instance, the *Franks*, who were planted on the Rhine and Meuse. So serious was the situation, that the Roman legions had to be withdrawn from *Britain* (A.D. 411) in order to protect the heart of the Empire.

It was when such perils menaced Christianity in Europe that St. Patrick carried its light into Ireland.

"Druidism."—The Gaels of Eire had by this time reached a high standard of culture—but they were still pagan. Of their religion before the introduction of Christianity we know but little. It does not seem to have been a connected system, and, possibly, as was remarked, in dealing with the mythology (*Chap. I, Sec. III*), it may have been a mixture of different tribal beliefs. It is now generally called "Druidism," because the religious ceremonies were conducted by "Druids." The Druid (Draoi), however, was not so much a priest as a teacher and magician. It is clear that the Pagan Irish worshipped the natural elements such as light, fire, water, etc., and their religious festivals coincided with the changes of the seasons. They believed in a future world, which was known by various names, such as Tír na n-Óg,

* *From the Mersey to the Clyde.*

Mag Mell, Ui Breasail,* etc., and they paid much attention to the cemeteries of their dead. Idols of stone were sometimes worshipped, as, for instance, *Crom Cruach*, which, together with twelve smaller idols, stood on *Magh Sleacht* (in the present Co. Cavan). There are only two references in all our literature to human sacrifices, and if such a custom ever prevailed it must have been in the most primitive times. Druidism was also practised amongst the Celts of Europe, as we learn from Latin writers, but there were many points of difference between the Continental and Irish forms.

Early Irish Christianity.—For over three hundred years the Romans had been established so close to Ireland as almost to approach the opposite shores of the Irish Sea. For much longer they had occupied those parts of Europe which faced the southern coasts. During all that time, Christianity was known amongst the Romans: for a century it had been the official religion of their empire. The two *races were in close contact*, both in commercial intercourse and hostile warfare. Roman coins have been found in many places in Ireland; the raids of Irish Kings brought back many Christian captives from Britain and Gaul. It is only to be expected, therefore, that Christianity should be known to the Irish, and practised amongst them before the coming of St. Patrick. Some of the Irish saints, such as *Ailbe* of Emly, *Declan* of Ardmore, and others, are said to have been Christians when St. Patrick arrived, and to have submitted to him. But the number of Christians must have been small, and there was no organised Church.

Shortly before the arrival of St. Patrick on his mission, *Palladius* was consecrated bishop by Pope Celestine, who sent him to "*the Irish believing in Christ*" (A.D. 430). He landed on the eastern coast, but his mission was not successful, and he soon retired, to die in Britain.

Section II. St. Patrick and His Mission

Birth and Captivity.—We know nothing certain as to either the place or the year of St. Patrick's birth. It probably took place in the year 387, either at *Dumbarton* in Britain or *Boulogne* in Gaul. His parents appear to have been "provincialised" Celts, his father holding a minor official position in the Roman administration or Civil Service. In baptism the future saint received the name of *Succat*. At the age of sixteen he was taken prisoner in one of the many raids of the "*Scots*," and was carried as a slave to Dal-riada,† the northern part of Ulaidh. There he spent six years of hardship and privation tending the sheep of

* *Tir na n-Og, Magh Mell, Ui Breasail.*
† *The northern half of County Antrim.*

his master, *Milchu*, on the slopes of *Sliabh Mis* (Slemish). At length he left his place of slavery—instructed, we are told, in a vision—and after travelling two hundred miles, got passage on board a ship which brought him to Gaul.

Stay in Europe.—A period of no less than *twenty-three years* elapsed before St. Patrick returned to Ireland as its Apostle. Some even say that the interval extended over forty years. Of his life during that time, in an empire which was breaking up under the blows of Teuton and Celt, we know little. But most of it was spent in preparing for the great project which he had formed of carrying the light of Christianity to the island of his captivity. He maintained the knowledge of its language and customs which he had acquired in slavery. He prepared himself for his mission by earnest study first under *St. Martin of Tours*, then under *St. Germanus of Auxerre*, who ordained him priest, and afterwards at a famous monastery on the small island of *Lerin* in the Mediterranean. When news came of the death of *Palladius*, he was consecrated bishop, and with the apostolic blessing of Pope *Celestine* (who is said to have given him his name of Patrick or *Patricius*), he proceeded on his great mission for the conversion of Ireland, A.D. 432.

First Landings (A.D. 432).—Reaching the shores of Ireland, Patrick coasted northwards, touching first at the mouth of the river *Vartry* and next at *Holmpatrick*, near Skerries. Then sailing into *Loch Cuan* (Strangford Lough), he landed on the coast of *Dal-araidhe*,* or Southern Ulaidh. Here he celebrated his first Mass in Ireland in a barn at *Saul* (Sabhall, a barn), and converted *Dichu*, the chief of the district. An attempt to persuade his old master, *Milchu*, was, however, unsuccessful, the determined pagan chief destroying himself rather than be convinced by his former slave.

Slane (A.D. 433).—Acting upon a policy which he pursued throughout his mission, Patrick now determined to carry his gospel to the greatest centre of authority in the island. This was *Tara*, where *Laoghaire*, the son of the great Niall, was now King. Sailing back along the coast, the apostle entered the mouth of the *Boyne*, and proceeded along the bank of that river until he came to *Slane*. Here on the northern bank rises a hill high enough to command the level country around. It was a spot surrounded by the great *sites of Pagan tradition*. A few miles down the valley was *Brugh na Boinne*, the dwelling place of the gods and the burial place of the Kings: inland was *Taillte*, where the festival instituted by the demi-god Lugh was still celebrated: beyond the river the plains of Meath rolled gently up to a smooth hill, which was Tara. On the summit of the Hill of Slane, St. Patrick boldly lighted the paschal

* *The modern County Down and part of Antrim.*

fire on the evening of *Easter Saturday*, 433, and the challenge of Christianity blazed out over the country.

Tara.—Upon that very evening, Laoghaire, the Ard Rí, was preparing for a great festival at Tara—probably the celebration of his own birthday. It was to be celebrated with many pagan rites, one of which was the kindling of a great fire by the hands of the King. Any other fire was unlawful until the fire of Tara shone forth. Great, therefore, was the indignation of the King, his druids, and courtiers when from the hill across the Boyne arose the flames of Patrick's fire. Laoghaire commanded the culprit to be brought before him, with the result that a meeting was arranged for the next day. On Easter Sunday, therefore, St. Patrick and his attendants crossed to Tara, and there expounded the doctrines of Christianity to the assembled court. Many were converted, amongst them some druids and relatives of the King. Laoghaire himself remained pagan, but was so much impressed as to allow Patrick to continue his mission unmolested.

The West.—The apostle now proceeded on a systematic progress through the length and breadth of Ireland. In its course he pursued that settled policy which had brought him to the seat of the Ard Rí at Tara. In every district that he entered he first approached the chief seat of authority, and having converted the Kings and chiefs, he found little difficulty in persuading the people to follow their example. Accordingly we find him visiting the seats of the Kings of the seven Kingdoms which had now been permanently established.

During his labours in Meath he visited the great festival at *Taillte*, and there converted large numbers. Here, as well as at Tara, he probably won over many from all parts of the country, who afterwards assisted him in his mission in their own territories.

Having spent *three years* in the territories of Meath, Patrick now proceeded West. On his way he destroyed the idol of *Crom Cruach* at Magh Sleacht. Crossing the upper Shannon, he visited *Cruachan*, where he converted, amongst others, the two daughters of the King. Thence he travelled to the northern coast of the province, where he converted the descendants of *Fiachra*. *Seven years* he spent amongst the tribes of Connacht. It was during this time that he retired for penance and prayer for an entire Lent to the summit of the mountain now known as Cruach Pádraig (*Croagh Patrick*).

The North.—His work amongst the clans of the West accomplished, Patrick now turned to the Kingdoms of the North. Travelling along the coast, he made his way to *Aileach*, where he converted the Kings of the *Northern Ui Neill*, and the clans over whom they

ruled. Next he visited the *Oirghialla*, and at *Clogher* consecrated a bishop to minister to them. Proceeding eastwards, he again entered *Ulaidh*, whose Kings at that time had their chief seat near the present *Downpatrick*, not far from Saul, the scene of his first Mass.

Having preached the Gospel to the clans of all the Kingdoms of *Leath Chuinn*, the apostle returned to Tara.

Patrick had now planted the seed throughout the Kingdoms ruled by the posterity of Conn and in the Kingdom still ruled by the Clanna Rury. The Kingdoms of Cahir Mór and of Eoghan in the South yet remained.

The South.—Across the plains of the Liffey, Patrick came to *Naas*, then the chief seat of the northern branch of the descendants of Cahir Mór. Next he visited the southern branch in their district of *Ui Cinnsealaigh*, and the tribes of *Laoighis*. Lying between the two Kingdoms lay *Ossraidhe*, and there the saint made many converts.

Next he approached *Caiseal*, the recently established seat of the Kings of the clans of Munster. *Aongus*, afterwards King of Caiseal, was converted and became the warm adherent of Christianity. In Munster, as in Connacht, Patrick spent *seven years*, visiting all the territories south of the Shannon.

On many occasions Patrick's life had been in danger, and another attack was made upon him when returning from Munster. This time the saint was saved only by the self-sacrifice of his chariotier, *Odran*, who fell, *the only martyr* in the conversion of Ireland.

See of Armagh.—St. Patrick had now preached to all the clans of Eire. In all parts of the country, churches had been founded and priests ordained; numerous bishops had already been consecrated. It was now desirable to complete the work by the creation of a See which would be the head of the Christian Church in Ireland. As a site for this *Metropolitan See*, which was to be ruled by himself and his successors, St. Patrick erected the church of *Armagh*, A.D. 455.

Armagh was situated close to *Eamhain Macha*, the ancient palace of the Clanna Rury. Although now in the possession of the Oirghialla for over a century, it was near the frontiers of Ulaidh, whose people must still have longed to regain the seat of their great traditions. By devoting the district to the purposes of the Church, St. Patrick removed a cause of jealousy, and established his Primatial See in what was practically *neutral* territory.

Death.—Having laboured on his mission for thirty-three years, St. Patrick died at Saul on the 17th of March, A.D. 465,* and was buried at Downpatrick.

* *Some say not till* A.D. 493.

Section III. The Church and its Influence

Success of the Mission.—Before St. Patrick died, almost the entire Irish people had been converted. Paganism was not extinct: Laoghaire and his two successors as Ard Rí remained pagan, and even two centuries later we find Irish Druidism still an organised force at the Battle of *Moira*. But the Christian religion and an *organised Church* were established in all parts of Ireland. Kings, druids, bards, brehons, as well as clansmen, had become Christians. Churches, with their priests and bishops, were scattered over the country, schools had been founded, rules of discipline were drawn up by synods. Ireland had become Christian through the labours of one man.

St. Patrick's Methods.—Two qualities chiefly contributed to St. Patrick's success—his *mildness* and his *adaptability*. His methods were the gentle ones of persuasion: he destroyed no ancient custom which was not essentially pagan: he adapted himself to the views and habits of the people. Society remained unchanged, except that the priest took the place of the druid. The dates of pagan festivals were now adapted to great Christian celebrations, and the scenes of pagan rites became centres of Christian worship.

Organisation of the Church.—This adaptability was best displayed in the organisation of the Church. It followed the *tribal system* upon which the social and political life of the country was constructed. Each clan had its own bishop and its own priests; the diocese was merely the district occupied by the clan. There was naturally a *great number of bishops*—some say over 300—and it was not until the 12th century that the present system of definite dioceses grouped into provinces was introduced (*page* 100). The clan allotted to its clergy for their support certain lands called *tearmann* (terman) lands, which were looked after by an official called the *Airchinneach* (Erenach), who was generally a layman. The clergy of a clan mostly lived in *communities* under their bishop, so that the Church was both *tribal and monastic*.

Unity of the Church.—This loose organisation was unified in many ways. *Synods* were frequently held which formulated canons for the discipline of the Church throughout the island. Patrick's See of Armagh continued to be the *seat of national authority* in Church matters. A very old canon ordained that every difficult cause should be "referred to the See of the Archbishop of the Irish, to wit, St. Patrick," and if not determined there, then "it shall be sent to the See Apostolic, that is to say, to the chair of the Apostle Peter." The saints who went from school to school throughout the country unified the National Church; the many students who came from abroad, and the numerous Irish

missionaries who travelled on the Continent, kept it in harmony with the *Church elsewhere*.

The Paschal Controversy.—The only points of difference which arose between the Church in Ireland and on the Continent were on matters of ritual only, and not of doctrine. One of these was on the different methods of *tonsure* and was of minor importance. A greater controversy arose, however, as to the proper date of keeping *Easter*, and was known as the "*Paschal Controversy*." The Irish adhered to the date in use at the time of St. Patrick. But after his time a new and more correct system was introduced in Rome and became adopted throughout most of the Christian world. A synod held at *Old Leighlin*, A.D. 630, sent messengers to Rome, who reported on the matter and the newer method was adopted in most of Ireland. In the North and in North Britain, however, the *Columban* monasteries (*page* 42) held out. At a synod at *Whitby*, A.D. 664, the Roman method was adopted for England, and soon its use became general.

Influence of Christianity.—The political and social fabric of Irish life was not radically affected by the introduction of Christianity. In many ways, however, it was modified by the *broader ideals* of the new religion. The Gospel of the Saviour of all mankind prevented any danger of the various grades of tribal society becoming fixed in a "*caste*" system—and the Church was on the side of the weaker classes. The same doctrine of a common humanity prevented the different states from crystallising into hostile and self-contained nations. The lives of the various saints clearly illustrate this tendency against provincialism. Educated at different schools throughout the island, they founded famous monasteries in districts far from their native spots, and became the patrons of territories of which they were not natives. In only one instance have we a record of local jealousy—that of St. Carthach at *Rahan* (*page* 42).

In another way the Church exercised an important influence. The monasteries became the homes of *art and industry*. Agriculture, metal work, illumination, sculpture, etc., were diligently pursued. An example of industry was afforded, and a new dignity given to manual labour.

The influence on the *language* will be noticed hereafter (*Section VII*).

Section IV. The Saints and Schools

"The Island of Saints and Scholars."—The wonderful success of St. Patrick's mission was not more remarkable than the great outburst of religious zeal which followed it, and which continued for centuries. Easy as had been the conversion of Ireland, it was profound. St. Patrick was immediately followed by many disciples of noble sanctity

and pious fervour, and these again were succeeded by numerous others, who devoted their lives to religion and learning. During the three centuries after Patrick's death the history of the country is mainly devoted to the records of spiritual and intellectual work—for upon such work were the energies of the Irish people almost entirely poured forth during that period. It was the era in which Ireland won the title of "*Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum.*"

During that period, Christianity and civilisation were nearly swept out of Europe. The barbarian tribes had finally destroyed the Empire of Rome (A.D. 476), and settled upon its territories, each tribe under its own petty chief. Ignorance reigned over most of Western Europe. It was in Ireland that the torch of learning was kept alight. Ireland was "*the intellectual head of Europe*": "Armagh was the Metropolis of Civilisation."

The "Three Orders of Saints."—We have seen that the Church in Ireland was always *monastic* in tendency—that is, the clergy lived in communities under settled rules. This was the case with the clergy who ministered to the ordinary spiritual needs of the people. It was in similar fashion that the great schools were mostly founded. A famous saint would retire to a secluded spot. He would be followed by some to profit by his example and teaching, and these would form the monks of his monastery. Soon, perhaps, the fame of his learning would attract a number of students and a great school would be established. The old writers speak of three Orders of Irish Saints: the first, those who succeeded St. Patrick, and continued his *missionary work*; the second, those who lived in communities of *monasteries and schools*; the third, those who lived the mortified lives of *hermits* in remote and desert places.

Most of the famous saints, however, were connected with the great schools of Ireland.

The Schools.—The establishment of the schools began before the death of St. Patrick, and they increased rapidly and spontaneously. Nearly all were founded during the century after his time. All over the country they sprang up until every locality had its school. Ireland, in fact, was "*honeycombed with schools.*" They were not, of course, located in great buildings, but were more like little towns. The students lived in small round houses built of timber and laid out in streets. The only stone building was the little oblong church. Instruction was given in the open air from the top of a little mound, and after the lecture the students retired to their houses to ponder over what they had heard. The Abbot presided over the monastery and school, and frequently a bishop was attached for episcopal functions. The monasteries and schools were independent, each following the rules laid down by its

founder. The *Columban* monasteries (*section V (A)*) under the jurisdiction of *Iona* were the only instances of an "*affiliated*" system.

Students and Studies.—Many of the schools were attended by great numbers of students. At one time there were 3,000 students at *Clonard*, and the same number at *Bangor*. These were by no means all Irishmen. *Every nation* of the civilised world was represented. From Britain came Gaels and Picts, Britons and Saxons: from the Continent came Franks, Germans and Italians; some came even from Egypt. Two Kings, at least, received their education in Ireland—*Aldfrid* of Northumbria, and *Dagobert* of the Western Franks. In the peaceful schools of Ireland they found the learning which anarchy was banishing from their own countries.

The subjects of study included all the Latin, Greek, and Hebrew learning of the time; theology and philosophy; and the practical sciences—astronomy, geometry, geography.

"Bardic" Schools.—In addition to the monastic schools there were also lay or professional schools in which the *bards*, *historians* and *lawyers* of Eire were trained. In early times famous Bards were attended by groups of pupils, who followed them from place to place. Afterwards, however—probably at the convention of *Drumceat* (*section VI*)—lands were allotted for the support of bardic colleges. We know little of those institutions, but they are said to have existed down to the seventeenth century.

Principal Saints and Schools.—The following were the more celebrated of the Saints of Ireland and the schools with which most of them were connected:—

St. Benignus, a native of Meath, was the favourite disciple of St. Patrick and succeeded him as *Archbishop of Armagh*. He is the Patron Saint of Connacht. Died A.D. 468.

St. Brigit, born at Faughart, near Dundalk, founded convents in many parts of Ireland and eventually settled at *Kildare*, where she established the most famous convent in Ireland and also a monastery for men, and a school. She is one of the *Three Patrons of Ireland*—(the others being St. Patrick and St. Columba), and the title of "the Mary of Ireland" is also given to her. Died A.D. 523.

St. Finian (of Clonard), born in Leinster and educated amongst the British Christians, founded several churches in his native Kingdom. Eventually he settled at *Clonard* in Meath on the banks of the River Boyne, where he founded a school, which became the greatest in Ireland and existed until the 13th century. Many of the greatest of the Irish Saints were educated by St. Finian, so that he is styled "the tutor of the Saints of Ireland." Died A.D. 549.

St. Ciaran, born in Meath, founded the famous monastery and

school of *Clonmacnoise* on the banks of the Shannon, in which many important Irish annals were compiled. Died A.D. 549.

St. Brendan, "the navigator," a native of West Munster, made a great voyage on the Atlantic. He founded the monastery of *Clonfert*. Died A.D. 577.

St. Finian (of Moville), a native of Ulaidh, educated in Britain and Rome. Founded the great school of *Moville** in his native Kingdom. Died A.D. 579.

St. Comhgall, a native of Ulaidh, founded in that district the monastery of *Bangor*, whose fame rivalled that of Clonard. Many of the Irish *missionaries* were educated there. Died A.D. 602.

St. Carthach, born in West Munster, founded first a school at *Rahan* in Leinster. Driven out by local jealousy, he founded at *Lismore* another school which became very famous. Died A.D. 637.

Amongst the other famous Saints and schools were the following: St. Kevin of *Glendalough*; St. Ibar of *Beg-Erin* (Wexford); St. Laserian of *Leighlin*; St. Aidan of *Ferns*; St. Fiac of *Sleaty* (near Carlow); St. Ciaran of *Saighir* (Ossory); St. Fintan of *Clonenagh* (Queens Co.); St. Ailbe of *Emly*; St. Declan of *Ardmore*; St. Finbar of *Cork*; St. *Ita*—"the Brigit of Munster"; St. Enda of *Arran* in Galway Bay; St. Jarlath of *Tuam*; St. Mobhi of *Glasnevin*; St. Mailruan of *Tallaght*; St. Buite of *Monasterboice*; St. Mochta of *Louth*; and the monasteries of *Kells*, *Swords*, *Durrow*, and *Derry*, founded by *St. Columba*.

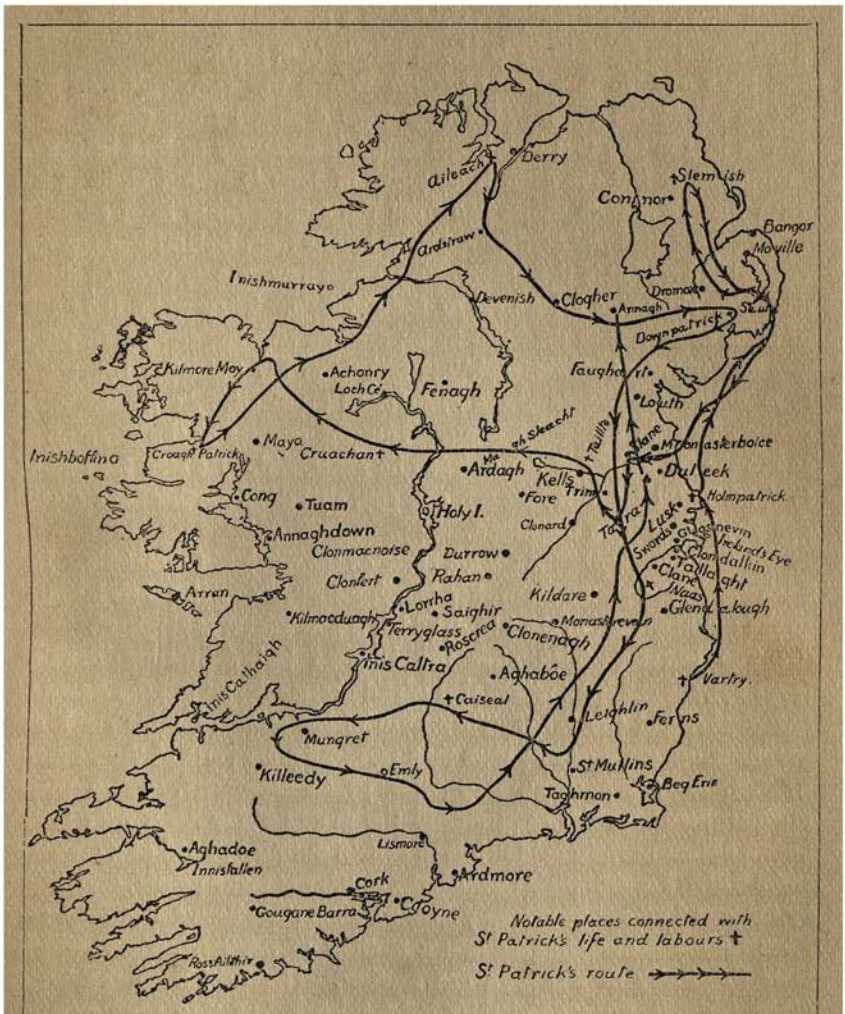
Section V. The Irish Missionaries

Ireland's Work for Christianity.—The religious energy of the Irish people during these centuries was not confined to their native country. It also carried bands of devoted missionaries to preach the Gospel to the pagan tribes of Britain and the Continent. While the Irish schools gave free education to the harassed natives of the ravaged Christian countries, Irish missionaries carried the light of Christianity amongst the barbarians themselves. Other workers, no doubt, were labouring in the same fields. But the conversion of many parts of Europe was due mainly to the self-sacrificing devotion of the Irish.

A. IN BRITAIN.

Colmchille and Iona.—One of the greatest of the Irish missionaries was *St. Columba* or *Colmchille* ("the Dove of the Church"). Born at Gartan in Tirchonaill in the year 531, he belonged to one of the chief families of the Northern *Ui Neill*. At an early age he devoted himself to religion, and studied in many of the most famous Irish schools. For

* *Near Newtownards.*



The Principal Early Christian Schools founded in 6th and 7th Centuries.

fifteen years he laboured in Ireland, founding many monasteries, which afterwards became celebrated. At the age of 42 he sailed with twelve companions to the west coast of what is now Scotland and on a small island there, named Iona, he established a monastery which became the great centre of Christianity in North Britain (A.D. 563).

Picts and Gaels.—Most of *North Britain* was then occupied by a people called the Picts. That they were different from the Gaels is shown by the fact that Colmchille found it necessary at first to use an interpreter. But the coast lying south of Iona is within sight of the Irish coast, and both shores had from the earliest times been occupied by a people called *Dal Riada*. A Gaelic colony from Ireland had recently crossed and settled in their territory. These new-comers were Christian and their chief was a kinsman of Colmchille's. They were, therefore, of much assistance to the Saint in his mission amongst the pagan Picts.

Conversion of "Scotland."—From Iona St. Columba proceeded to evangelise the people of the islands and mainland. At Inverness he converted *Brude*, the Pictish King. Into the recesses of the Grampians and to the far islands of the *Hebrides* he penetrated. He sent his monks to the *Orkneys*. When he died, A.D. 597, all Britain north of the Clyde and Forth had been converted.

The influence of Iona did not abate on the death of Colmchille. Its Irish monks completed his work in North Britain; and carried their labours to the southern part of the island, which is now known as England.

The Saxons.—Soon after the Romans had abandoned Britain (*page* 17), the southern part of that island became the prey of the *Saxons*, the *Angles*, and the *Jutes*. They were of the same Teutonic stock as the many other tribes who were then ravaging other parts of the Roman Empire, and, like them, they were pagan barbarians. From their original home on the coast around the mouth of the River *Elbe* large bodies of them continued to cross to Britain during a period of a century and a half. Forcing their way into the country at many points, they had, by the year 600, occupied nearly all of what has since been called *England*. Here they became grouped into a number of *small Kingdoms*, which were frequently at war with one another. The British on the West (*page* 32) still maintained their independence, but they were now in three isolated sections. Elsewhere, nearly all traces of both Celtic and Roman language and life were swept away, and with them also vanished Christianity.

Conversion of England.—The Saxon Kingdoms in the north and centre of England owed their conversion to Irish missionaries from Iona. At first only slight progress was made. At length, Oswald, King of *Northumbria*, having lost his Kingdom for a time, found a refuge

in Iona. Upon his restoration he invited *St. Aidan* and other Irish monks to Northumbria (A.D. 634). They settled in the little island of *Lindisfarne*, which soon became an eastern Iona. From its monastery Irish monks carried the influences of Christianity into the adjoining Saxon Kingdoms and penetrated into the most remote. St. Aidan became the first Bishop of Northumbria and was succeeded in Lindisfarne by two other Irish monks.* The great central Kingdom of *Mercia* was next won, its first two bishops being Irish. *East Anglia* was also mostly converted from Lindisfarne, whose monks also reached as far as *Wessex*.

The Irish missionaries had brought learning as well as religion, and Northumbria became *the cradle of Anglo-Saxon literature*.

St. Augustine.—In the meantime the conversion of the Saxon Kingdoms in the South had been carried out by Roman missionaries from Canterbury, where *St. Augustine* had started his mission (A.D. 597). The conversion of England was thus complete. The decision of the *Synod of Whitby* (A.D. 664) regarding the Paschal Controversy (*page* 39) was a blow to the Columban monks, and from that time the influence of Irish missionaries in England disappeared. Their labours, however, had been fruitful and had resulted in the conversion of more than half of England.

B. IN EUROPE

"The Dark Ages."—The same energetic zeal that created Iona and Lindisfarne also carried numerous Irish missionaries into the heart of Europe. The fate that threatened the Continent in the time of St. Patrick had now overtaken it and the "Dark Ages" had begun. The Empire of Rome had been destroyed (A.D. 476), and all its provinces had become the prey of the fierce Northern barbarians. Their chiefs ruled over ruined cities and ravaged countries in petty Kingdoms, which were the fragments that eventually formed the *modern nations* of Europe. From the first two distinct groups are noticeable. The earliest of the Teutonic conquerors had fallen under Roman influence and become *Latin* in language, laws and government. These were in the West and South, and the tribe amongst them whose name became most famous was that of the *Franks*. But beyond the Rhine the numerous tribes still remained *German* in speech and habits. Some of the early comers had also adopted Christianity—but it was purely nominal and they were little better than pagan. The German tribes were still frankly heathen.

Religion, learning, and order had almost disappeared from Europe. Their revival was due, in great part to the devoted labours of Irish missionaries.

* *St. Chad, the founder of the See of Durham, was educated in Ireland.*

St. Columbanus.—The greatest of the Irish missionaries to Europe was St. Columbanus. A native of Leinster, he studied for many years in *Bangor*, and was well advanced in life when, with twelve companions, he landed in Gaul or modern France. Traversing the Frankish Kingdoms, into which the northern parts of that country were then divided, he reached the Kingdom of *Burgundy* and near the Vosges mountains he established the monastery of *Luxeuil* (A.D. 590), and afterwards that of *Fontaines*. For twenty years Columbanus lived in Burgundy, attracting crowds of disciples, including many from the German tribes which lay towards the Rhine. At length, because he reproved the vices of the King, he was banished from the country and conducted to the coast. Intent upon reaching the German peoples, he proceeded to the mouth of the Rhine and made a long and toilsome voyage up that river, until he gained the country lying beyond Burgundy. On the shores of Lake Constance at *Richenau* he preached to the German tribes of modern *Switzerland*. Next he made his way across the icy passes of the Alps and reached the *Lombards*, who had settled in the North of Italy. At *Bobbio* in the Appenine Mountains he founded (A.D. 613) a celebrated monastery described as "the light of Northern Italy," the library of which was famous throughout the Middle Ages. Here, two years later, he died.

Columbanus was an accomplished scholar and writer. Numerous sermons, letters, and poems written by him are still existing and testify not only to the extent of his knowledge, but also to the high state of learning in the Irish schools where he acquired it.

Switzerland and Italy.—St. Columbanus was not the first of the Irish missionaries to either Switzerland or Italy.* In the former he was preceded by *St. Fridolin*, who afterwards became the first Bishop of *Alsace*. Next in fame to Columbanus in those regions, however, was his companion, *St. Gall*. When Columbanus departed for Lombardy he left behind him at Lake Constance most of his companions. Amongst those was St. Gall, who laboured for thirty years afterwards, converting the German tribe of *Alemanni*, whose apostle he was. He founded a monastery called after him, which became a great centre of Irish missionary effort and gives a name to a Swiss canton.

In North Italy Columbanus had been preceded in the sixth century by *St. Frigidian*, who helped to convert the *Lombards* and became Bishop of *Lucca*. Away in the far south of the Peninsula *St. Cathaldus*, who had been a teacher in the school of Lismore, became Bishop of *Tarentum* in the seventh century. At the same time another Irishman was Bishop of *Lecce* in the same district.

* *Modern names of countries are here used for convenience only, and not as indicating the existence of definite nations at the time.*

Germany.—The southern countries of Germany owe their conversion, to a great extent, to Irish disciples of Columbanus, who travelled eastwards from Luxeuil or northwards from St. Gaul. In Alsace, two Irishmen were Bishops of *Strasburg* in the seventh century. *St. Kilian* became the apostle of *Franconia* and *Lower Saxony* and was martyred at Wurzburg, A.D. 689. In the next century *St. Virgilius* (*Fearghal*), who had been Abbot of Aghaboe, completed the conversion of the *Bavarians* and became Bishop of *Salzburg* and *Carinthia*. He was a famous *geometer* and was the first to teach that the earth was a sphere. He died A.D. 785.

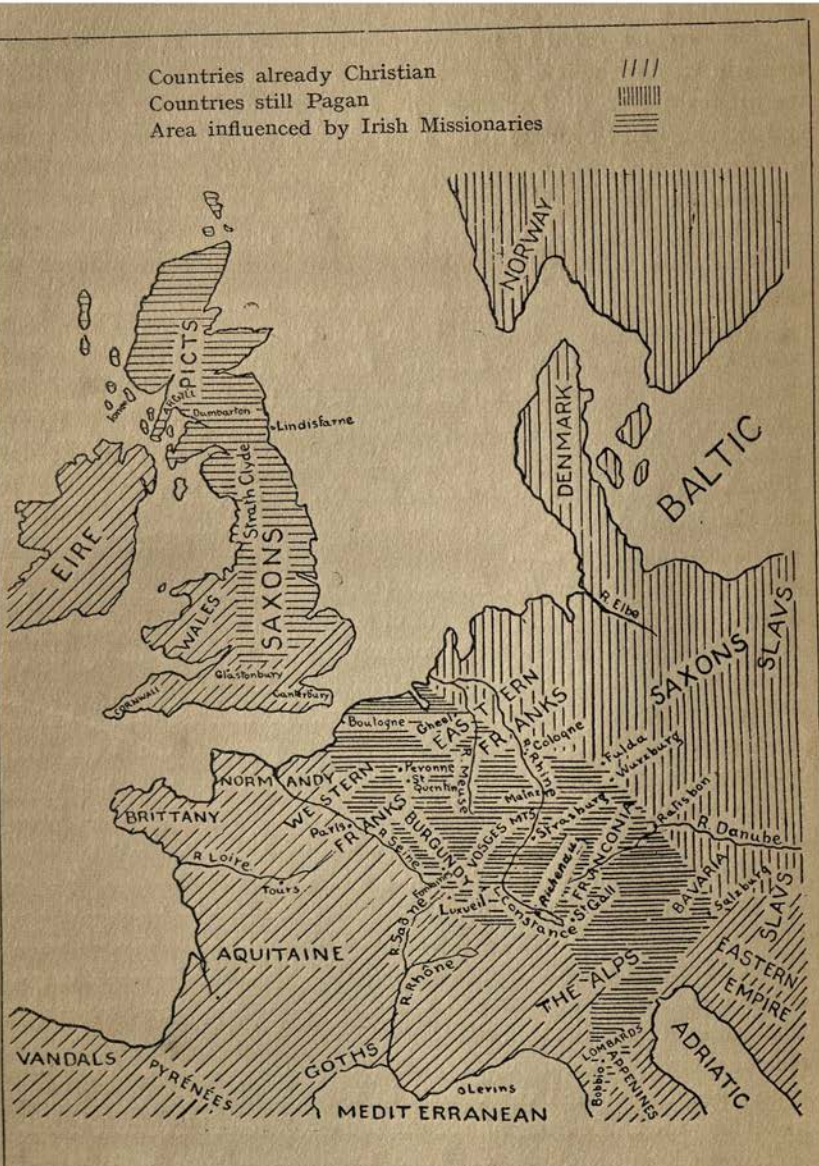
France and Belgium.—In the west and centre of France the principal Irish influence came from the monasteries which rapidly sprang up as offshoots from *Luxeuil*. Many of these were founded on the slopes of the *Vosges* and on the banks of the tributaries of the *Rhone*, *Rhine* and *Seine*, and were frequented by Franks, Burgundians, and Goths. In the north of France prominent Irishmen were *St. Fiachra*, who established a monastery near *Paris*, and *St. Fursa* (A.D. 650) from the shores of Lough Corrib, who, with his brothers, founded monasteries at *Peronne* and *St. Quentin*.

In the Netherlands *St. Livinius* (A.D. 635) suffered martyrdom in *Brabant*, and *St. Dymphna*, a native of Oirghialla, died at *Gheel*, where her shrine has ever since been venerated and resorted to by those mentally affected, of whom she is the patron saint.

Duration of Irish Influence.—The few prominent names which are here mentioned represent but a small part of the work for Christianity performed in Europe by Irish zeal. Most of it was done by unknown monks in the numerous monasteries which spread from St. Gall or Luxeuil over western and central Europe. To Luxeuil alone, no less than sixty-three monasteries owed their origin. These monasteries were continually being recruited by monks from Ireland, who for many ages continued the work of St. Columbanus and St. Gall. Irish influence on the Continent was the result of *no temporary effort*, but was due to a great movement which lasted for 600 years—from the sixth century to the twelfth.

A broad belt, stretching from the North Sea to the eastern limit of the German peoples, formed the theatre in which Irishmen taught Christianity along the entire front line of the still unconverted Teutonic tribes.

The many generations of Irish missionaries who thus rebuilt Christianity in so many parts of Europe carried Irish *art and literature* along with them. From their monasteries have come the numerous Irish manuscripts which are still preserved in the libraries and museums of Austria, Italy, Germany, France, and the Netherlands.



Irish Christian Missions.

SECTION VI. CIVIL HISTORY

To such an extent was Irish energy absorbed in religious and scholarly activities during this period that but little is to be said regarding the political history. The new dynasties were establishing themselves and in some cases meeting with some opposition. Friction, too, arose when their rising power came into conflict with the older states. The struggles that took place were not, however, of lasting importance.

The results of the battle of *Ocha* (A.D. 483) in confining to the *Ui Neill* families the title of *Ard Rí* have already been referred to (*page* 20).

Rivalry of Tara and Laighin.—The one instance of bitter and continued hostility during the period is afforded by the rivalry between the Kings of Tara and Laighin. The aggression of the former and the opposition of the latter, which began in the time of Tuathal and Conn, were continued for centuries. The excuse was the imposition of the *Borumha tribute*, which, it should be remarked, was divided amongst the Kingdoms ruled by the *Siol Chuinn*—Tara, Oirghialla, Aileach, and Cruachan. In the lifetime of St. Patrick, King Laoghaire fought several battles to enforce the tribute, and his immediate successors followed his example. In the battle of *Dunbolg*,* a famous Leinster King, *Bran Dubh*, defeated and slew the Ard Rí Aodh *Mac Ainmire* (A.D. 598). At *St. Moling's* request the tribute was remitted (A.D. 677), but only for a time. In a great battle at the *Hill of Allen*,† the Leinstermen won a complete victory (A.D. 722), but at *Ath Seanaigh*‡ they were utterly defeated by the Ard Rí, *Aodh Allen* (A.D. 738). The site of most of the fighting that took place in this long contest was the level plain lying between the slopes of the Wicklow Mountains and the hills that border the Bog of Allen.

Dal Riada and Argyll.—It has been noticed in connection with Colmchille that the northern coast of Ireland and the coast of Caledonia which lay opposite were occupied by the *Dal Riada*. Early in the sixth century a migration of Irish Gaels took place under Fergus, who became King of Dal Riada—the Scottish portion of which took the name of *Argyll* (*Airthir-Gaedhil*—eastern Gaels). This Gaelic colony steadily extended its power until finally all Scotland was united under its King, *Kenneth Mac Ailpin* (A.D. 885), from whom all the succeeding Kings of Scotland were descended.

Desertion of Tara.—After the reign of *Diarmuid* as Ard Rí, the palace of Tara was abandoned as a royal residence (A.D. 565). The

* *Near Hollywood, Co. Wicklow.* † *Co. Kildare.*
‡ *Now Ballyshannon, Co. Kildare.*

desertion is said to have taken place owing to its being cursed by *St. Ruadhan* because the King had violated his sanctuary at Lorrha. It is, however, also urged that it was due to the weak position of the hill for the purposes of defence. Henceforward the Ard Rí lived in his own royal residence, such as *Aileach* for the Northern Ui Neill, and *Dun na Sciath* (near Lough Ennel) for the Southern Ui Neill. The buildings of Cormac Mac Airt fell into decay and in the time of Brian Boroimhe a poet describes their grass-grown ruins. But the Ard Rí continued to be styled "*King of Tara*"; and even long after the Norman invasion, the annalists in recording the succession of each member of the royal family of Meath say that he became "King of Tara."

Convention of Druim Ceata.—In the reign of *Aodh Mac Ainmire* the famous Convention of Druim Ceata* (A.D. 574) took place. This meeting was held to consider two great questions—the right of the Ard Rí to tribute from the Gaelic colony in *Argyll*, and the position of the *bardic order*. The most prominent figure at the gathering was Colmchille† who crossed over from Iona accompanied by his relative *Aidan*, whom he had crowned King of Dal Riada. The colony of Argyll were declared free of tribute and they undertook to be the allies of the Ard Rí. The bards, who had become so numerous and exacting that many wished to abolish them, were retained, but their privileges were limited and their position made more definite. The decisions on both of these questions were mainly due to the influence of St. Columba.

Battle of Moira.—It has been noticed that, general as had been the conversion of Ireland, some traces of paganism still remained. Many of its upholders were to be found amongst the bards, which probably accounted for the hostility to the order at Drumceata. In the Kingdom of *Ulaidh* both bards and druids best found shelter. Here, nearly two centuries after St. Patrick's death, druidism fought its *last organised fight*. *Congal Claon*, King of Ulaidh, gathered together a large army of Saxon and Pictish mercenaries and made war against the Ard Rí, *Domhnall*. In a battle at *Moira*,‡ which lasted for six days, Congal was slain, his army annihilated, and the last trace of organised druidism swept away, A.D. 637.

The Ard Rí.—From the date of the battle of *Ocha*, A.D. 483 (*page* 20), until the first attack of the Norsemen, A.D. 795, the annals give a list of thirty-four Kings who enjoyed the purely nominal title of *Ard Rí*. On five occasions we are told that joint Kings reigned, so that in reality the title changed hands only twenty-nine times in over

* *Near Limavady.*

† *He is said to have come blindfolded on account of a vow never to set eyes on Ireland.*

‡ *In the present Co. Down.*

300 years. All of those who became *Ard Rí* were either of the Southern or Northern *Ui Neill.* Of the two branches the Northern predominated and there was no fixed order of succession, a number of Meath Kings sometimes succeeding each other, and *vice versa.* In the Northern branch, again, the *Cineal Eoghain* had a superiority over the *Cineal Chonaill* family, *Flahertach*, who gained the title A.D. 727, being the last of the latter family who is named as *Ard Rí.*

Section VII. Literature and Art

Books and Literature.—It was during this period that the *oldest books* written in Ireland, and still existing, were composed. It was then, also, that the *earliest Gaelic literature* which we possess was composed, or first put into the form in which it has come down to us. The oldest books, however, are not Gaelic literature; they are, in fact, not original literature at all, but copies of the Gospels and the Psalms and are in Latin. These venerable books have been cherished and revered through thirteen or fifteen centuries. Attributed to the hands of some of the most celebrated of the early saints, they were, in later times, encased in beautiful and valuable *shrines* (called Cumdach), and were generally consigned for safe keeping to certain families. Most of them, too, are remarkable for the wonderful *illuminating art* with which they are embellished.

These books represent but a tiny fragment of the work of the numerous Christian scribes and artists who occupied themselves in transcribing and illuminating copies of the Gospels, etc. The great majority of their productions was destroyed, either during the incursions of the Norse (*Chap. VI*)—who displayed great antipathy to these writings—or during the struggles against the invaders who succeeded them.

The Oldest Books.—The most famous of these ancient books are the "*Domhnach Airgid*," the "*Cathach*" and the "*Book of Kells.*" Of these the oldest is the "*Domhnach Airgid*," or the "*Silver Shrine*," so called from the beautiful triple "*Cumhdach*" of yew, copper, and silver in which it was encased in the tenth century. It was a *copy of the Gospels*, of which only a small portion now remains. The copy was supposed to have been made by *St. Patrick* himself, but in reality it was written some time later—in the fifth or sixth century. It is now preserved in the National Museum, Dublin.

Next in importance is the "*Cathach*," or "*Battler*," which, despite its name, is a *copy of the Psalms.* Tradition attributes it to the hand of *Colmchille*, the story being that Colmchille made the copy surreptitiously from a MS. belonging to *St. Finian of Moville.* The latter appealed

to the King, who ordered the copy to be returned to him on the principle —"To each cow its calf, and to each book its copy." The "Cathach" became the great possession of the O'Donnells, the kinsmen of Colmchille, who always carried it with them into battle—whence it derives its warlike name. It, also, is in the National Museum.

The "*Book of Kells*," a *copy of the Four Gospels*, is the work of a monk in the Columban monastery of Kells during the seventh century. It is "*the unapproachable glory of Irish illumination*," whose pages are filled with intricate designs of the most elaborate art and exquisitely delicate skill—"the very passion of labour and devotion." It is now in the custody of Trinity College, Dublin.

Other early books still existing are the "*Book of Durrow*" (another Columban monastery), which approaches in beauty to the "Book of Kells"; the "*Book of Dimma*," written in the school of Roscrea; and the "*Book of St. Moling*" of Ferns.

The Glosses.—The *oldest Gaelic MSS.* that we have, date from this period. They, however, are *not literature*, but are in the form of "glosses." These were not written in Ireland, but in the numerous monasteries established by Irish missionaries in Britain and Europe. They consist of notes and vocabularies written on existing Latin and other texts. The difficult words and passages in the original texts were translated or explained in Gaelic on the margins, or between the lines. These "glosses" are in the *oldest form of Gaelic* known, and many of them would be unintelligible were it not that their meaning is found from the original text which they themselves translate. They are preserved in the principal libraries of Europe, and they formed the materials upon which the German scholar *Zeuss* (A.D. 1806–1856) founded his famous "*Grammatica Celtica*."

Earliest Literature.—It is from this period, nevertheless, that our earliest literature dates. The originals have been lost, and the oldest copies are those made in subsequent years, and found in the various "*Books*" or great collections of MSS. transcribed from existing documents. But there is no reason to doubt that these pieces were *composed in this period*, and that the copies which have been preserved correctly attribute their authorship to the specified writers whom they name and who lived in this time.

Religious Writings.—Most of the early literature is, as might be expected, of a religious nature and consists, to a great extent, of lives of various saints. The oldest piece is the famous "*Lorica*," or "*Faedh Fiadha*," or "*Cry of the Deer*," said to have been composed by St. Patrick and chanted by him and his attendants in their progress from Slane to Tara (*page* 36). Next come the "*Life of St. Patrick*,"

attributed to his disciple, *St. Fiach* of Sletty, and the "*Tripartite Life*" of the Apostle, attributed to *St. Eimhin* of Monasterevan—but both of these are now supposed to be of later date. Besides the numerous *Lives of Saints* then written, we have the "*Voyages*" *of St. Brendan* of Clonfert, and the "*Visions*" *of St. Fursa*, composed respectively in the middle of the sixth and the middle of the seventh centuries, both of which are said to have formed the basis of Dante's "*Inferno*."

Secular Poetry.—The early Irish saints, however, did not confine their poetry to religious subjects. Many poems composed by *St. Colmchille*, *St. Columbanus*, *St. Gall*, and other saints, are devoted to secular topics. There were also writers of the time who do not figure amongst the saints. Most prominent of these was a bard called *Dallan Forgaill*, who wrote in a cryptic form of Gaelic, used only by the bards and called the "*Bérla Féni*." It was this bard who was the champion of his order at the Convention of *Druimceat* (*page* 50).

Book of Rights : Seanchus Mór : Dinnseanchus.—At this time also were composed, in the form in which they have come down to us, works which give us the earliest information of the *political constitution* and *laws* of ancient Ireland. The original form of "Leabhar na g-Ceart," or the "*Book of Rights*" (*page* 26) is traditionally, and with good authority, attributed to *St. Benignus*, the disciple and immediate successor of St. Patrick, who died A.D. 468. No modern nation of Europe can boast of such an ancient and detailed account of its early political system.

About the same time was compiled the "Seanchus Mór," which, with the "Book of Aicill" (*page* 62) (also added to at the same time), forms the compilation which is known as the "*Brehon Laws*." In this, too, Benignus had a part, for he was one of a commission of nine—three kings, three clerics, and three poets—appointed by St. Patrick to revise the ancient laws and to adapt them to Christianity. The result of the labours of that commission was the text which, together with the numerous commentaries noted on later copies of it, formed the Seanchus Mór, upon which the Brehons of Eire based their decisions down to the seventeenth century.

In the sixth century was originally written the "*Dinnseanchus*," which gives in verse the fabulous origins of a great number of Irish *place-names*.

"Saga" Literature.—Apart from specific works like the preceding, those early centuries were fruitful in literary productions, the exact origins or authors of which cannot be identified. It was at this time, it is believed, that the great mass of "Saga" literature was thrown into its present form, and the numerous *romantic stories* of heroic adventure, expeditions, fights

and chases were first written down. Then, too, the "*Táin Bó*" (*page* 21), and the other stories of the "Red Branch" first took literary shape.

The "Fenian" stories, however, are said to be of *later date*.

Effect on Language.—The introduction of Christianity had a profound influence on the Gaelic language. The culture of the new religion, accompanied by the increased use of writing, created a *new technical vocabulary*. New words had to be created for the new worship and its ritual, its clergy, and its churches, and these were, of necessity, borrowed from the *Latin* language. From Latin also were taken nearly all the words relating to everything connected with writing and reading. Nearly all the Gaelic words for *ecclesiastical* and *literary* matters are, therefore, derived directly from Latin.

The native language was employed by the early Christian writers in Ireland to a much greater extent than the vernacular of other countries was used by their missionaries. This fact testifies to its high state of development.

New Style in Art.—This was an epoch, also, of striking importance in Irish art. That the Pagan Irish had attained to a high standard of artistic skill is fully proved by the many bronze and gold ornaments which have been preserved. The designs of the Pagan or "*Heroic*" period, as it is called, differ considerably, however, from those later designs which are now distinctively called "Irish Art." The early designs are arrangements of curves, spirals, lozenges, concentric circles, etc., such as are found in most other early civilisations. There was one pattern, however, which was distinctly characteristic of Pagan Irish art. This was the "*diverging spiral*" or "*trumpet*" pattern. At the Christian Era of Ireland there was introduced a *new style of art* which had travelled across Europe from the East. This was the "*interlaced*" pattern of bands and ribbons, twisted and knotted in great variety. No trace of this pattern is found in the pre-Christian art of Ireland. But in Ireland this pattern was now cultivated and developed and brought to its highest perfection. Combining with it the Pagan designs, and in particular the "trumpet" pattern, the Irish artists made the intricate interlaced work so distinctly their own that now it is peculiarly known as the "*Irish*" style of decoration. This is the style found in the early illuminated manuscripts.

Irish Scholars in Europe.—We have seen how the Irish missionaries had revived religion and learning in great stretches of territory in Britain and in Europe. With them they had brought their Gaelic literature and Irish art, the memorials of which are found in libraries and museums from Stockholm and Petrograd to Rome and Vienna. But in other and wider spheres of scholarship the Irish on the Continent also shone. The

learning of *Columbanus* was universally recognised: *Virgilius* was a celebrated geometer: *Sedulius* or *Siadhal* established a new form of Latin poetry in the fifth century: *St. Ultan* was employed to teach church music to the nuns in Flanders: *Clement* and *Albinus* were placed by Charlemagne at the head of two great seminaries. And these were only the earliest of the Irish scholars on the Continent.

DATES OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

	A.D.
Landing of St. Patrick	432
(*The Huns, under Attila, ravage Europe*)	433–452
(*The "Anglo-Saxons" occupy "England"*)	449–586
See of Armagh founded	455
Death of St. Patrick	465
(*Fall of Western Roman Empire*)	476
(*Clovis, King of the Franks*)	482
Battle of Ocha	483
Gaelic Colony in Argyll	503
Clonard founded	540
Clonmacnoise founded	548
Bangor founded	558
Colmchille in Iona	563
Tara abandoned	565
Convention of Druim Ceata	574
Columbanus in Burgundy	590
(*St. Augustine in England*)	597
Battle of Dunbolg	598
(*Mahommedanism established*)	622
Synod of Old Leighlin	630
Aidan in Lindisfarne	635
Battle of Moira	637
Synod of Whitby	664
(*Moors invade Spain*)	711
Battle of Allen	722
Battle of Ath Seanaigh	738
(*Charlemagne, King of the Franks*)	772

CHAPTER V

EARLY SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Introductory

Approaching Conflict of Systems.—In dealing with the succeeding periods the chief element to be considered will be the long and bitter conflict between *racial systems* based upon different ideas of social and political organisation. The Gaelic race in Ireland had developed upon distinctive lines, and it had *definite and fixed conceptions* regarding such vital matters as *government*, *laws*, *ownership of land*, etc. Efforts were now to be made first by the Norse, but more thoroughly by the Normans, to force upon it a system which was hostile to everything that it considered wise, just, and practical in these great matters. It is necessary, therefore, to have at least an elementary knowledge of the structure of the Gaelic community.

Gaelic Society not Rigid.—It should be remembered, however, that the social and economic conditions of Ireland, like those of every nation in every age, were *constantly changing* in details. It would be a fallacy to think that early social Ireland, any more than early political Ireland, was a rigid stereotyped entity between which and later Ireland a clear-cut line could be drawn. The nation was a *living organism* with periods of progress or decay, and in political, social, economic and intellectual functions many changes took place. But there were certain *principles* of law and government and social life which were distinctly characteristic of the entire Gaelic people. Upon these principles they remained organised until the seventeenth century, and even to the present day the Irish people are affected by their influences.

The following account of the leading features of the social structure is summarised, with slight alterations, from Joyce's *Social History of Ancient Ireland*:—

Section I. Political and Social Grades

Political Groups.—The political organisation was based upon groups of various sizes from the family upwards. The *family* was the group consisting of the living parents and all their descendants. The

*fine** was a group related by blood within certain recognised degrees. The *sept** was a larger group descended from common parents long since dead. All the members of a sept were nearly related, and in later times bore the same surname. The *clan** or house was still larger. *Clann* means children, and the word therefore implied descent from one ancestor. The *tribe** was made up of several septs or clans, and usually claimed, like the subordinate groups, to be descended from a common ancestor. The entire basis, therefore, was *kinship*. But as strangers were often adopted into all the groups, there was much admixture; and the theory of common descent became in great measure a *fiction* except in the leading families.

The Rí and the Tuath.—Septs, clans, and tribes were governed by chiefs: the chief of a tribe claimed allegiance from the chiefs of the several clans or septs composing the tribe, and received tribute from them. If the *tuath*, or territory occupied by the tribe, was sufficiently extensive the ruling "flaith" was a *Rí* (ree) or king. There were 184 tuaths in all Ireland, but all had not "kings."

Election of Kings and Chiefs.—The king or chief was always elected from members of one "fine": but the succession was *not hereditary* in our sense of the word; it was elective with the above limitation of being confined to one "fine," the freemen being the electors. Any freeborn member of the "fine" was eligible: the tanist might be brother, son, nephew, cousin, etc., of the chief. That member was chosen who was considered best able to lead in war, and govern in peace, and he should be free from all personal deformities or blemishes.

Grades of Kings.—As the "fine" was the basis of succession, so the *tuath*† was the basis of political organisation. Sometimes three or four tuaths were grouped into a *mór-tuatha* under the "king of the mór tuath." In each state, therefore, the rí or king had under him the kings of the mór-tuatha and tuatha. An under king was called an *ur-rí*, and such subordinate chiefs in later times were called *urriaghs* by the English. The title "Rí," therefore, was one borne by numerous chiefs whose power and influence varied considerably.

*Note.—The *fine* (pro. *finna*) and the *clan* were the most important of these groups, the fine being the basis of succession (and also the *economic* unit), and the clan the unit of political organisation, as pointed out later on in the text. The words "sept," "clan" and "tribe" are used arbitrarily and with conflicting meanings by different authors. As *clann* indicates "posterity" the word is used to indicate, at one time, the original clan, or political unit of the period of the "Book of Rights"; and, at another time, the smaller family groups, with different surnames, into which, in course of time, it became divided. The words "sept" and "tribe," as used by Dr. Joyce, would respectively indicate—*sept*, the groups into which the political unit became divided; *tribe*, the union of these groups as representing the original political "clan" or "tuath."

† *More correctly the group clan which occupied it. "Tuath" means both a group of kindred and the land they occupied.*

Tanistry.—With the object of avoiding the evils of a disputed succession, the person to succeed a king or chief was often elected by the tribe *during the lifetime of the king* or chief himself; when elected he was called the *tanist*. The person who was generally looked upon as the king's successor, whether actually elected tanist or not—the heir apparent—was commonly called the *roydamna*.

Social Classes.—Socially every group was divided into classes, from the king or chief down to the slave, and the law took cognisance of all—setting forth their rights, duties and privileges. These classes were not castes; for under certain conditions persons could pass from one to the next above. There were *five main classes*:—(1) Kings of various grades from the king of the *tuath* up to the Ard Rí; (2) nobles; (3) freemen with property; (4) freemen without property (or with very little); (5) the non-free classes. The first three were the *privileged classes*: a person belonging to these was an "*aire*" (arra) or chief.

Flaiths or Nobles.—The nobles were those who had *land as their own property*, for which they did not pay rent. Part of this land they held in their own hands, and tilled by the labour of the non-free classes: part they let to tenants. An aire of this class was called a *flaith* (flah), *i.e.*, a noble, a chief, a prince.

Free Tenants.—A person belonging to the third class of aire, a non-noble rent-paying *freeman with property*, had no land of his own; his property consisting of cattle and other movable goods; hence he was called a bo-aire, *i.e.*, a cow-aire. A bo-aire *rented land* from a flaith, thus taking rank as a free tenant, and he grazed his cattle partly on this and partly on the "commons" grazing land. The bo-aires had certain allowances and privileges according to rank. The *brugh-fer* or *brugaid* (broo-fer; broo-ey) was an interesting official of the bo-aire class. He was a public hospitaller, bound to keep an *open house* for the reception of strangers. The next class, the fourth, the *freemen without property*, differed from the bo-aires only in not possessing property in herds—for the bo-aires were themselves rent-payers; and accordingly, a man of the fourth class became a bo-aire if he accumulated property enough.

Unfree Classes.—The non-free people were those who had *scarcely any rights*—some none at all. They had no claim to any part of the tribe land or to the use of the commons; though the chief might permit them to till the land, for which they had to pay an arbitrary rent. Their standing varied; some being absolute slaves, some little removed from slavery, and others far above it. The most numerous class of the non-free people were those called *fudirs*; they had no right to any land they

tilled, and were in complete dependence—*tenants-at-will*, who could be put out at any time.

Section II. Ownership of Land

Private Property.—The land was regarded as being the *property of the clan* or tribe which occupied it, and not as the private property of any individual. There were exceptions to this general principle however, for land could be held by individuals in different ways. The chief had a portion as *mensal land* for his support, for life or for as long as he remained chief. Another portion was held as *private property* by persons who had come to own the land in various ways. Most of these were *flaiths* or nobles, of the several ranks; and some were *professional men*, such as physicians, judges, poets, historians, artificers, etc., who had got their lands as stipends for their professional services to the chief, and in whose families it often remained for generations. Again, persons held as tenants portions of the lands belonging to those who owned it as private property, or portions of the mensal land of the chief; much like tenants of the present day: these paid what was equivalent to rent—always in kind.

Tribe Land.—But the rest of the arable land, forming by far the largest part of the territory, belonged to the *people in general*; no part being private property. This was occupied by the free members of the clan, who were owners for the time being each of his own farm. *Every free man* had a right to his share. The *non-arable* or waste land—mountain, forest, bog, etc.—was "commons" land. This was not appropriated by individuals; but every free man had a right to use it for grazing, for procuring fuel, or for the chase.

Rent and Subsidies to Chiefs.—The revenue of the chief was derived from three main sources. First, his *mensal land*, some of which he cultivated by his own labourers, some he let to tenants: second, *subsidies* of various kinds from the clansmen: third, *payment for stock*. But in addition to this he might have land as his own personal property. Every clansman had to pay to his chief a certain *subsidy* according to his means. The usual subsidy for commons pasturage was in the proportion of one animal yearly for every seven, which was considerably less than a reasonable rent of the present day. Probably the subsidy for tillage-land was in much the same proportion. A man who takes land must have stock: cows and sheep for the pasture-land, horses or oxen to carry on the work of tillage. A small proportion of the tenants had stock of their own, but the great majority had not. Where the tenant needed stock it was the custom for the chief to give him as much as he wanted at certain rates of payment. This giving or *lending of stock*

was very general, and from it the chiefs derived a large part of their income.

Free Tenants and Bond Tenants.—The tenant was called a *céile* (caila). Some tenants were *saer-céiles*, free tenants: some *daer-céiles*, base or bond tenants. The free tenants were comparatively independent —the bond tenants had to pay heavy subsidies, which always kept them down. The céiles or tenants hitherto spoken of were all free men, Each had a house of his own, the right to a share of the tribe land and to the use of the commons. In this sense the daer-céiles were free men as well as the saer-céiles.

"Coyne and Livery."—The daer-tenants were bound to give the chief *refection* on visitation, called *coinmed* (coiney); that is, the chief was entitled to go with his followers to the house of the tenant, who had to supply the company with food and drink. The number of followers, the time, and the food were carefully regulated by the law, according to the amount of stock the tenant borrowed from the chief. This custom was adopted by the later Normans, but without its legal checks, and became known to them as "*coyne and livery*."

Succession to Land.—Land descended in three ways. First, as private property, in the usual way from father to children. Second, by *tanistry*, that is, the *mensal* land held by the chief went, not to his heir, but the person who succeeded him in the chiefship. Third, by *gavelkind*. When a céile or free tenant who held a part of the tribe land died, his farm did not necessarily go to his children; but might be *gavelled*, or re-divided, amongst his immediate *fine*.

It should be remarked that all payments were made in *kind*; cows, horses, sheep, or silver. A cow was the unit of value, and as such was called a séd (shade). A cumal was equal to three séds.

Section III. Laws

The "Brehons."—Judges were called *brehons*; and the law they administered is, therefore, now commonly known as the "Brehon Law."* To become a brehon a person had to go through a regular, well-defined course of training. The brehons were a very influential class of men, and those attached to chiefs had *free lands* for their maintenance. Those not so attached lived simply on the fees of their profession. It generally required great technical skill to decide cases, the legal rules, as set forth in the law-books, were so complicated, and so many circumstances had to be taken into account. The brehon, moreover, had to be very careful, for he was himself liable to damages if he delivered a false or an unjust judgment.

* *The proper designation for native Irish law is "fenechas."*

The "Seanchus Mór."—The brehons had *collections of laws* in volumes or tracts by which they regulated their judgments. Many of these have been preserved, and of late years the most important of them have been published with translations, forming five printed volumes. Of the tracts contained in these volumes the two largest and most important are the *Seanchus Mór* (Shan a-hus Móre) and the *Book of Acaill* (Ack ill). The *Seanchus Mór* is chiefly concerned with the Irish civil law, and the *Book of Acaill* with the criminal law and the law relating to personal injuries. At the request of St. Patrick, Laoghaire (Leary), the Ard-Rí, is said to have formed a committee of nine persons to revise the laws—three kings, three ecclesiastics, and three poets and antiquarians. These nine having expunged everything that clashed with the Christian faith, produced at the end of three years a revised code which was called *Seanchus Mór*. The very book left by St. Patrick and the others has been long lost. Successive copies were made from time to time, with commentaries and explanations appended, till the manuscripts we now possess were produced.

Nature of the Laws.—The *language* of the laws is extremely archaic and difficult, indicating a very remote antiquity, though probably not the very language of the text left by the revising committee, but a modified version of a later time. The brehon code forms a great body of civil, military and criminal law. It regulates the various *ranks of society* from the king down to the slave, and enumerates their several rights and privileges. There are minute rules for the management of *property*, for the several *industries*—building, brewing, mills, water-courses, fishing-weirs, bees and honey—for distress or seizure of goods, for tithes, trespass and evidence. The relations of *landlord and tenant*, the fees of professional men—doctors, judges, teachers, builders, artificers—the mutual duties of father and son, of foster-parents and foster-children, of master and servant, are all carefully regulated. *Contracts* are regarded as peculiarly sacred, and are treated in great detail.

Criminal Offences: "Eric."—In criminal law the various offences are minutely distinguished—murder, manslaughter, wounding, thefts, and every variety of wilful damage; and accidental injuries from flails, sledge-hammers, and all sorts of weapons. Injuries of all kinds as between man and man were atoned for by a *compensation payment*. Homicide, whether by intent or by misadventure, was atoned for like other injuries by a money fine. The fine for homicide or for bodily injury of any kind was called *eric* (er rick): the amount was adjudged by a brehon. The principles on which these awards should be made are laid down in great detail in the *Book of Acaill*.

Recovery of "Eric."—In case of homicide the *fine* of the victim

were entitled to the eric. If the culprit did not pay, or absconded, leaving no property, his *fine* were liable. If they wished to avoid this they were required to give up the offender to the family of the victim, who might then if they pleased kill him: or failing this his family had to expel him, and to lodge a sum to free themselves from the consequences of his subsequent misconduct.

In the *Book of Acaill* there is a minute enumeration of bodily injuries, whether by design or accident, with the compensation for each, taking into account the position of the parties and the other numerous circumstances that modified the amount.

No Legislation.—The "Brehon Laws" were not a code of laws in the modern sense. They were mostly the *decisions and opinions* of celebrated lawyers on definite issues which came before them. When collected in a comprehensive form these formed a complete set of authoritative decisions upon nearly every question that could arise. There was not any legislative body to draft and adopt *new laws* in the modern fashion. But the collected decisions of the brehons were accepted in all parts of Ireland, and they formed a recognised system of law for the entire island.

Section IV. Various Customs

Fosterage and Gossipred.—One of the leading features of Irish social life was *fosterage*, which prevailed from the remotest period. It was practised by persons of all classes, but more especially by those in the higher ranks. A man sent his child to be reared and educated in the home and with the family of another member of the tribe, who then became foster-father, and his children the foster-brothers and foster-sisters of the child. Fosterage, which was the *closest tie* between individuals and families, was subject to stringent regulations, which were carefully set forth in the Brehon Law. When a man stood *sponsor* for a child at baptism he became the child's godfather and gossip to the parents. *Gossipred* was regarded as a sort of religious relationship between families, and created *mutual obligations* of regard and friendship. Fosterage and gossipred between families of the two races were important elements in bringing about the amalgamation of the Normans with the Irish, and they were frequently denounced by the English government which tried to prevent their union.

Public Assemblies.—In early times when means of inter-communication were very limited, it was important that the people should hold meetings to discuss divers affairs affecting the public weal and for other business of importance. In Ireland popular assemblies and meetings of representatives were very common, and were called by

various names—*feis*, *dal*, *mordal*, *aenach*, *oireachtas* (or "iraghtes"), etc. They were continued to a late period. The *aenach* or fair was an assembly of the people of every class belonging to a district or province. Some fairs were annual; some triennial. According to the most ancient traditions many of these aenachs—perhaps all—had their origin in funeral games; and we know as a fact that the most important of them were held at *ancient cemeteries*, where kings or renowned heroes or other noted personages of history or legend were buried. At all these meetings national games were celebrated. At the *Feis of Tara*, as well indeed as at all other important meetings, elaborate precautions were taken to prevent quarrels or unpleasantness of any kind. Anyone who struck or wounded another, used insulting words, or stole anything, was punished with death; and all persons who attended were free for the time from prosecution and from legal proceedings of every kind.

Buildings.—Before the introduction of Christianity, buildings of every kind in Ireland were almost universally *round*. The quadrangular shape, which was first used in the churches in the time of St. Patrick, came very slowly into use; and round-shaped structures finally disappeared only in the thirteenth or fourteenth century. The dwelling-houses were almost always of *wood*. The wall was formed of strong posts, with the intervening spaces filled with wicker-work, plastered, and oftened whitened or variously coloured. The homesteads had to be fenced in to protect them from robbers and wild animals. This was done by digging a *deep circular trench*, the clay from which was thrown up on the inside. Thus was formed all round a high mound or dyke with a trench outside: one opening left for a door or gate.

Raths, Dúns, Cashels, etc.—These old circular forts are found in every part of Ireland, but more in the south and west than elsewhere, many of them still very perfect; but, of course, the timber houses are all gone. They are known by various names, *lios*, *rath*, *brugh* (broo), *dún*, *cashel* and *caher*—the cashels and cahers being usually built of *stone*. Some forts are very large—300 feet or more across—so as to give ample room for the group of timber houses, or for the cattle at night. Very often the flat middle space is raised to a higher level than the surrounding land, and sometimes there is a great *mound in the centre* with a flat top on which, no doubt, the strong house of the chief stood. In the very large forts there are often three or more great circumvallations. Round the forts of kings or chiefs were grouped the timber dwellings of the dependents, forming a sort of village.

Stone Forts and Crannoges.—Where stone was abundant the surrounding rampart was often built of *dry masonry*, the stones being fitted with great exactness. In some of these structures the stones are

very large, and then the style of building is termed *cyclopean*. Many great stone fortresses still remain near the coasts of Sligo, Galway, Clare, and Kerry, and a few in Antrim and Donegal. For greater security dwellings were often constructed on *artificial islands* made with stakes, trees, and bushes, in shallow lakes: these were called *crannoges*. Communication with the shore was carried on by means of a rude boat kept on the island. Crannoge dwellings were in very general use in the time of Elizabeth, and the remains of many of them are still to be seen in our lakes.

Churches.—From the time of St. Patrick downwards churches were built, the greater number of wood, but many of stone.

The *primitive stone churches*, erected in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries are simple oblongs, small and rude. As Christianity spread the churches became gradually larger and more ornamental, and a chancel was often added at the east end, which was another oblong, merely a continuation of the larger building. The jambs of both doors and windows inclined so that the bottom of the opening was wider than the top: this shape of door or window is a sure mark of antiquity. The remains of little stone churches of this antique pattern, of ages from the fifth century to the tenth or eleventh, are still to be found all over Ireland.

Round Towers.—In connection with many of the ancient churches there were round towers of stone from 60 to 150 feet high, and from 13 to 20 feet in external diameter at the base: the top was conical. The interior was divided into six or seven stories, reached by ladders from one to another, and each storey was lighted by one window—the top storey had usually four large windows. The door was placed ten or more feet from the ground outside, and was reached by a ladder: both doors and windows had sloping jambs like those of the churches. About eighty round towers still remain, of which about twenty are perfect. Formerly there was much speculation as to the uses of these round towers, but Dr. George Petrie set the question at rest in his essay on their origin and uses. It is now known that they are of *Christian origin*, and that they were always built in connection with ecclesiastical establishments. They were erected at various times from about the ninth to the thirteenth century.

CHAPTER VI

THE NORSE INVASIONS (A.D. 795-1014)

SECTION I. ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE NORSE

Two Centuries of Warfare.—For over three hundred years the history of Ireland had been mostly the record of the progress of religion and learning : during the two centuries that followed the story is one of almost *ceaseless warfare* against fierce invaders. The Romans and the Teutons had alike failed to reach the Irish shores, which for more than a thousand years had been free from invasion. That immunity was now to vanish before the merciless attacks of the *Norsemen.*

Origin of the Norsemen.—The people whose savage raids made them for over two centuries the terror of Western Europe were of the same *Teutonic race* as the " barbarians " who had broken up the Roman Empire. Their kinsmen who had settled in the conquered provinces had now become Christian and peaceable, owing, to a great extent, to the efforts of Irish missionaries. Their petty states—from which the modern nations were to spring—were being consolidated, for a time, into a new Western Empire by the illustrious *Charlemagne.* But, on the shores of the Baltic, the *Scandinavian branch* of the Teutons remained as pagan, as fierce, and as barbarous as were the tribes who had conquered the Romans three hundred years before. These, in their turn, were about to ravage Europe, attacking it, however, not by land, as their predecessors had done, but by sea.

" Fionn-Ghaill " and " Dubh-Ghaill."—The coasts from which the Norse who raided Ireland mostly came were the western shores of *Norway* and *Denmark.* Irish writers distinguish between the natives of the two countries : the earlier of the invaders, who came from Norway, are called " Fionn-Gaill " (" *White Foreigners* ") and " *Lochlanns* "; the " Dubh-Gaill " (" *Black Strangers* ") or " *Danars* " came later from Denmark. The distinction between the two is, however, not at all well marked, and they are frequently confused. In popular language in Ireland the invaders are collectively known as the " *Danes* "; while English writers refer to them as the *Norse*, or *Vikings*, or *Ostmen.*

Character of the Norse.—Piracy, fighting, and adventure were

the occupation and the glory of the Vikings. The unfertile coasts which were their homes drove them to the sea for existence, and they were *expert sailors* through necessity. From infancy they were *bred to fighting*, and they loved it for its own sake. Prowess in combat and physical courage were the only qualities they appreciated, and mercy was unknown to them. Their very *religion* was one of warfare: those who fell in battle were to live ever after in Valhalla, the palace of their chief god Odin, where they were served by Valkyries with mead which they drank from the skulls of the enemies they had killed.

Such was the character and such the training of the people who were about to burst upon the coasts and islands of Europe, and to ravage and pillage them for centuries.

Methods of Warfare.—With few exceptions the incursions were not on an extensively organised basis, especially at first. Now and then a powerful leader might unite a large force under his command for a period. But in general the raids were carried out by *detached groups*. The Norse were even less united than were their predecessors of the fifth and sixth centuries. The crew of each ship gathered around their own leader and formed an independent unit which attached itself at will now to one group and then to another. But they fought together when necessary in perfect order and military discipline, and, clad in armour and with superior weapons, they overpowered the less skilled adversaries who endeavoured to oppose them.

Causes of the Invasions.—Three causes may be ascribed for the incursions—*economical*, *political* and *religious*. In the first place the Northern regions were unable to support the *large populations* which had accumulated in them, and numbers of adventurous spirits had long been forced to look to the plunder of the Southern lands for an existence. In the next place a direct impetus was given by the spread of the dominion of the Frankish Kings, which was to culminate in the Empire of Charlemagne. As the *Frankish sway* extended, the tribes which endeavoured to maintain their independence were driven back upon the Northern coasts. Again, those tribes were pagan and Christianity became identified with Frankish aggression. In some cases religion had been used for political purposes, and Christianity forced upon the tribes as a sign of their subjection. The result of such *persecution* was shown in the hatred of religion displayed by the marked manner in which monasteries and schools were singled out for attack.

Section II. The Invasions

Periods of the Invasions.—The attacks of the Norsemen upon Ireland lasted from the year 795 until the Battle of Clontarf in 1014. During

that period of over two centuries *continuous swarms* of invaders scourged the country. "There came great sea-cast floods of foreigners into Eire, so that there was not a point thereof without a fleet." No spot escaped their ravages: no clan but had to face their onslaught. The monasteries and the schools were the objects of their fiercest attacks, and they delighted in desecrating shrines and "drowning" books, but everywhere they plundered the country and slaughtered the people.

The invasions fall into *two periods*, the first from 795 to 875, the second from 915 to 1016: these periods are separated by an *interval of "rest"* of 40 years (875 to 915), during which no fresh bodies arrived, although fighting by no means ceased.

First Isolated Raids (A.D. 795-832).—The first attack was upon the island of "*Reachra*" (either *Lambay* or *Rathlin*), A.D. 795, and many other islands were raided during the next few years. The invaders then became bolder and attacked the mainland. Innumerable scattered parties sailed into shallow bays and the mouths of rivers, struck suddenly into the adjoining country, and retired to their fleets with their plunder. The whole eastern and southern coast line from Strangford Lough to the Shannon was thus repeatedly raided, and even the remote west did not escape. Many of the great schools and monasteries were repeatedly sacked, and at *Bangor* nine hundred monks were slain. In some instances the plundering parties were defeated by the clans of the district, but such isolated defeats had no effect upon the other groups of invaders.

Turgesius: Malachy I.—After more than thirty years of sporadic attacks upon the coast the invaders now ventured further inland and united for a *complete conquest* of the island. Their leader in this enterprise was named Turgesius. Stationing fleets in the *Liffey* and the *Boyne*, and in *Carlingford Lough* to dominate the east, he brought another up the *Bann* into *Lough Neagh*, whence he ravaged the north. A further large fleet sailed up the *Shannon* into *Lough Ree* and sent out parties over the west and midlands. Turgesius himself seized the See of Armagh, and his Queen Ota used the high altar of *Clonmacnoise* for pagan rites. For thirteen years the country suffered fearfully until Turgesius was defeated by *Malachy I* (Maolseachlainn) King of Meath, and drowned in Lough Owel, A.D. 845.

The operations of Turgesius were rendered easier by the *internal conflicts* caused by the ambition of Felim Mac Criffan of Munster (*section iv.*).

Permanent Settlements.—During the time of Turgesius the Norse first began to make permanent settlements in the country. Hitherto the raiders had departed in their fleets, carrying off their booty. Now, however, they adopted the plan of leaving parties to occupy selected

spots in convenient harbours and at the mouths of rivers. These settlements, when walled and fortified, remained as the bases of future attacks. In such manner did most of the seaport towns of Ireland find their origin. *Dublin*, *Waterford* and *Limerick* were the most important of these centres of Norse influence.

The settlements maintained their position after the death of Turgesius, although a general rising took place and the invaders were repeatedly defeated by Malachy—who had become Ard Rí—and by other chiefs. Even the fighting which now took place between the *Fionn-Ghaill* and the *Dubh-Ghaill*, who arrived about the year 853, did not loosen the grip of the Irish coast which had been taken by the Norsemen. When Malachy died in 865 he was succeeded in the title of Ard Rí by *Aodh Fionnlaith** of Aileach, who defeated the invaders at Lough Foyle, 866, and at Killineer (near Drogheda) 869, and elsewhere. But they still held on.

The "Forty Years' Rest."—From the year 875 to 915 Ireland was left in comparative peace, for during that time no fresh body of invaders arrived. The Vikings were too busily occupied elsewhere. In *England* they were fighting Alfred the Great, and in France they were settling in *Normandy* (*section iii.*). Harold, King of Norway, also was endeavouring to bring his pirate subjects under stricter control. The "rest," however, was only comparative. From their walled settlements on the coast the Norse made frequent forays, sacking schools and monasteries, and plundering the country. The opposition, however, was vigorous, and they met with many defeats. They were even expelled from Dublin for a time by *Carroll*, King of Laighin (A.D. 901).

During nearly all of this period the Ard Rí was *Flann Sionna* of Meath, son of Malachy, in whose reign took place the conflict with *Cormac Mac Cuillenain* of Cashel (*section iv.*)

Niall "Glúndubh."—Fresh swarms of Norsemen began to arrive in the year 915. The earliest of them landed at *Waterford*, but they were defeated by the vigorous Ard Rí, Niall "Glúndubh"† of the northern branch, son of Aodh Fionnlaith. Next a large body again occupied *Dublin* and defeated the men of Laighin. Niall promptly marched to expel them, but near the city he was defeated and slain at a spot supposed to be *Kilmashogue*, near Rathfarnham, A.D. 919.

Muirkertagh "of the Leather Cloaks."—The rivers and lakes of Ireland were now filled with the fleets of the Norsemen, who again spread terror over the country. Their most vigorous opponent was Muirkertagh (Muircertach), son of Niall Glúndubh and King of *Aileach*. For over

* *His wife was daughter of Kenneth Mac Alpine, Gaelic King of Scotland.*

† *From him the "O'Neills" of Tir-owen took their name.*

twenty years he carried on the warfare against them and prevented any extension of their settlements. In 941 he made a celebrated "*Circuit of Ireland*" in the depth of winter with a band of picked warriors of the Cineal Eoghain. He took hostages from Danes and Irish alike, and then loyally handed them over to the Ard Rí *Donough*, who was of the Southern Ui Neill. Amongst the hostages was Ceallachan, King of Caiseal, ancestor of the Mac Carthys. Many romantic tales are told of the exploits of "*Ceallachan Caisil*," but his fighting was directed as much against his own countrymen as against the Norse. In this campaign Muirkertagh provided his followers with mantles of hide, and from this he is known as Muirkertagh "of the Leather Cloaks." He was killed in battle with the Norsemen at *Ardee* in 943.

After the death of Muirkertagh the *Norse power continued to increase* for many years, until it became almost as great as in the time of Turgesius. The annalists draw a harrowing picture of the state of the country, and of the South in particular, during this time.

Section III. The Norse Colonies and their Influence

Growing Assimilation.—A century and a half had now elapsed since the Norse first visited the shores of Ireland. For over a century their colonies had existed in the towns on the coast in which they had settled. Here had grown up many generations whose lives and habits were very different from those of the fierce sea-raiders from whom they had sprung. *Landsmen and town-dwellers* for the most part, their ways were becoming the ways of peace and commerce rather than of war. They were growing more and more distinct from the new arrivals who continued to flock to their havens from across the sea, and who were gradually coming to be regarded by them as strangers. On the other hand, they were getting a better understanding of the Irish amidst whom they lived. They could not escape the fact that *Ireland was their home.*

Alliances.—Even at a very early period we find alliances springing up between the settlers and the Irish. During the "forty years rest" a son of the chief of *Osraidhe* named *Carroll* reigned as *King of the Norse of Dublin* for 13 years (874 to 887), and his descendants ruled many of the Norse settlements in the Northern Seas. As Carroll's wife was a daughter of Malachy I who slew Turgesius, and as his own family continued to rule in Osraidhe, we find closely related kinsmen ruling Irish states and Norse colonies. *Marriages* between the principal families of the two races were becoming frequent, and in the disputes which often occurred between Irish chiefs or between the Norse themselves it was not uncommon to find allies of either race fighting on opposite sides.

Conversion of Settlers.—The most striking instance of the change

which was coming over the Norse settlers was their conversion to Christianity. This must have taken place very gradually, but the event which definitely marked it was the foundation by the Norse of Dublin of *St. Mary's Abbey* on the north bank of the Liffey, which took place in the year 948. The Norse Christians did not become part of the Irish Church, and their early bishops were consecrated by the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

Neither the conversion nor the growing assimilation of the Norse, however, put an end to the struggle between the two races.

The Settlements.—The great centres of Norse influence were, as already stated, the cities of *Dublin*, *Waterford* and *Limerick*. These three cities seem to have been quite independent of one another, and to have exercised authority over the colonists around them. Most of the settlements were in the towns on the coast. Hitherto, the only communities resembling towns in Ireland were those which had sprung up around the *schools and monasteries*. Apart from these, it is in the settlements of the Norse that most Irish towns find their origin. But there were also important settlements in the open districts. The principal of these was around Dublin, to the north of which they occupied, and gave their name to, "*Fingal*," in the territories of *Meath*. South of the city they held a stretch of the shores of *Laighin*. There were similar settlements of a smaller kind at other spots on the coast and even inland.

The Norse Elsewhere.—It is necessary to remember that those Norse colonists on the shores of Ireland were part of *a great dominion* which spread over many lands. All the northern seas were in the power of the Scandinavian races, who had established on their coasts and islands, colonies similar to those in Ireland. *Piracy was giving way to commerce* and the Norse ports of Ireland traded with those of the Atlantic, the North Sea, and the Baltic. In *England* Alfred the Great had been forced to cede to the Danes the northern half of that country, which became known as the *Danelaw*, and the time was coming when a Danish King would reign over the entire Kingdom. In *Scotland* the Norse had settled on the numerous islands and the adjacent coasts where their descendants became completely *Gaelicised* in language and customs. In *France* they took possession of one of the old Frankish Kingdoms, to which they gave the name of *Normandy*. Beyond the *Baltic* Norsemen had formed a little state which, after many centuries, was to develop into the Empire of *Russia*.

With this great "*Maritime Empire*," stretching from Kiev to Iceland, the Norse brought Ireland into contact.

Attitude of the Irish.—The invasions had not broken the organisation of a single Irish state. In England all the Saxon Kingdoms, save one

had been destroyed, with the result that that country soon became one political unit. In Ireland, on the other hand, the different Kingdoms continued to exist under the rule of the families that had founded them. The Kings were in frequent conflict with the Norse settlements in their own territories. But their attitude towards the settlers was becoming modified. They began to regard them now not as foreigners, whom they endeavoured to expel, but as possible *valuable subjects*, from whom, if conquered, they might force hostages and tributes.

Section IV. Irish Political Changes

Demoralisation.—If the Norse settlers were becoming assimilated with their Irish neighbours, the Irish themselves were also affected by the contact with the invaders. The continued fierce warfare had brought about a distinct demoralisation, as is shown by frequent instances of cruelty, treachery, and want of faith on the part of Irish chiefs. An illustration even more striking is afforded by the attacks often made by the Irish on the schools and monasteries, and by the conflicts which sometimes took place even between these institutions themselves.* Warfare had affected the independence of the clans, and made the chiefs more arbitrary. The latter even extended their powers over the *Church*, intruding on its lands and revenues, and quarrelling with one another over the right of selecting bishops and abbots.

Political Changes.—Serious changes were also taking place in the political system, the full effect of which became apparent in the next period. The dynasties which existed in the time of St. Patrick still reigned over their respective Kingdoms, but there were many *signs of disruption*. The traditions which had lasted for five centuries were growing weak, and were rendered more feeble by the constant turmoil. The bonds which were based upon common descent were losing their force, and kindred families were becoming bitter rivals. The more important of the tributary clans were also becoming restive and showing signs of independence. On the other hand, there appears a tendency on the part of the more powerful arbitrary chiefs to impose members of their own families as chiefs of the weaker clans. New *territorial titles* also begin to appear. In the conflicts which resulted from those causes, the support of *Norse allies* was frequently enlisted.

The Uí Neill.—The most prominent instance of this disruption is afforded by the growing hostility between the two branches of the Uí Neill. The Ard Rí was still selected from either the northern or southern branch, and in almost regular alternate succession. But the titular High King was frequently at war with the rival family, and the

**It should be remembered that a large lay population had now gathered around them.*

loyalty of Muirkertagh of the Leather Cloaks (*section ii.*) is remarkable as being an exceptional instance. In those conflicts we find that both Ard Rí and prospective Ard Rí were ready to accept the help of Norse allies.

In this rivalry the *Cineal Eoghain* were the sole representatives of the Northern Uí Neill, and they proved to be superior to their kinsmen of Meath. Their vigour had widely extended their power in the north and laid the foundations of their *future leadership* there. Eastwards they had crossed the *Lower Bann* into part of Dal Riada, and southwards they had taken from the Oirghialla the large territories lying west of *Lough Neagh.**

Osraidhe and Laighin.—The two Irish states that were most conspicuous for their alliances with the Norse were Osraidhe and Laighin. This was in both cases the result of aggression. Osraidhe was, as we have seen, claimed by both the Kings of Laighin and of Caiseal. To their jealousy it owed its independence, but it was frequently attacked by either of its neighbours. Hence it was the first to make allies of the invaders. Laighin was similarly situated. The old conflict with Meath was continued, and the demands of the Ard Rí, when he was of the southern family, were frequently enforced by arms. Again, the claims which were now being put forward by the Kings of Caiseal to tribute from all "*Leath Mhogha*" forced Laighin to defend itself, for it was included in the southern half. Attacked from north and south, the descendants of Cahir Mór enlisted the support of the Norse, with whom they were soon in an alliance that was almost permanent.

The Claims of Caiseal.—The most striking of the political developments of this period, and one which was to exercise a powerful influence on later history, was the increase of the power of the Kings of Caiseal. We have seen that the supremacy of the Ard Rí, although generally accepted by the "Siol Chuinn" states, and occasionally acknowledged by Laighin whenever that Kingdom was unable to defend itself, was never either definitely claimed over or willingly recognised by the Southern Kingdom. There the descendants of Oilioll Olum had consolidated their power. This was chiefly due to the Kings of the *Eoghanacht* family (*page* 15). The *Dal Chais* had been stopped in their progress on the western bank of the Shannon by the *Ui Maine* (*page* 18), who had even driven them back from the River Suck. The Dal Chais were weaker than the rival family, and the latter had, for a long period, monopolised the throne of Caiseal.† Their growing power led these to revive the ancient claim to supremacy over all *Leath Mhogha*

* *On the other hand, the Oirghialla had still further encroached upon Ulaidh.*

† *Eoghanacht families had also penetrated further south and west, ousting some of the tributary clans from parts of their ancient territories.*

(*page* 15), and even over all Eire. *A rival Ard Rí* was to rule in the south, and Caiseal was even to take the place of Tara.

The *rivalry between North and South* was the marked political feature of this period, as the conflict between Tara and Laighin had been that of the preceding one. Again, as both Laighin and Osraidhe were comprised in the southern half of the country, they both offered a bitter and determined opposition to the pretensions of their powerful neighbour of Caiseal.

Feidhlim Mac Criffan.—One of the first of the Munster Kings to claim supremacy over the whole island was Ferolim Mac Criomtainn (*Felim Mac Criffan*), and the unfortunate time selected by him was that in which the country was suffering from the tyranny of Turgesius. First claiming tribute from "Leath Mhogha," he plundered Laighin; then, extending his demands, he ravaged Meath, took hostages from Connacht, and forced the Ard Rí (*Niall Caille*) to submit to him (840). In the course of his career he plundered the monasteries of Clonmacnoise, Durrow and Kildare, and compelled the Primate of Armagh to do him homage. Resigning his crown in 846 he retired to a monastery where he spent the rest of his days in penance.

Cormac Mac Cuilleanain.—In the time of the "forty years' rest," the claim to "Leath Mhogha" was revived by the illustrious Cormac Mac Cuilleanain. A famous poet and scholar, Cormac was both *Bishop and King* of Caiseal, and during his reign of seven years, we are told that Munster enjoyed peace and prosperity. Provoked by an attack from the Ard Rí (*Flann Sionna*), and incited by hasty and turbulent advisers, Cormac renewed the demand for the acknowledgment of the supremacy of Caiseal over the entire South, and marched to demand tribute from Laighin. Flann and the Uí Neill of Meath, and the western *Sioll Chuinn* of Connacht came to the aid of the King of Laighin, and in the fierce battle of *Ballaghmoon* on the banks of the Barrow, their combined forces utterly defeated the Munstermen. Cormac was slain in the battle, and buried at Castledermot (A.D. 908).

After Ballaghmoon the claims of Caiseal were not put forward until nearly a century afterwards, when they were successfully revived by the famous *Brian Boroimhe*. From that time, too, the Dal Chais began to recover their position in Munster.

Section V. Malachy II and Brian

Renewed Power of Norse.—After the death of Muirkertagh "of the Leather Cloaks," the Norse power in Ireland was considerably strengthened, and in the beginning of the second half of the tenth century

it was as full as at any time since Turgesius. *Domhnall O Neill*,* son of Muirkertagh, who became Ard Rí in 956, was mostly engaged in conflict not only with the Southern Uí Neill and Laighin, but even with Connacht, whose King was reviving the claims of the *Western Siol Chuinn* to supreme power. Consequently he was unable to curb the Norse settlers, who, despite their recent conversion, continued to raid the country.

Two great warriors were now, however, coming forward, one in Munster, the other in Meath, whose united efforts were to dispel at last the menace of the Norsemen.

Mahon of Munster.—It has been observed that of the two families who were entitled to reign over Munster, the Eoghanacht, or Southern, family had long monopolised the throne. The *Dal Chais*, however, were now asserting themselves, and in the year 964 their chief Mahon became King "in Caiseal." At that time the *Norse of Limerick* held nearly all the south in subjection. Mahon for a time fought against them vigorously, but at length made peace. But his younger brother, the famous Brian Boroimhe, refused to have any truce with the foreigners and retired to the fastnesses of Slieve Aughty on the Connacht borders where, with a small body of followers, he kept up a relentless guerilla warfare.

Battle of Sulcoit (A.D. 968).—Soon the example and the reproaches of Brian induced his brother to renew the conflict. At the head of the Dal Chais and all the clans of Thomond the two brothers crossed the Shannon and were joined by most of the Desmond clans. They quickly swept the Norse out of their scattered settlements, and recovered Caiseal, which had been lost. To meet them, *Ivar*, King of Limerick, brought together not only the Norsemen of the south, but also—shameful to relate—the two leading Eoghanacht chiefs *Molloy*† and *Donovan*.† In a fierce battle at *Sulcoit*‡ (Sologhead) the foreigners were completely routed. The survivors were pursued as far as Limerick and into the town, which was plundered and burnt. Ivar fled to Wales. Molloy and Donovan gave hostages; the Norse military garrisons were expelled, and the Norse settlers of the South submitted.

Murder of Mahon: Brian, King of Munster.—For some years Mahon was obeyed by the Irish and Norse of Munster. He fell at last the victim of a base conspiracy. Ivar had returned to Limerick, and again began to play upon the jealousy and ambition of the Eoghanacht chiefs. Molloy hoped to succeed Mahon as King of Caiseal; Donovan was chief of an extensive territory on the south bank of the Shannon,

* *The first Ard Rí to bear a surname.*
† *Ancestors, respectively, of the O'Mahonys and O'Donovans.*
‡ *Near Tipperary.*

and had his seat at *Bruree*, the ancient palace of Oilioll Olum (*page* 15). Incited by Ivar, Donovan treacherously seized Mahon and handed him over to Molloy, who caused him to be murdered (A.D. 976).

But Brian, who now became the leader of the Dal Chais, was "a hero in the place of a hero." First turning on the Norse, he drove them out of the islands of the Shannon and slew Ivar. Then he attacked and slew Donovan, and banished his clan from their ancient possessions. Next he defeated and slew Molloy, upon whose death he became King of Caiseal (A.D. 978). Marching across the province, he subdued the Danes of Waterford and took hostages from their allies the Deisi. All Munster was now under his control.

Malachy II.—Brian having thus subdued the Norse of the South, another chieftain was now to continue the struggle against those of *Dublin*. This was Malachy II (Maolṗeaċlainn) King of Meath. After a decisive victory near *Tara* in 979 he besieged Dublin, and forced the citizens to pay tribute and to release all their captives. Next year Malachy became *Ard Rí* on the death of *Domhnall O'Neill*. In 983 he defeated an alliance of Laighin and the Norse, and in 989 he again laid siege to Dublin and forced the inhabitants to pay greater tributes. A third time in 996 he captured Dublin, and on this occasion he carried off its two most cherished treasures—the "*collar of gold*" of Tomar and the sword of Carlus.

Malachy and Brian.—In the intervals of these conflicts with the Norse, Malachy was also engaged in a struggle with Brian. The latter had taken the chief of Osraidhe prisoner, and forced the King of Laighin to do him homage (A.D. 984). The claim to Leath Mhogha was thus again revived, and with it the rivalry between Tara and Caiseal. An intermittent war took place, Brian ravaging Meath and Connacht,* but on the other hand, suffering at least three defeats at the hands of Malachy. Eventually the two Kings made peace. The ancient *two-fold division* was to be definitely recognised, and Malachy and Brian were to be supreme and independent Kings in the northern and southern halves respectively (A.D. 998).

The Battle of Glenmama (A.D. 1000).—This arrangement was not at all acquiesced in by the other Irish dynasties. The King of Aileach resented this surrender of the claims of the Uí Neill. The King of Cruachan saw the western "Siol Chuinn" robbed of their southern territories. But the most definite opposition came from Laighin, where the descendants of Cahir Mór were still as determined as ever to maintain their independence. *Maolmordha*, their King, immediately renewed the alliance with the Norse of Dublin. Brian marched against

* *Some districts of Connacht lay in Leath Mhogha.*

Dublin, and was joined by Malachy. On the slopes of the Wicklow mountains, in the narrow pass of Glenmama (near Dunlavin), the Norse and Leinstermen were completely routed. The victorious armies moved rapidly along the mountain road and entered Dublin, where they took immense plunder.* Here Brian remained some time, while his troops completed the conquest of Laighin.

Glenmama shattered the power of the Irish Norsemen, and its full results were shown 14 years later in the victory of *Clontarf*.

Brian's Ambition.—Brian now deliberately set about securing the supremacy of the whole island by thrusting aside his ally Malachy. His action in this has been harshly called "usurpation." But, whether his motive was personal ambition or something nobler, the interests of Ireland called for *political unity*. Object lessons were being furnished in Europe. There the two sections into which Charlemagne's Empire (*page* 66) had broken were being organised on the basis of nationality—the *Frankish* states into the Kingdom of the Capets—eventually to become "France"—and the German peoples into the "*Holy Roman Empire*."† In England the Danes had been held back mainly because the Saxons had now but one King to lead them. That country again was threatened with destruction by fresh swarms of Danes, who, provoked by a fearful massacre of their fellow countrymen, swept the Saxons before them. With a *Danish conquest of England* in sight, the safety of Ireland demanded that all its resources should be united.

The Uí Neill, doubtless, had the strongest claims to the leadership of the country. But the Ard Rí had never been willingly acknowledged by Laighin, and Caiseal had long asserted its equality with Tara. Also, the Uí Neill were themselves divided, and even the western "Siol Chuinn" in Connacht were falling away from them.

Brian, Ard Rí (A.D. 1002).—In pursuit of his object Brian immediately entered into alliances with his recent foes of Leinster and Dublin. He married *Gormflaith*, sister of Maolmordha and mother of *Sitric*, King of Dublin. Sitric himself married Brian's daughter.‡ *O'Connor* and *O'Heyne*, the respective chiefs of the two "ruling families" of Connacht, were also won over. With these allies Brian entered Meath, but was at first repulsed. Next year he encamped at Tara and demanded Malachy's abdication. The Ard Rí appealed for the aid of the other chiefs of Leath Chuinn, but without success. Upon their refusal Malachy gave hostages to Brian who, thereupon, became Ard Rí (A.D. 1002). The Northern Uí Neill refused to submit at first, but eventually Brian, with Malachy

* *The constitution of the Irish clans, owners of their own lands, apparently prevented a permanent occupation of the towns which were frequently captured.*

† *The "Empire" of European history: destroyed by Napoleon.*

‡ *Malachy's second wife was a sister of Sitric.*

in his train, made the "circuit of Ireland," took hostages from all the states, and in the "Book of Armagh" (*page* 80) described himself as "*Imperator Scotorum*" (A.D. 1004).

Section VI. The Final Struggle: Clontarf

Brian in Peace.—Brian was now undisputed ruler of all Ireland, the *first Ard Rí*, perhaps, whose rule was definitely recognised by the whole country. He was in his sixty-third year, but he proved himself to be as able and energetic in peace as he had been in war. Monasteries and schools were re-opened, and churches rebuilt. Bridges were thrown over rivers and causeways erected through the bogs. Peaceful intercourse and commerce were protected and fostered, while forts and castles were placed at strategic points. Brian's influence was felt throughout the island and his palace at *Kincora* was the centre of national life.

One *element of weakness*, however, still existed—the "provincial" Kings lay between the Ard Rí and the clans. They were, indeed, subject to Brian, but they were vassals too powerful for the permanence of the central authority.

Revolt of Laighin.—This peaceful period was ended by the old alliance of Laighin and Norse. The immediate cause is said to have been an affront to Maolmordha when on a visit to Kincora.* Interfering in a game of chess in which Brian's son Murchadh (or Murrough) was engaged, the latter taunted the Leinster King over his capture when hiding in a yew tree after the battle of Glenmama. Highly incensed, Maolmordha left Kincora and called together the chiefs of Laighin, who decided to revolt. His sister, *Gormflaith*, who was even more bitterly resentful, also departed from Kincora and joined her son Sitric in *Dublin*. Sitric and Maolmordha aided by the Cineal Eoghain and the chief of Breifne† (a territory of Connacht), attacked Meath. Brian came to the assistance of Malachy, ravaged Osraidhe and Laighin, and laid siege to Dublin. The approach of winter and the lack of provisions forced him, however, to retire (A.D. 1013).

Preparations for the Struggle.—The winter was devoted to the preparations for what all now saw was to be a decisive struggle. Most active of the opponents of Brian was his repudiated and vindictive Queen Gormflaith. To secure aid for her brother and son, she sent messages to all the *Norse vikings* of the islands and remote coasts. These were still the same *unruly pagan raiders* as were the early invaders. The Scandinavian peoples had now been converted to Christianity, but the sea-rovers were unchanged. Again, Sweyne, King of Denmark,

* *Near Killaloe.* † *The modern counties of Leitrim and Cavan.*

who had just conquered England, was endeavouring to bring the scattered Norsemen under his control, as Harold had tried before. The opportunity was now offered for the Vikings to make another effort for the possession of Ireland, and to hold it as the *last fortress of the old order*. From the islands of the Baltic, from the Orkneys and Hebrides, from the Scottish coasts, and the Isle of Man, and from many other quarters, the Vikings sailed for Dublin Bay, and drew up their galleys upon its strand.

The revolt of Laighin had now become merged in the last organised effort of Norse paganism.

Brian's Army : Its Route.—On St. Patrick's Day, 1014, Brian was ready to resume the offensive, and leaving Kincora he crossed the Shannon at the head of his Dal Chais and all the clans of Thomond. With him also were the clans of South Connacht under O'Heyne of Aidhne, and O'Kelly of Ui Maine. In the great plain of Munster he was joined near Caiseal by the Desmond clans including the rival Eoghanacht families, and even by the Norse of Waterford. Marching across Osraidhe, he crossed the Barrow and entered Laighin. Here he met with no opposition. All the fighting men—with the exception of *O'Moore of Laoighis* and *O'Nolan of Fotharta Fea* *—had been drawn to Dublin to join Maolmordha's Norse allies. Brian's army now took the road which was many times followed, both before and since, by troops marching from the south. His route lay on the east of the central plain of Leinster, skirting the Wicklow Mountains, and at length rounding them, brought him to the high ground at *Kilmainham* on the south bank of the Liffey. Here he encamped in a position commanding Dublin, still a small town confined to the south side of the river and connected with the north side by a single bridge. On the way one detachment was thrown off on the right through the mountains to ravage *Ui Cinnsealaigh* and the coast towns ; another was sent across the Liffey on the left to co-operate with Malachy in ravaging the *Norse of Fingal*.

With the exception of the patriotic Malachy, no chief of *Leath Chuinn* joined Brian. His army was distinctly a southern army.

Battle of "Clontarf," 23rd April, 1014.—When the Viking Fleet arrived in the bay on Palm Sunday, 18th April, 1014, they found Brian's army in waiting close at hand. Delaying until Malachy arrived, but not for his other detachment, Brian crossed the river, and marched along the ridge which divides the Liffey valley from that of the Tolca. The extremity of this ridge—where Mountjoy Square now stands—overlooked the Strand, and separated the two estuaries. The Norse army lay across the end of this ridge from the Liffey to the Tolca, and beyond the latter

* *Bo. of Forth, Co. Carlow.*

river towards Clontarf. Behind them lay the Strand, so that there was but little space for movement. The battle opened at sunrise on *Good Friday, 23rd April*, and was fiercely contested until sunset. Brian's army was commanded by his son, Murrough, O'Faolain, Chief of the Deisi, and O'Heyne; Malachy and his army formed a reserve. The chiefs of the hostile army were Sigurd, Earl of Orkney; Brodir, a famous Viking, and Maolmordha. Before the battle ended, nearly all the chiefs on both sides had been slain. At length the Norse gave way, and made for their fleet and the shelter of Dublin. But Malachy's reserve, which had been stationed in front of Tomar's Wood (near the "Broadstone") overhanging the bridge, now swept down the slopes, cut off the fugitives from the city, and completed the victory. In the retreat, the flying Brodir discovered Brian in his tent, and slew the aged King in the moment of victory. Murrough and his son Turlogh fell in the battle, while Maolmordha with his allies Brodir and Sigurd also lost their lives. Some of the fugitives got off in their ships; a few succeeded in crossing the river to Dublin.

Effects of the Battle.—The Battle of Clontarf was decisive inasmuch as it put an *end to the Viking raids* not only in Ireland but elsewhere. The doleful news of the battle was carried to the Norse strongholds on all the northern seas, and was accepted as marking the *end of an era*. Danish Kings still ruled in England as constituted monarchs, and the Normans still held their duchy under the Kings of Paris. But the lawless power of the Vikings was broken, and they settled down as more or less obedient subjects of their respective states. The Kings of Scotland, in particular, the descendants of the Gaels who had conquered Dal Riada (*page* 49), were freed from the constant fear of conquest by the Norse of the Orkneys and Hebrides. In the Western Isles, indeed, the Norse "*Lords of the Isles*," Gaelicised in language, name, and clan system, still exercised a semi-independent power which reached to the Isle of Man and the Irish coasts, but they were no longer a menace to the Scottish monarchy.

The Norse in Ireland.—In Ireland the *Norse settlers* still remained in their towns paying tribute, as a rule, to the adjacent chiefs. Even Dublin was left untouched after the battle. Sitric had taken no part in the fight, although some of the men of Dublin had a place in the army opposed to Brian. Next year, however, the city was plundered by Malachy. The inhabitants of towns like Dublin, Waterford, and Wexford remained distinctly Norse, and were so at the time of the coming of the Normans.

The "Return from Fingal."—The bodies of Brian and Murrogh were conveyed through Swords, Duleek and Louth, for interment

beneath the high altar of Armagh. The Munster army returned home under the command of Brian's son, *Donough*, who had led the detachment into Uí Cinnsealaigh. Even on the journey the old dispute between Dal Chais and Eoghanacht broke out. The latter claimed the throne of Caiseal in succession to Brian, and a contest was only prevented by disputes between the Eoghanacht chiefs themselves. At the Barrow yet another old source of trouble presented itself. Donough, chief of Osraidhe, whose father, Mac Giolla Phadraig, had been put in fetters, and whose country had been put under tribute, by Brian, blocked the passage of the Dal Chais. His claim was not only for independence, but for supremacy over Leath Mhogha—a claim very significant of the wider ambitions that were springing up. The intrepidity of the Dal Chais, even the wounded among whom insisted on preparing for fight, impressed their opponents, and they were allowed to proceed unmolested.

Section VII. Literature and Art

Literary Activity.—It might be thought that this period of over two centuries of war and pillage would be one of little fruit in literature. On the contrary, however, it was one of active literary effort. The constant attacks of bodies of Norsemen kept the whole country in a state of turmoil: their repeated attacks on the monasteries and seats of learning resulted in the plunder and destruction of a great mass of our old literature. But, amidst all this war and pillage, poets and scholars wrote and worked, and we still possess some of the compositions of the time—only a fraction of the whole, but large enough to testify to the intellectual standard of that early age.

In other countries besides Ireland, a time of conflict has also frequently been a time of literary activity. The intellectual energy of the Norse period is, however, in marked contrast to the falling off in literature that marks the coming of the *Normans*. The fixed and organised policy of the latter to acquire the very soil of the Irish clans apparently struck into the mind of every individual of the nation and prohibited the cultivation of abstract ideas.

"Book of Armagh."—The oldest existing book containing original Irish literature dates from the beginning of this period. This is the "Book of Armagh," transcribed in the year 807 by a scribe named *Feardomhnach* from existing MSS. Although mostly in Latin, it contains numerous entries in Gaelic which represent the oldest continuous passages in that language which we have. It includes the "*Confession of St. Patrick*," copied, apparently, from the writing of the saint himself, Lives of St. Patrick and St. Martin of Tours, and a copy of the New Testament

This book was long believed to have been written by the very hand of St. Patrick, and was deeply venerated, and known as "Canóin Pádraig," or "*Patrick's Testament.*" It was in this book that Brian Boroimhe caused to be inserted the inscription declaring him to be "Imperator Scotorum" (*sec. V*). In the beauty of its illumination, it is second only to the "Book of Kells" (*c.* 4, *sec. VII*). It is now preserved in Trinity College, Dublin.

The "Feilire of Angus."—About the time the "Book of Armagh" was written, there lived Aongus Céile dé ("Angus the Culdee"*), a monk of Clonenagh† and Tallaght.‡ By him was composed the "Féilire" or "Martyrology" of Angus. Every day in the year was dedicated by Angus to a special saint, and in this work he devotes a verse to each one of those saints, while a long poem is added which has been described as "the most extensive piece of old Irish poetry that we have." Many copies of the work have been made in the later books which have been preserved.

To Angus also is sometimes attributed "*Saltair na Rann*," a work which is, however, believed to have been written at a time later than his, but within this period. It consists of a large number of poems in Gaelic on sacred subjects.

"Tripartite Life": "Book of Hymns."—The "*Tripartite*" *Life of St. Patrick*, formerly attributed to St. Eimhin (*c.* 4, *sec. VII*), is now believed to have been compiled about the middle of this period from existing lives of the saint. It is in Gaelic with Latin passages, and forms the longest life that we have of the saint. The "*Book of Hymns*" ("*Liber Hymnorum*"), the original of which is in Trinity College, Dublin, was probably copied about the same time—although, perhaps, later. It consists of copies of poems in Gaelic and Latin attributed to saints of early Christian Ireland.

"Saltair of Caiseal": "Cormac's Glossary."—The greatest name in connection with the literature of this time is that of the famous *Cormac Mac Cuillenain*, who was killed at the battle of Ballaghmoon (*sec. iv.*). At once King and Bishop of Caiseal, he was also a scholar and a poet. By him was compiled the "*Saltair of Caiseal*," a great work, which existed down to the 17th century, but is now lost. It included the "*Book of Rights*" (*c. III*). Cormac also compiled "*Cormac's Glossary*," explaining various technical words in history, law, etc., which were then becoming obsolete. The Glossary has been described as "by far the

* "*Ceile de*" *was a vague term applied to anchorites, etc., of noted austerity. The name survived long in Scotland.*

† *In* "*Queens Co.*"

‡ *In* "*Co. Dublin.*"

oldest attempt at a comparative vernacular dictionary made in any language of modern Europe."

Gormfhlaith : Queen and Poetess.—A princess with a tragic life-story is the earliest Irish poetess whose work we can reliably identify. This is Gormfhlaith (Gormley), daughter of *Flann Sionna*, Ard Rí and King of Tara. Betrothed to Cormac Mac Cuillenain, she was married, upon his entering the Church, to Cairbheall (Carol), King of Laighin, who fought against Cormac at Ballaghmoon. When Cairbheall was killed in battle with the Norse, she married Niall Glúndubh, who also fell fighting against the invaders, and the royal poetess ended her days in poverty and dependence. Many of her poems have been preserved in Scotland as well as in Ireland.

Other Writers.—Amongst the many other poets of the tenth century were *Cormacan Eigeas*, who wrote the "*Circuit of Ireland*" in praise of Muirkertagh "of the Leather Cloaks"; and *Eochaidh O'Floinn*, who put into verse many of the fabulous accounts of the early history of Ireland. Later than these was *Mac Liaig*, the chief poet of Brian Boroimhe, who wrote pieces in praise of that King, and also the "*Lament of Kincora*" for the Dal Chais who fell at Clontarf. To him, too, is attributed the "*Wars of the Gael with the Gall*," which is the chief authority for the Norse invasions.

Round Towers, Crosses, "Cumhdachs."—In certain forms of art important developments took place at this time. It is now accepted that the Round Tower or Clog-teac was first erected in Ireland during the Norse invasions, and was generally built near the little chapel of the monastery to whose inhabitants it was to be a protection. Hitherto, indeed, the Irish had not been great builders in stone, but all through this period there is shown a continuous improvement in the methods and designs of their masonry.* It was the time, also, in which the finest of the High Crosses at *Monasterboice* and *Clonmacnoise*, and elsewhere, were erected. Then, too, were first made the "*cumhdachs*" or *shrines* for venerated Books such as those of Durrow, Armagh and Kells. The shrines of those have disappeared, and the oldest one remaining is the *Cumhdach of St. Molaise* of Devenish, made of bronze plated with silver, and executed about the time of the Battle of Clontarf.

Irish Scholars Abroad.—During those centuries Ireland continued to pour forth recruits for the monasteries on the Continent which had been founded by the early Irish missionaries. Inland Europe offered now a safer refuge for peaceful minds than did the islands and coasts of the sea. Many of these exiles maintained the Irish reputation for

* *Amongst those whose influence was chiefly responsible for this were Flann Sionna, Brian, and Cormac O Cillin, Abbot of Clonmacnoise.*

scholarship. Charlemagne placed one Irishman, *Clemens*, over the school he had founded at Paris; and another, *Albinus*, over one at Pavia, where he was succeeded by *Dungal*, a famous astronomer and theologian. *Dicuil*, "the Geographer," wrote learned works on geography and astronomy. Most famous of all, however, was *John Scotus Erigena*, professor at Paris, famous philosopher and Greek scholar, whose theological speculations were discussed by three ecclesiastical councils. The wonder of Europe for the extent of his learning, he died A.D. 870.

DATES OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

	A.D.
Norse attacks begin	795
(*Charlemagne crowned Emperor of new Western Empire*)	800
Turgesius	832–845
Niall Caille, Ard Rí	833–846
Dublin founded	(about) 840
Niall Caille submits to Felim Mac Criffan	840
Malachy I, Ard Rí	846–863
Aodh Fionnlaith, Ard Rí,	863–879
(*Alfred the Great, King of Wessex*)	872–900
"Forty Years' Rest"	875–915
Flann Sionna, Ard Rí	879–916
(*Kenneth Mac Ailpin, King of all Scotland*)	885
Battle of Ballaghmoon	908
(*The Norse occupy Normandy*)	912
Niall Glúndubh, Ard Rí	916–919
Muirkertagh's "Circuit"	941
Norse in Ireland converted (about)	948
Domhnall O'Neill, Ard Rí	956–980
(*Otho, first "German" Emperor*)	961
Mahon, King of Caiseal	964
Battle of Sulcoit	968
Mahon murdered	976
Brian, King of Caiseal	978
Malachy II, Ard Rí	980
(*Hugh Capet, King of "France"*)	987
Malachy captures the "collar of gold"	996
Malachy and Brian divide the island	998
Battle of Glenmama	1000
Brian, Ard Rí	1002
(*Sweyne, King of Denmark, conquers England*)	1013
Battle of Clontarf, 23rd April	1014

CHAPTER VII

CLONTARF TO THE NORMANS (1014-1168)

SECTION I. NATURE OF THE PERIOD

Unity through Division.—The history of the century and a half which elapsed between the Battle of Clontarf and the coming of the Normans is sometimes presented as a narrative of complicated turmoil and disconnected warfare. The period is often dismissed as being one the record of which is a tedious story of unmeaning and purposeless dissensions. More careful study, however, will reveal the importance of this portion of Irish history, and will show a *sequence of events* and *development of forces* inevitably resulting in a politically unified nation. A knowledge of the changes that then took place is essential to a proper understanding of the future fortunes of the various elements in the Irish nation. It was an interval during which Ireland was left untroubled by external aggression and was thus free to work out its own destiny at the very time when many of the nations of modern Europe were being formed. Violence and ambition were unconsciously but inevitably resulting in *greater political organisation* in Ireland as well as in the rest of Europe. The barriers of the old divisions were falling, and the people were becoming fused; the literature of the period shows the existence of a *strong sense of nationality*—of the identity of the Gaedheal and the unity of Eire; the object of ambition was the headship of *all* Ireland.

The history of the period is that of the conflict between the new conception of a united nation and the old system of "provincial" Kings.

Disruption of the Old Kingdoms.—During the two centuries of conflict with the Norse, many changes had taken place in both the social and political organisation of the Irish clans. Of these the most important socially was the *increased power of the chiefs*, who had now around them a numerous body of military followers, their immediate dependents, to the prejudice of the influence of the free men of the clan. The political changes were even more important. We have seen (*chap. III*) that, before the Norse Invasions, "Leabhar na g-Ceart" shows seven independent states, each governed by a king selected from two or three

"ruling clans," descended in each state from a common ancestor. We now find in nearly all the states a *tendency towards disruption*. The ancient tradition which had, to some extent, bound the "ruling clans" by the theory of common descent has become weakened by age, and the clans themselves are splitting up into distinct families. In some cases the states separate into practically independent divisions, each under one of the "ruling clans." In others, internal feuds continue to be fought out between the rival branches. In Connacht alone does one family become unquestionably predominant.

The old tradition of common descent has lost its binding influence.

Independence of Minor States.—Resulting from these divisions, we find that many of the minor states which formerly occupied a subordinate position have now acquired a more independent political status —especially where they lie on the borders of the old states. Breifne, Osraidhe, Uí Maine, the Deisi, Uí Failghe, Laoighis, etc., now begin to figure as independent elements in the history of the country. The superior title of the "ruling clans" is still recognised. Indeed, their *acknowledged leadership is an important factor* until the Gaelic polity is finally destroyed in the seventeenth century. But the other clans were freeing themselves from their actual control, and many of these were now equal in strength to any single family of the disrupted dynasties.

The constituent parts of the old Kingdoms become nearly equal in importance.

Adoption of Family Names.—The growth of the new family idea is illustrated by the adoption of surnames, which became general at this time.* Hitherto the different families of the political clan had been held together by the *tradition of common descent* from an ancestor who had flourished many centuries before. Now each family adopts its own distinctive family name, which is generally derived from an ancestor who flourished in or about the tenth century. The old political clan or "tribe" or "tuath" becomes sub-divided into family clans or "septs," each bearing a distinctive name. The innovation is *typical of the new divisions*, and it results in obliterating, to a great extent, the old distinctions not only between the great states themselves, but also between the minor states which were comprised within them.

No Breach of Continuity.—The adoption of the new family names in place of the old clan names creates a difficulty in the study of this period. It suggests a break in the continuity. This, however, would be a false assumption, and should be avoided. It should be clearly understood that the old traditions are still carried on and the political

** The adoption of surnames is sometimes ascribed to the influence of Brian, because they arose about his time. They were, however, of spontaneous origin and some o the principal ones were in use before his time.*

clan is still represented by the central family of the old stock under the new name. This is illustrated by the *table* attached to this section, which should be carefully noted.

The *tradition of kinship* between the newer families of the old clans did not disappear. On the contrary it survived the political changes, and in later years supplied the clue, on the one hand, to the groupings and alliances, and on the other hand, to the lack of full co-operation, between the clans of Ireland. It is also of present-day interest to know the states and clans from which the various families were derived, for the names they then adopted are still the most numerous surnames in Ireland.

Brian's Example.—In this changing political system, the example of Brian's " usurpation " and rule had a great effect. On the one hand he had destroyed that tradition which for over 500 years had recognised the head of the Uí Neill as the chief ruler or Ard Rí in Ireland. On the other hand, he had shown the necessity for an active and undivided *headship of the whole country*. His energy and capacity in war and peace had made the position of Ard Rí a real one with power and duties. It was no longer to be an empty honour, acknowledged by only part of the island, but an over-lordship whose authority would prevail over all the clans. It was now something that brought power, something worth striving for—and Brian had shown that it was open to all who were willing to strive for it. What Charlemagne had once done in Europe, what Alfred had done for the Saxons, Kenneth in Scotland, and what Canute was to do for the Norse, Brian had proved could be done for Ireland. He had established the principle of political unity for the Gael at least as effectively as Otho had done for the German and Capet for the Frank. In all these nations there took place a struggle to reduce that principle to actual fact. In Germany the emperors had to fight against internal rivals : in France it took centuries to conquer and absorb powerful neighbours ; in Ireland rival claimants fought for supreme power. This struggle for political unity was, in fact, briefer in Ireland than in those countries.

The Struggle for Unity : " Kings with Opposition."—*Two powerful influences* were accordingly at work to unify the nation. One was the principle, now generally recognised, that the Irish nation, already one in *culture*, must also be one *politically* under a single head. The other was the disruption of the old divisions, which made it possible for an ambitious chief to conquer piecemeal where he might have failed against a more compact organisation. The example of Brian aroused the ambition of those who had hitherto been little more than nominal Kings of their federated clans, and taught them to aspire to be effective Kings of all

Ireland. The history of the "Kings with opposition" (Rí co-Fheadhba) —as the principal competitors in the struggle are named—is the history of the efforts made by various aspirants to consolidate the sections of the old Kingdoms into *one centralised monarchy*. In these efforts they were aided by the tendency towards disruption. As each family in turn gained the ascendancy, it *partitioned the territories* of its opponents between the rival families. Their antagonists were shorn of their supremacy as "provincial" Kings, reduced to being rulers over their immediate patrimonies only, and deprived of all authority over the other clans. The most conspicuous exponent of this policy was Turlough O'Connor, who was determined that the omission of Brian was not to be repeated (*page* 77). Finally, with the flight of Diarmuid Mac Murrough, the last "provincial" King disappears from Ireland.

Four States Unimportant.—Of the seven independent states which are mentioned in "Leabhar na g-Ceart," the representatives of only three made a serious *contest for the supremacy*. Of the others, two—*Oirghialla* and *Ulaidh*—were, as we have already seen, weakened by the spread of the Cineal Eoghain (*page* 72), and were completely dominated by their vigorous neighbour. In *Meath*, the posterity of Malachy II were so torn by fierce dissensions that the Kings of Tara figure only incidentally in this period. In *Laighin*, there was a keen rivalry between the northern and southern groups of the descendants of Cahir Mór. The former had been in the ascendant for many generations until Maolmórdha fell at Clontarf. After that battle they were superseded by the southern family or *Uí Cinnsealaigh*. The latter never won the support of their rivals, yet were able to supply one competitor for the headship of Ireland in *Diarmuid Mac Maoil na m-Bó*, and another conspicuous personage in *Diarmuid Mac Murrough*. Except these two, however, the struggle was confined to the representatives of the other three dynasties.

The Three Competitors.—Mac Loughlins, O'Briens, O'Connors.—Between three dynasties—those of Aileach, Caiseal and Cruachan—lay, therefore, the contest for the *sovereignty of all Ireland*. In *Aileach* we have seen that the Cineal Eoghain had become predominant, and had already laid the foundations of that power in the north, which was eventually to lead to the province of "*Ulster*." Their only rivals were the kindred Cineal Chonaill. Their chief families now were those of *Mac Loughlin* and *O'Neill*.* Of these the former held the leadership at this time, and upon them devolved the duty of maintaining the great traditions of the Uí Neill. Against those old traditions, however, were

* *The "O'Neills," named after Niall Glúndubh, were but one family of the Cineal Eoghain branch of the "Uí Neill," who were all descended from Niall Naoi n-Giallach.*

now put forward the newer claims of *Caiseal* established by Brian. But these claims were based upon traditions as old as those of the Uí Neill, going back to the *ancient rivalry* between Conn and Eoghan (*page* 15). They were upheld by Brian's own family, who took from him the name *O'Brien*. When the two great representatives of north and south were exhausted by their rivalry, a *new competitor* appeared from the west. There the western branch of the Siol Chuinn had ruled for centuries as Kings of *Cruachan*. Their ancestry was as old as that of either of the others—if the Uí Neill came from Conn through Niall, they also came from Conn through Niall's brothers. Besides, they had the advantage of a *consolidated Kingdom* under the *O'Connors*.

Under which one of three great dynasties was Ireland to be united? Nearly equal both in claims and in strength, *force of arms alone* could decide between them.

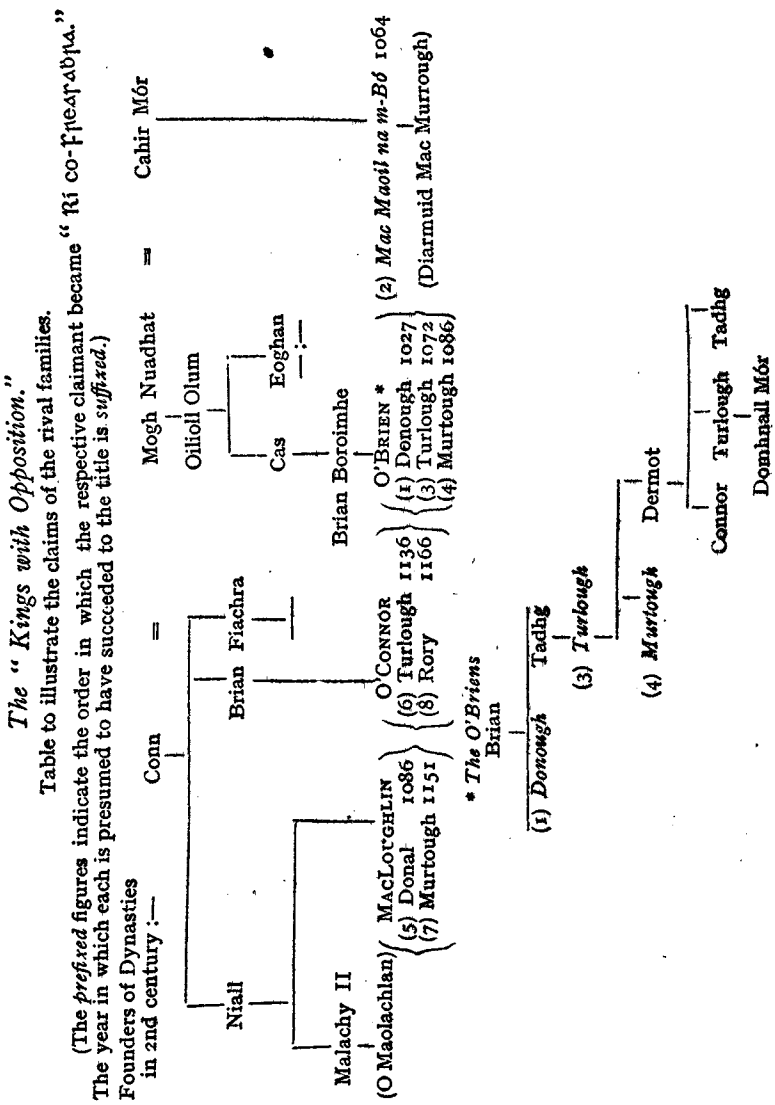
Three Phases of the Struggle.—Between those three families, therefore, the struggle lay. Mac Maoil na m-Bó is the only exception —and is but a casual *interlude* in the real contest. It was a *struggle of families* rather than of individuals, and should be so studied. It falls into three distinct phases: the *first* is between the O'Briens and the Mac Loughlins; the *second*, between the O'Briens and the O'Connors; the *third*, between the O'Connors and the Mac Loughlins.

THE "KINGS WITH OPPOSITION"

The "Kings with Opposition."

Table to illustrate the claims of the rival families.

(The *prefixed* figures indicate the order in which the respective claimant became "Ri co-Fheadhna."
The year in which each is presumed to have succeeded to the title is *suffixed*.)



THE CLANS AND THE NEW FAMILIES

Table showing the new family names adopted in the tenth and eleventh centuries by various new clans comprised in the older political clan or "tribe."

The table includes only clans which figure in later history. The names of clans which at various times were recognised as "leading clans," and which, therefore, carried on the tradition of the old "ruling clans," are printed in *italics*: such of them as competed for the High Kingship are printed in CAPITALS.

The principal clans or septs formed out of the "ruling clans" or "tribes," as well as some of those from other "tribes," are set out under each of the old states. These, however, comprise in all but a very small number of the total clans.

Until the Gaelic system was broken up in the seventeenth century the clans continued to group themselves on the old "tribal" traditions and recognised the leadership of the old "tribal" leaders:—

(CRUACHAN)

UI BRIUIN—O'CONNOR, Mac Dermott, etc. (Siol Murray): O'Rourke, O'Reilly, O'Flaherty, etc.

UI FIACHRA—*O'Dowd, O'Heyne*, O'Shaughnessy, etc.

Other Tribes—O'Kelly (Ui Maine), etc., etc.

(TARA)

UI NEILL—*O'Maolachlan*, Mac Geoghegan, O'Molloy (Feara Ceall) O'Kearney or Fox (Teabhtha), etc.

Other Tribes—O'Farrell (Anghaile), etc., etc.

(AILEACH)

CINEAL EOGHAIN—MAC LOUGHLIN, *O'Neill*, O'Kane, etc.

CINEAL CHONAILL—*O'Maldory, O'Donnell, Cannon*, O'Doherty, O'Gallagher, etc.

Other Tribes—O'Connor (Cianachta), etc., etc.

(OIRGHIALLA)

CLANNA COLLA—*O'Carroll*, O'Hanlon (Uí Niallain), MacMahon, Maguire, etc.

Other Tribes—O'Hegney (Feara Manach), etc., etc.

(ULAIDH)

CLANNA RUDHRAIDHE—*Dunlevy*, Mac Guinness, Mac Cartan, etc.

Other Tribes—Flynn, Mac Donnell (Dal Riada): Gilmore or O'Morna, etc.

(CAISEAL)

DAL CHAIS—O'BRIEN, Mac Mahon, Mac Namara, etc.

EOGHANACHTA—*Mac Carthy*, O'Donovan, O'Sullivan, O'Mahony, O'Donoghue, etc.

Other Tribes—O'Carroll (Eile), O'Connor (Ciarradhe), O'Phelan, (Deisi), O'Driscoll (Corca Luidhe), O'Connell (Corca Dhuibhne), etc., etc.

(LAIGHIN)

UI CINNSEALAIGH—MAC MURROUGH, Kavanagh, Kinsella, etc.

UI FAOLAIN—*O'Byrne*, etc.

UI MUIREADHAIGH—*O'Toole*, etc.

Other Tribes—Fitzpatrick (Osraidhe), O'Connor (Ui Failghe), O'Moore (Laoighis), O'Ryan (Uí Drona), O'Nolan (Fotharta), O'Kelly (Cuala), etc., etc.

SECTION II. FIRST PHASE—O'BRIENS AND MAC LOUGHLINS (1014–1114)

Malachy II Restored.—After Clontarf, and the death of Brian, the title of Ard Rí was tacitly restored to Malachy. With the aid of *O'Neill* of the Cineal Eoghain and *O'Maldory* of the Cineal Chonaill, he was powerful enough to complete the conquest of the Danes of Dublin, and of the clans of Leinster. He finally retired to a retreat at Cro Inis in Lough Ennel, where he died (A.D. 1022).

Upon his retirement, Ireland, according to some annalists, was governed "as a *free state*" by "*Corcran* the Cleric," and *Cuan O'Lochain*, "Chief Poet of Eire" until the death of the latter (A.D. 1024). We are not told, however, by whom they were appointed, the nature of their authority, or by whom it was recognised.

Dissensions in Munster.—Even on the return journey from Clontarf, the *old rivalry* between Eoghanacht and Dal Chais had broken out. Dissensions between two rival Eoghanacht chiefs prevented them from pressing a united claim. The following year, however, it was put forward by one of the rivals, who had defeated and slain his antagonist. In a battle at Limerick, *Tadhg* and *Donough*, two sons of Brian, defeated their opponents, and the "*O'Briens*" became rulers of all Munster. A quarrel between the brothers ended with the *death of Tadhg*, who was slain at the instigation of his brother—1023.

Donough O'Brien.—Now undisputed master of the south, Donough O'Brien claimed the succession to Brian's supremacy. Osraidhe

and Laighin were forced to give him hostages, and the chiefs of Meath acknowledged him. In Connacht he took hostages from the O'Rourke of Breifne, and from O'Connor. His authority was recognised by all except the northern chiefs, and for forty years he was the most powerful monarch in Ireland. But *Turlough*, the son of the murdered Tadhg, had been fostered by the King of Laighin, who fought strenuously on his behalf, and eventually Donough was defeated by his nephew and his powerful foster-father, A.D. 1063. Surrendering his Kingdom to Turlough, he went on a pilgrimage to *Rome*,* where he died 1064.

Diarmuid "Mac Maoil na m-Bó."—The King of Laighin who had thus placed his foster-son on the throne of Munster was Diarmuid "Mac Maoil na m-Bó." He was of the *Uí Cinnsealaigh* or South Leinster branch, and had been placed upon the throne of Laighin instead of *Bran*, the son of Maolmórdha. Although married to the daughter of Donough O'Brien, he gave his support to his own foster-son, Tadhg O'Brien. From his time dates the new friendship between the Kings of *Laighin and the O'Briens*, which lasted till the time of Diarmuid's descendant, Diarmuid Mac Murrough. When Donough O'Brien was defeated, Dermott became the most powerful King in Ireland, although it is not clear that he put forward any definite claim to the title of Ard Rí. His most determined opponent was Conor *O Maoilachlan*,† son of Malachy II and King of Meath. The representative of the Uí Neill, no matter how weak, could never submit to the domination of Leinster "of the Tribute." Eventually, Diarmuid was defeated and slain by O Maolachlan at Uaṁ or Navan (1072).

Turlough O'Brien.—The reign of Diarmuid had merely suspended the designs of the O'Briens. Immediately upon his death, Turlough took hostages from Meath and Connacht, while Leinster and the Norse of Dublin also submitted to him. In attempting to subdue the North, however, he was defeated at Ardee by *Aedh Mac Loughlin* (1075). Until he died (1086), Turlough was engaged in wars to maintain his supremacy over Leinster, Meath and Connacht, but he made no further attempt against the Uí Neill influence in the north. Turlough was addressed as "illustrious King of Ireland" by Pope Gregory VII, and by Lanfranc, the Norman Archbishop of Canterbury.

Muirkertagh O'Brien and Domhnall Mac Loughlin.—Turlough

* *Some say that Donough presented his father's crown to the Pope, and that afterwards, Pope Adrian sent it to Henry II of England, but the story is doubtful.*

† Ó Maoilṡeaċlainn. *The name of the representatives of the Southern Uí Neill (often spelt "O Melaghlin") should be carefully distinguished from that of the leaders of the Northern Uí Neill—the Mac Loughlins* (Mac Loċlainn).

was duly succeeded as King of Caiseal by his son Muirkertagh. In his reign the inevitable contest between Dal Chais and Uí Neill reached its climax. The Meath branch of the latter was powerless, and the fight devolved upon the northern branch. Of these, the Cineal Eoghain were the leaders, but hitherto they had been occupied in contests with the rival Cineal Chonaill, and in imposing their supremacy on Ulaidh and Oirghialla. Domhnall Mac Loughlin was now King of Cineal Eoghain, and determined to revive the claims of the posterity of Niall to the supremacy of all Ireland. The struggle which ensued between him and Murtough O'Brien lasted for nearly *thirty years*. It began with an attack by Mac Loughlin, who having compelled O'Connor of Connacht to assist him, invaded Munster, destroyed the royal palace of Kincora, burned Limerick, and carried off many captives (1088). An attempt by O'Brien in the following year was repulsed by O'Connor and O'Maoilachlan of Meath, and he was then forced to meet Mac Loughlin, O'Connor, O'Maoilachlan, and other chiefs in conference, when all acknowledged the *King of Aileach as Ard Rí* (1090).

Indecisive Result.—O'Brien's submission, however, was insincere, and frequent aggressions on his part were only saved from bloodshed by the interposition of the Archbishop of Armagh. Eventually gaining the help of Laighin, Meath, and Connacht, Muirkertagh marched through the country to the extreme north, and destroyed the fort of Aileach in revenge for the destruction of Kincora, every soldier in his army carrying away a stone of the stronghold in his provision sack (1101). Soon afterwards, however, O'Brien was completely defeated by Mac Loughlin near Armagh (1103). On three occasions after this, the last being 1113, *Celsus*, Archbishop of Armagh, prevented actual conflict between the hostile armies. Next year O'Brien retired to a monastery, where he died A.D. 1119, and two years afterwards his rival died, also in a monastery.

The first phase of the struggle for leadership, that between the O'Briens and Mac Loughlins, ends without a decision.

Section III. Second Phase—O'Briens and O'Connors (1114–1151)

Power of the O'Connors.—The vigorous advocate of a new claim initiates the second phase. We have seen that Connacht had suffered least from the invasions, and that the clans there had become consolidated whilst elsewhere they were being sundered. The family of O'Connor was now supreme. They were the leaders of the powerful "*Siol Murray*"*; they had won or commanded the support of all the rest

* *The "Siol Murray" were a group of clans of Uí Briuin, who took this tribal name from their common ancestor Muireadhach, a descendant of Brian.*

of Uí Briuin, and also of the families of the rival Uí Fiachra; the subordinate clans, with the exception of Uí Maine, were unimportant, and loyally followed them. The whole power of the west, therefore, became concentrated at this time in its greatest leader—*Turlough Mór O'Connor*. He was now to re-assert the claims of the western Siol Chuinn which had been crushed at Ocha more than 600 years before (*page* 20).

Turlough Mór O'Connor.—It was by Muirkertagh O'Brien that Turlough O'Connor had been installed as King of Cruachan at the age of 18, supplanting his brother. In the struggle of O'Brien against Mac Loughlin, he was, therefore, the ally of the former. But when both those life-long rivals retired, a field was open for O'Connor's ambition and energy. With the united strength of Connacht, aided by O'Maolachlan of Meath, he invaded Munster. The permanent rivalry of Eoghanacht and Dal Chais had nearly blotted out the tradition of the Kingdom of Caiseal. No greater illustration of the weakness of that tradition could be had than the fact that Muirkertagh O'Brien, by the *grant of Caiseal to the Church* had abandoned the royal seat itself (A.D. 1101). Turlough seized the opportunity, and made Eoghanacht and Dal Chais independent of one another. The leading clan of the former was now Mac Carthy, and Cormac Mac Carthy he made King in "*Desmond*" (Deas Mumha or South Munster), while *Connor O'Brien*, nephew of Muirkertagh, was King only of "*Thomond*" (Tuath Mumha or North Munster), A.D. 1118.

The destruction of the crumbling "provincial" Kingdoms had definitely begun.

Partition of Meath.—In Meath, O'Connor carried out precisely the same policy as in the South. That Kingdom was also torn by dissension—not, however, between rival families but between individual members of the same family. These were the *O'Maolachlans* (or O'Melaghlins), the posterity of Malachy II (Maolseachlainn), who were the acknowledged heirs to the throne of *Tara*. They were, however, torn by factions. The same year (1118) that he dismembered Caiseal, Turlough also partitioned Meath, and in the following years it was again frequently divided. The nominal King of Tara remained, but he was shorn of more than half his power.

Power and Rule of Turlough.—Having broken up two Kingdoms, Turlough next took hostages from Laighin, Osraidhe, and from the Norse of Dublin. In 1120 he celebrated the Fair of *Taillte* (*page* 10) with great pomp, as if he were indeed Ard Rí. He was now the most powerful King since the time of Brian. Like Brian, he proved himself able and vigorous as a ruler as well as a warrior. He built abbeys

and bridges, encouraged art and learning, established mints, and in many other ways showed a wise conception of his kingly duties.

Overthrow of the O'Briens.—The struggle with the south had, however, by no means ended. Nearly every year witnessed an invasion of both Thomond and Desmond. Connor O'Brien proved himself an able opponent, and a brief alliance between him and Cormac Mac Carthy secured a truce with O'Connor, A.D. 1133. But the struggle was revived when Connor died, and was succeeded by his brother *Turlough*. Dissensions eventually destroyed the O'Briens —and, as in Meath, the worst quarrel was between the members of their own family. Civil war broke out between *Turlough O'Brien* and his brother *Tadhg*. The latter had the support of Diarmuid Mac Murrough, King of Leinster, traditional ally of the O'Briens. He also invoked the aid of O'Connor. In a fierce battle at Móin Mór,* Turlough O'Brien was utterly defeated, and the Dal Chais nearly annihilated, A.D. 1151. Tadhg was installed as petty King of Thomond. The *partition of Caiseal* was completed, and the "Kings" of Thomond and Desmond were practically the *vassals of Turlough O'Connor.*

The second phase ends with the overthrow of the O'Briens and the destruction of the Kingdoms of Caiseal and Tara.

SECTION IV. THIRD PHASE—O'CONNORS AND MAC LOUGHLINS (1151–1166)

Revival of the Cineal Eoghain.—The final struggle, shortest in point of time, lay between the O'Connors—successful in the south—against the Mac Loughlins of the north. Since the death of Domhnal Mac Loughlin, the Cineal Eoghain had been distracted by the rivalry of the *O'Neills* and the *Mac Loughlins*. During the career of Turlough O'Connor they had contented themselves with securing their supremacy in the north. Ulaidh and Oirghialla were still strong enough to be troublesome. At length, however, they finally surrendered their independence, and their chiefs swore allegiance on the *Bachall Iosa*† to Muirkertagh Mac Loughlin, King of Cineal Eoghain, A.D. 1148. Two more "provincial" Kingdoms disappear, and Aileach alone remains supreme in the north. But the right of the Cineal Eoghain to the monopoly of its throne is still protested against by the descendants of Conall.

Muirkertagh Mac Loughlin : Death of Turlough O'Connor.—Muirkertagh Mac Loughlin having secured himself in the North, and

* *Near Emly.*

† *The "Bachall Iosa," or "Staff of Jesus," was held in great veneration as the "Crosier" of St. Patrick, and as ofone the insignia of his successor.*

having also obtained the submission of Mac Murrough and some of the O Maolachlans, prepared for a contest with the aged Turlough O'Connor. After the battle of Móin Mór, he took up the cause of the banished Turlough O'Brien. He defeated O'Connor, and restored Turlough O'Brien, A.D. 1153—but to Thomond only. Next year, however, O'Connor won a great *naval victory* off Innishowen, the solidarity of Connacht being shown by the fact that O'Connor's admiral was *O'Dowda*, chief of the Uí Fiachra, while his greatest lieutenant in his wars was *O'Rourke* of Breifne, who was, outside the Siol Murray clans, the greatest of the Uí Briuin. Two years later Turlough O'Connor died, A.D.1156, and was succeeded by his son Rory. After a struggle of three years, *Rory O'Connor* was utterly defeated at *Ardee*, and *submitted to Muirkertagh Mac Loughlin* (A.D. 1159).

Feuds in Meath.—Muirkertagh Mac Loughlin was now practically undisputed Ard Rí, his chief ally being Mac Murrough of Laighin, who, on the downfall of the O'Briens, had transferred his allegiance to him. Mac Loughlin's policy was essentially the same as that of Turlough O'Connor. The *dismemberment* of Munster and of Meath was continued. In the latter the feuds of the O Maolachlan family in which father fought against son, and brother against brother, invited interference. In 1150, Murtough O Maolachlan was expelled by Mac Loughlin and Mac Murrough, and two years afterwards Meath was divided between him and his son Maolachlan O Maolachlan. Upon his death in 1153, the allies imposed Donough O Maolachlan as King to the exclusion of the sons of Murtough. Donough's career was discreditable, and he was solemnly excommunicated, but was forcibly retained in his position by Mac Loughlin and Mac Murrough. Upon his death, at the hands of his outraged subjects, Meath was again partitioned A.D. 1161.

Devorgilla.—Murtough O Maolachlan had, for the most part, been an ally of Turlough O'Connor, who was married to his daughter. Another daughter, the famous Devorgilla, was married to *Tiernan O'Rourke*, chief of Breifne, and ally of O'Connor. The same year (1152) in which Meath was divided between Murtough and his son Maolachlan, Devorgilla either eloped with or was abducted by Diarmuid Mac Murrough. The lady's brother, Maolachlan actively assisted in the affair, and she is said to have taken with her in her "flight" her dowry, consisting mainly of herds of cattle. Next year she and her belongings were restored to her family by Turlough O'Connor. Romance and poetry have been unduly applied to this incident, the historical importance of which has been much exaggerated. Diarmuid was over sixty years of age at the time, and Devorgilla over forty years,

and the family dissensions may reasonably be supposed to have supplied a motive. Diarmuid's flight from Ireland did not occur until fourteen years afterwards, and the abduction was only one of the factors which contributed to it.

Devorgilla afterwards retired to the Abbey of *Mellifont*, to which she presented many gifts, and died there in 1193.

Rory O'Connor, Ard Rí.—An act of aggression towards Dunlevy, chief of Dál Araidhe, brought about the fall of Muirkertagh Mac Loughlin. The chiefs of Ulaidh, Oirghialla, Breifne, and others who had so recently submitted to him, rose in indignant revolt, and Mac Loughlin was defeated and slain, A.D. 1166. Rory O'Connor then became *undisputed Ard Rí* of Ireland. He had no rival. There was left but one of the "provincial" Kings—Diarmuid Mac Murrough—and he was now powerless. Rory was formally inaugurated in Dublin—the first King of Ireland ever crowned there. North, East and South paid him homage and gave hostages. He ratified the partition of Munster, and again partitioned Meath. The Kingdom of Aileach, also, was now ended—Tír Eoghain being divided between Mac Loughlin and O'Neill, while the Cineal Chonaill were left independent of all but the Ard Rí. Mac Murrough was amongst those who gave hostages, and his power was apparently confined to his own patrimony of Uí Cinnsealaigh, the other chiefs of Laighin submitting direct to Rory, A.D. 1166. Thus were the various dynasties outside Connacht split up into *independent families*, while the numerous clans which had been subordinate to them were freed from their control. No sub-King now stood between the Ard Rí and the clans of Eire.

Next year (1167), Rory held a great Council of the whole country at Tlachtgha (Hill of Ward, Co. Meath), and the following year (1168) he celebrated the Fair of Taillte with great pomp.

Diarmuid Mac Murrough.—The last of the "provincial" Kings was Diarmuid Mac Murrough, King of Laighin, of the Uí Cinnsealaigh sept. His career had been remarkable. One of his earliest exploits as King was an attack upon the town and convent of Kildare, when he tore the Abbess from her cell, and married her to one of his officers (1135). He was at deadly enmity with most of the other chiefs of Leinster, and had treacherously killed the chiefs of the rival North Leinster families of Uí Faolain (*O'Byrne*) and Uí Murray (*O'Toole*), and killed or blinded seventeen other chiefs. His abduction of O'Rourke's wife has been referred to. In the struggles for leadership, he had almost consistently opposed the O'Connors. The friendship with the O'Briens, which started with Mac Maoil na m-Bó (his grandfather) led him to support their interest. Upon their fall, he became

the steady ally of Mac Loughlin. In the feuds of the O Maoilachlans, he had invariably espoused the cause of the faction hostile to that supported by O'Connor and O'Rourke. With the accession of Rory O'Connor he was at the mercy of his numerous foes: O'Connor and O'Rourke, and the hostile OMaolachlans, his political and private enemies; the chiefs of North Leinster, the traditional rivals of his family; the revolted chiefs of Osraidhe, Laoighis, and the Norse of Dublin and Wexford. Unscrupulous as a man, tyrannical as a ruler, unfortunate as a politician, he was also the last representative of the now intolerable tradition of the "provincial" Kings. Diarmuid's submission to O'Connor did not protect him. His enemies gathered under O'Rourke, and he fled for help to Henry II, the Norman, of England, A.D. 1166, and his brother, "Murrough na n-Gaedheal," was appointed chief in his stead.

With the flight of the last of the "provincial" Kings, the third phase closes.

Section V. Reorganisation of the Church

Demoralisation.—In the early part of this period the condition of the Church, and the state of religion generally present a sad contrast to the glories of the period before the coming of the Norsemen. The continued warfare had played havoc with the Church, and had, to a great extent, demoralised the people. The persistent manner in which the Norse had singled out churches and monasteries for their attacks had left many of the sanctuaries deserted, and many districts deprived of the exercise of religion. Not a few of the Irish chiefs, unfortunately, followed the example of the invaders, and displayed the loss of the old reverence by frequent attacks on some of the most venerated monasteries, by appropriating the church lands, and by claiming the right, frequently asserted by force, of imposing their own nominees upon Church offices. The corruption of manners is also illustrated by frequent breaches of faith and acts of cruelty.

Exceptions.—In this picture, however, there were many bright spots. Brian had done much to foster religion and learning, and his example was followed by others. Many of the chiefs contributed generously to the development of the old and the foundation of new homes of piety and learning. Most conspicuous and significant in many ways is the *grant of the city of Cashel* to the Church, made by Muirkertagh O'Brien in 1101, the ancient seat of the southern Kings being solemnly dedicated at a provincial synod convened by O'Brien on the eve of his victorious march to Aileach (*page* 93).* The more celebrated of the

* *Another interesting grant was the foundation by Dermot Mac Murrough of All Saints Priory, on the site of which Trinity College, Dublin, was established.*

monasteries still carried on their work, and produced many scholars and writers. The numerous Kings and chiefs who retired into monasteries, and others who made the toilsome pilgrimage to Rome, paid homage to the claims of religion. The influence still possessed by the Church was also shown by the instances in which bishops and clergy were able to prevent bloodshed, and to bring rival princes to at least a nominal peace.

Church Lands and Lay Usurpers.—The organisation of the Church, and the interests of religion alike, suffered severely from the ambitions of chiefs and others who designed to control the appointments of Church dignitaries, and to seize upon Church property. The chiefs (whose personal power had expanded during the continued warfare) wished to control the *appointment of bishops and abbots*—as kings and nobles in later years long endeavoured to do in Europe. Generally they nominated a cleric of their own clan, but often they seized upon the titles and lands for themselves or for a lay nominee. In some cases these rights were fought for by rival clans. In Armagh *hostile claimants* for the See of St. Patrick were long supported by the Cineal Eoghain on the one hand, and the Oirghialla on the other. The attack by Diarmuid Mac Murrough on the convent of Kildare (*page* 97) sprang from the rival claims of the clans of North and South Leinster to the nomination of the Comharb of St. Bridget. The result was that in numerous cases lay usurpers, some of whom were married, held themselves out as the Comharbs or successors of a venerated saint, and took the relics and the lands and property attached to his See or monastery while the religious duties were either totally neglected or were carried on by some unknown cleric.

Similar methods were employed by the *erenachs* or lay stewards of the Church property (*chap. IV*), who frequently seized upon the lands during the temporary banishment of the monks. Retaining the relics and other emblems of the founder, they passed on to their families the title of his successor and the possession of the lands.

St. Malachy.—The Irish Church was, however, still vigorous enough to produce from its own ranks—both Gaelic and Norse—devoted clerics, capable of carrying out effective reforms. Most prominent in the work of re-organisation was St. Malachy (Maol Maodóg*) O'Morgair. Born in 1094, he became abbot of the monastery of Bangor, which had sent so many missionaries to evangelise Europe, but which was then in ruins. Having partially restored the famous school, he was next (1125) created *Bishop of "Connor"* (or Dal Riada), and by arduous toil, revived religion

** It should be noted that the Irish name of the saint is quite different from that of the Kings, who are also Anglicised, as "Malachy."*

in that territory. At this time the Bishop of Armagh was *Celsus* (Ceallac). His eight predecessors had been *lay and married usurpers*, members of the ruling clans of Oirghialla, who having secured the "Bachall Iosa" and other relics of St. Patrick, had been accepted by the ignorant people as his "Comharbs." Celsus himself belonged to the usurping family but was anxious to restore order. He nominated Malachy as his successor, and upon his death (1132) at the request of *Gilbert*, Bishop of the Norse of Limerick, and of many clergy and chiefs, Malachy unwillingly accepted the dignity. For two years he was kept out of the See by the intruding family, but eventually he got possession of the See and of its insignia. He had accepted the dignity on the condition that he might retire when order was restored, and having accomplished this task, he resigned (1137), and was succeeded by *Gelasius*, Abbot of the Columban monastery of Derry.

Organisation of Dioceses.—Although Malachy had resigned the primacy, and had become *Bishop of "Down"* (or Dal Araidhe), he was still the most influential man in the Irish Church. He had set before himself the carrying out of *two great reforms*. The first of these was the organisation of definite dioceses. It has been noticed that in the early Irish Church there were very many bishops, and that there were *no territorial dioceses*. The bishops were attached to great clans or to the more important monasteries, and their rule was not determined by any definite territory. This loose system had become worse during the ravages of the Norse, and formed a striking contrast to the great system which Pope Gregory ("*Hildebrand*") had established on the Continent with its definite dioceses grouped into provinces which were presided over by recognised archbishops. In Ireland, Armagh was recognised as the head, and in each of the great political divisions of the country certain "Comharbs" enjoyed a sort of precedence over the other bishops; but there was nothing like an organised episcopal system.

Synod of Kells.—Gilbert and Celsus had both endeavoured to remedy this state of disorder. At two synods held at *Uisneach* (1111) and *Rathbreasail* (1118), the number of dioceses was fixed, and they were formed into *two provinces* presided over by Armagh and Cashel—representing the old divisions of Leath Chuinn and Leath Mhogha, and also the existing political state of affairs. The arrangement, however, was not formal, and Malachy determined to get the sanction of the Pope for a new grouping, and proceeded to Rome to request the "palliums," which gave due authority to archbishops. The Pope (*Innocent II*) received him warmly, and created him *Papal Legate* in succession to Gilbert, but deferred the question of the palliums until a National Synod should request them. Eight years afterwards (1148)

a National Synod at *Innispatrick* (near Skerries) sent forward the request. Malachy again started for Rome, but died on the way at *Clairvaux*, the famous monastery of his warm friend, St. Bernard. Four years later (1152) at the Synod of Kells, Malachy's organising work was crowned. Thirty-eight dioceses were formed and grouped into *four provinces* under the Archbishops of Armagh, Cashel, Tuam and Dublin respectively, and upon those Archbishops the Papal Legate, Cardinal Paparo, conferred the *pallium*. The two new provinces apparently recognised the political influence of the O'Connors in the West, and the importance of the Norse element in the East. The primacy over all was still continued in the Archbishop of Armagh, now formal *head of a National Church*.

The dioceses formed at the Synod of Kells are practically those which now exist.* They represented, to a great extent, the territories occupied by the principal clans,† and therefore still indicate roughly the location and extent of many clans at the time immediately before the Norman Invasion

The Norse Bishops.—It was not until the Synod of Kells that the *Norse settlers* became an integral part of the Church in Ireland. The Bishops of Dublin, Limerick and Waterford had hitherto been consecrated by the *Norman Archbishop of Canterbury*, and regarded themselves as independent of Armagh. Now, however, Dublin was raised to the dignity of an Archbishopric at the head of a province of the Irish Church. Nine years later the existing Bishop died (1161), and his successor—the celebrated *St. Laurence O'Toole*—was the first Archbishop of Dublin consecrated by the Archbishop of Armagh.

Influence on Political Affairs.—The work of reform and organisation begun forty years ago by Gilbert and Celsus, and carried on by Malachy, was completed—in structure at least—at the Synod of Kells. It was not alone that the constitution of the Church was made similar to that prevailing elsewhere. A National Church was definitely formed, in which were united all parts of the country, and which embraced both Gael and Gall. The *unity of the Church in Ireland* was clearly established under one recognised head, but with full recognition, too, for the various elements which composed it. It was an example in construction that could not fail to influence political development in the same direction. It was an example that had been recognised by great rulers like *Brian* and *Turlough O'Connor*, each of whom, by frequently insisting on the supremacy of Armagh, had endeavoured to unify the Church as they wished also to unify the nation.

Revival of Monasteries.—The other great work to which Malachy devoted himself was the revival of the monasteries. Many of the ancient

* *Such changes as have taken place are chiefly due to the amalgamation of some of the old dioceses.*

† *Or, in some cases, districts around famous monasteries.*

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seats had become deserted, and in others the old spirit had become weak. It has been noticed that most of the early monastic institutions in Ireland were "*independent bodies*," each following the rule of its own founder, the only case of an "affiliated" Order being that of the *Columban* monasteries. The strict discipline of these rules had been relaxed in the course of time, and Malachy determined to restore it. The Irish missionaries to Europe had established in the monasteries they founded there the severe rules practised in the early Irish Church, and similar rules—copied, perhaps, from them—were now in use in famous Orders on the Continent—the *Canons Regular* and the *Cistercians*. Both of those great Orders were employed by Malachy to restore the old monastic spirit in Ireland, and for that purpose he brought communities from the Continent, and sent over Irish students to be trained in the European monasteries.

New Monasteries.—Soon new monasteries sprang up throughout the country, housed in noble buildings far different from those of earlier days, but imbued with the old fervent spirit. The Canons Regular were introduced into the Monastery of *All Saints* founded by Diarmuid Mac Murrough (*page* 97), and their rule was adopted by St. Laurence O'Toole for the Cathedral of *Christ Church* which had been built by the Norse of Dublin. The Cistercian* Order was particularly dear to Malachy, for to it belonged his friend, St. Bernard of Clairvaux. *St. Mary's Abbey*, another creation of the Dublin Norsemen, had been the first to adopt their rule, but the most famous of their establishments was that at *Mellifont* near Drogheda, founded in 1142, and generously endowed by the repentant *Devorgilla*.

In the general revival of the monastic spirit the old Columban monasteries also took part. The authority of *Iona* over the houses of the Order in Ireland had grown weak, and was being displaced by that of the Abbot of *Derry*. It was probably in recognition of the memory of Columba that six years after the Synod of Kells, the *Diocese of Derry* was specially formed for the Irish head of the Columban Order.

Irish Monks Abroad.—Although over five hundred years had elapsed since the time of Columbanus and the other missionaries, the Irish still continued to flock to the monasteries and schools of Europe. Celebrated monasteries were filled almost entirely by Irish monks, who fully maintained the National fame for both religion and learning. *Ratisbon* was now the greatest centre of Irish influence on the Continent, while other centres were at Wurzburg, Fulda, Cologne, Metz, Mayence, etc. Not only men but money flowed from Ireland in this cause, for we learn that the generosity of the O'Briens enabled the Abbot of Ratisbon to rebuild and extend one of the Irish monasteries there.

** The Cistercians took their name from their original monastery at Citeaux in Burgundy—the district in which laboured Columbanus and his successors.*

Section VI. Literature and Art

National Culture.—This period, so often represented as one of purposeless turmoil and general confusion, was one most fruitful in both literature and art. It produced not only two of the most important existing relics of early Irish literature in "Leabhar na h-Uidhre," and "Leabhar Laighean," but also learned historians and many poets. And the writings of the time afford clear testimony to the unity in culture of the nation at the time that it was forcibly developing unity in political life. To all the writers of the time the identity of the Gael was unmistakably definite and distinct; Eire was their common country.

It was also a period most fruitful in Irish art, particularly in architecture and metal work, and from it come the most celebrated of our existing memorials of these arts.

"Books" of Irish MSS.—Before referring particularly to the two earliest "Books" of Irish MSS. which remain to us, it appears desirable to point out the nature of these collections which figure so frequently in our literature.* They were large books of vellum, carefully preserved in some monastery or by some family of historians, into which was copied by qualified scribes such *miscellaneous literature* as was thought worthy of being copied. They consist, therefore, of detached pieces which had already been committed to writing in manuscripts nearly all of which are now lost, and they include poems, saga, genealogies, annals, biography, etc. Many of these detached pieces are ascribed to certain authors, but most of them are anonymous. Many of the "Books" were compiled by a single writer, but some of them are the product of the work of successive generations of scribes who are often unknown.

"Leabhar na h-Uidhre."—The oldest of the "Books" that we have is called "Leabhar na h-Uidhre" ("*Leabhar na h-Uidhre*"—"*The Book of the Dun Cow*"). It was compiled in Clonmacnoise—still a home of learning despite its frequent sufferings from the Norse—by a scribe named *Maolmhuire*, who died in the year 1106. It contains some very ancient pieces—some of them in a form of Gaelic so old that it had to be heavily "glossed" by the copyist and is now almost untranslateable. Its contents include a version of the "*Táin*" and of "*Da Derga's Hostel*," numerous "*Red Branch*" stories, and some "*Fenian*" ones. Much of it has been lost, but 138 pages still remain in the Royal Irish Academy.

"Leabhar Laighean."—The second in date of the Books is "Leabhar Laighean," or "*The Book of Leinster*," compiled about 50 years later than "Leabhar na h-Uidhre." It is believed to have been compiled

**The Book of Armagh is the oldest collection extant, but it is mostly written in Latin* (*page* 80).

during the years before and after 1160 by Finn Mac Gorman, Bishop of Kildare and Aodh Mac Criffan, tutor to Diarmuid Mac Murrough. Amongst the pieces it contains—nearly 1,000 in all—are the oldest copies of the *Dinnseanchus*, and of the "*Fate of the Sons of Uisneach*," a very full version of the "*Táin*," the story of the "*Borumha*" tribute and numerous "*Fenian*" poems; 410 pages are preserved in Trinity College, Dublin.

Annals and Historians.—This was the period of some of our earliest historians. *Flann Mainistreach*, a lay scribe of Monasterboice, who died 1056, compiled elaborate "*synchronisms*" which professed to give the Kings of Ireland who reigned at the same times as the various rulers of Babylon, Greece, Rome, etc. He threw traditional history into verse, much of which is copied into the "Book of Leinster." Clonmacnoise produced our *first critical historian* in *Tighearnach*, who died in 1088. In his "*annals*," several copies of which survive, he displays much learning and careful judgment. He rejected as unreliable all accounts of early Ireland before the *foundation of Eamhain Macha* (*page* 7). Other annals now lost were written by *Dubhdaleithe*, Archbishop of Armagh, who died in 1065. Another book of annals, called the "*Chronicon Scotorum*" is attributed to a writer named *O'Malone*, who lived in Clonmacnoise about the year 1123. The original has been lost, but it was copied by the celebrated *Duald Mac Firbis* in the seventeenth century, and this copy still remains.

Poets.—Many poets also flourished during this time. Of some of these a portion of their work—often a mere fragment—has been preserved. Others we only know through the references to them made by later writers. The principal poets of whose work an appreciable portion exists were: In the first half of the eleventh century, *Mac Coise*, who described the Battle of Clontarf, and probably assisted Mac Liag in writing the "Wars of the Gael and the Gaill," and *Cuan O Lochain*, the alleged joint ruler of Ireland (*page* 91), one of whose poems contains a description of Tara, which was even then in ruins; in the second half of the eleventh century we have *Giolla Caoimhghin*, who amongst other works wrote a chronological poem on the same lines as Flann, and also translated Nennius' "History of the Britons"; and *Colman O'Sesnain*; of the twelfth century writers, *O'Mulconry*, *O'Cassidy* and *O'Dunn* ("Giolla na Naomh") have been the most fortunate in the amount of their work preserved. The quantity of existing poetry which has been identified with these writers ranges from 900 lines of O'Cassidy's to 1,400 verses of O'Dunn's.

Irish Scholars Abroad.—Large numbers of Irish monks still continued, as already noted, to cross to the monasteries of Central Europe,

and there maintained the early traditions of scholarship. Chief amongst them were two whose names have been similarly Latinised as "*Marianus Scotus.*" The first Marianus (known as the "*Chronicler*") was named *Maolbhrighde*, and was a student of Moville. He left Ireland in 1056, and lived principally in *Mayence*, where he compiled a Chronicle and a Psalter, both preserved in the Vatican. The second Marianus was named *Muireadach Mac Robhartaigh*, and left Ireland eleven years later than the former. He founded the monastery at *Ratisbon* which soon became the chief centre of Irish influence whence many other monasteries sprang. He wrote numerous manuals and books of devotion, and was regarded as the most learned man of his age.

The New Architecture: The New Abbeys.—It has been noticed that during the time of the Norse Invasion an improvement in Irish architecture had taken place. In early times most of the buildings in Ireland—apart from the prehistoric uncemented "Cyclopean" structures such as the Staigue Fort in Kerry and Dun Aonghus in the Arran Islands—had been of wood. It was of timber that the palaces at Eamhain Macha and Tara were constructed, and in the monasteries and schools the only building of stone was generally a small chapel. But in the eleventh and twelfth centuries a great *development* took place in the art of building in stone. Kings like Brian and Turlough O'Connor and Cormac O'Kelly of Uí Maine, and many minor chiefs built castles and re-built churches on a new and larger scale. Greatest of these was the beautiful *Cormac's chapel* on the Rock of Cashel built 1127–1134 for Cormac MacCarthy, who also erected Muckross Abbey near Killarney. With the arrival of the new Orders of monks, a *new style* came into vogue, and great abbeys were erected wherein the entire community might live under a single roof. *Mellifont* (*page* 102) was the first of these, and it was quickly followed by the Abbeys of Bective, Cong, Baltinglass, and elsewhere.

A great development of architecture was taking place all over Europe at this time, and its influence was felt in Ireland. The Irish had adopted the new ideas, and were employing the new craftsmen in masonry for over a generation before those great builders of castles and abbeys, the Normans, ever set foot in the island.

"Tara" Brooch: "Ardagh" Chalice.—The dates of two of the most beautiful specimens of Irish metal work cannot be definitely fixed. "The Tara brooch, and the chalice of Ardagh, give us no name of King or ecclesiastic for whom they were wrought—ask no prayer for the artist for whom they were designed."* But they probably come from early in this period, if not earlier, for they both supply the most perfect examples

* *Miss Stokes.*

of the "*divergent spiral*" pattern (*page* 57), which disappeared about the middle of the eleventh century. The "*Tara*" *brooch* was found on the sea-shore near the Boyne in 1850. Described as being "superior to any hitherto found in the variety of its ornaments, and in the exquisite delicacy and perfection of its execution"* it is ornamented with no fewer than seventy-six varieties of designs, whose perfection can only be fully appreciated with the aid of a microscope. The "*Ardagh*" *chalice* was discovered near Ardagh, also by accident. It is a double-handled chalice of exquisite design, beautifully ornamented with chiselled interlacings, silver bands, gold plaques, filigree and enamel.

Cross of Cong: "Crosier" of Lismore, etc.—Belonging to a period later than the preceding is the *Processional Cross of Cong*. This beautiful work is 2½ feet high, and is adorned with elaborate tracery decked out with crystals and jewels. An inscription upon it shows that it was executed about the year 1123 for Turlough O'Connor, to contain a portion of the true Cross, and was presented by that King to his adviser and counsellor, O'Duffy, Bishop of Tuam. It was afterwards brought to the Abbey of Cong, and was discovered in the last century after being carefully concealed for over two hundred years. A relic almost as beautiful is the "*Crosier*" *of Lismore*, the inscription on which shows it to have been made shortly before the year 1113. It enshrines what is probably the original staff of St. Carthage.

Chief amongst the many other relics of this period are the "Crosier" of Kells, and the "*cumhdachs*" of St. Patrick's Bell, of the "Domhnach Airgid" and of the "Cathach" (*page* 51).

DATES OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

	A.D.
Tadhg O'Brien slain	1023
Donough O'Brien defeated	1063
(*Normans conquer England*)	1066
Mac Maoil na m-Bó slain	1072
Death of Turlough O'Brien	1086
Struggle between Muirkertagh O'Brien and Domhnall Mac Loughlin	1086–1114
Mac Loughlin sacks Kincora	1088
(*Crusades begin*)	1095
O'Brien destroys Aileach	1101
Grant of Cashel to the Church	1101
Turlogh O'Connor partitions Munster	1118
First Partition of Meath	1118
St. Malachy, Archbishop of Armagh	1132–7
(*Henry Plantagenet, King of England*)	1145
Oirghialla and Ulaidh submit to Muirkertagh Mac Loughlin	1148
Death of St. Malachy	1148
Battle of Moin Mór.	1151
Synod of Kells	1152
Abduction of Devorgilla	1152
Pope Adrian's Bull	1155
Death of Turlough O'Connor	1156
Rory O'Connor submits to Muirkertach Mac Loughlin	1159
St. Lorcan O'Toole, Archbishop of Dublin	1161
Rory O'Connor, Ard Rí	1166
Partition of Aileach	1166
Flight of Diarmuid Mac Murrough	1166
Diarmuid in Aquitaine and Wales	1167–8
Last Fair of Taillte.	1168

* *Dr. Petrie.*

BOOK II

GAEL AND NORMAN

CHAPTER I

THE COMING OF THE NORMANS (A.D. 1169-1172)

SECTION I. THE NORMANS

IT is necessary to understand who and what were those Normans to whose King the deposed Diarmuid had gone for support against his fellow-countrymen.

Normandy.—Early in the tenth century a body of the *Norsemen* who were at the time devastating Ireland and other countries, had made a settlement on the banks of the River Seine. The King of Paris granted to them a large tract of country on the shores of the English Channel called Neustria—one of the old Frankish Kingdoms. There they settled down—as their kinsmen were doing in Ireland—and the territory which they occupied became known as *Normandy*. Ruled by their own dukes, they paid a nominal obedience to the Kings of France—whose Kingdom, indeed, consisted mostly of a number of similar semi-independent states. The Normans adopted the Christian religion and the French language, laws, and customs. They were rapidly becoming an integral part of the *French nation* which was then developing.

Conquest of England.—In 1066, the then Duke of Normandy—*William the Conqueror*—laid claim to the throne of England, and in the single battle of *Hastings* conquered that country. England was parcelled out among the Norman "barons" or chief followers of the Conqueror, who occupied all the lands. The native English, upon whom the French-speaking Normans looked with contempt, were reduced to the lowest slavery. After the battle of Hastings, William had swept the country with merciless violence. The North of England in particular was turned into a desert—"all who resisted were slain on the spot; every house was burned, every living animal destroyed."

The Lawless Barons.—William had made plans by which the natural turbulence of the barons might be kept in check, and his immediate

successors had—although with difficulty—maintained control over them. But for twenty years before the accession of Henry II (1135–1154) they had kept England in a state of *disorder and anarchy*. An English chronicle says: "It was a time when any rich man made his castle, and when they filled them with devils and evil men. They were the days when wretched men starved with hunger. In those days the earth bore no corn, for the land was all fordone by such deeds, and men said openly that Christ and His apostles had gone to sleep." England was covered with the castles erected by the barons, which they filled with *mercenary soldiers*. Most of these mercenaries were from *Flanders*, which the French Kings were endeavouring to annex. The barons and their Norman and Flemish followers lived on the pillage of the unfortunate natives, and in their castles perpetrated hideous cruelties upon their prisoners.

Henry had crushed the barons, but only for a time. Their disloyalty and hatred of all government burst out again before his death under the leadership of his own rebellious sons.

Henry of Anjou.—Henry "Plantagenet" was a fierce, determined man of great ability and much energy, but subject to such paroxysms of passion that he was said to be possessed of a devil. He was *more French than Norman*, his father having been Count of Anjou. Although he had, in right of his mother, secured the throne of England, he was really a *great Continental ruler*. His possessions included more than one-half of modern France, stretching from the English Channel to the Pyrenees and from the Bay of Biscay almost to the Rhone. England, however, was his only possession that gave him the title of King; his various other territories were "fiefs" of the King of France, and for them he paid homage to his feudal superior. Of the 35 years during which he wore the crown of England, he spent only thirteen in that country, and he never spoke a word of its language. Most of his reign was spent in Continental wars with his brother, with his feudal superior the King of France, and with his own sons and subjects.

The Normans and the Welsh.—When the Normans had so easily conquered the Saxons of England, they had failed to subdue the Welsh. The *Cymry*, who had withstood Roman and Saxon, still maintained their independence against the Norman invader. When Henry had suppressed the barons he gave a new direction to the activities and rapacity of some of the more restless amongst them by utilising them against the Welsh. He placed them with their Flemish mercenaries on the Welsh "marches" with liberty to hold such lands as they could tear from the Welsh. The latter, not unnaturally opposed to this disposition of their lands, maintained a determined resistance, which was, on the whole, successful.

It was amongst those Norman barons on the Welsh marches that Diarmuid was to find his principal allies. Chief among these was *Richard de Clare*, Earl of Pembroke—better known as "*Strongbow*"—who had recently lost to their rightful owners the lands of which his father had deprived the Welsh, and who, therefore, was now poor and needy. The famous group of families known to Irish history as the "*Geraldines*" were also situated on the Welsh marches, and their circumstances were much like those of Strongbow. They bore the names of Fitz-Gerald, Fitz-Stephen, Fitz-Henry, and De Barri, and were closely related, being all the sons or grandsons of an attractive Welsh princess named *Nesta*.

What is sometimes called the "English" invasion of Ireland was, therefore, carried out by the subjects of an Angvein King, the leaders being French-speaking Normans and half-Welsh, and many of the followers being Flemish mercenaries.

Military Skill of Normans.—The greatest quality of the Normans was their military prowess. Like their earlier kinsmen the Norse, the Norman barons and knights looked upon fighting as their only profession. Their whole system of life and government was constituted upon the basis of *military service*. Naturally, they had brought the science of warfare to its greatest perfection; their arms and armour were of the highest excellence; they were expert in the erection of castles and fortifications. The knights, clad in complete armour, and carrying long lances, fought on horseback; the archers, no less deadly, armed with the famous long bow or the cross bow, supported them on foot. Their dsicipline was perfect, and the fierce jealousies which prevailed amongst them never prevented the most effective co-operation when actually on the field of battle. This perfection of military skill had won for the Normans many a victory against tremendous odds in many parts of Europe from Normandy to Sicily, and as far as the Holy Land.

The Irish clans did not possess the military skill of the Normans and they were infinitely inferior to them in arms and equipment. Armour was little employed by them, and they seem to have looked with contempt upon its use. The art of fortifications was ignored, except in elementary forms. In fact, they looked upon war as a temporary incident. They were, accordingly, badly prepared for a contest with a *permanent military organisation* which was specially trained and equipped for a settled policy of conquest.

Section II. The First Adventurers

Dermot in Aquitaine.—It was, apparently, towards the close of the year 1166 that Diarmuid furtively left his dún of *Ferns* and sailed

across the Irish Sea for the coast of Wales. He first made his way to *Bristol*, then the chief city of the West of England, with close associations with the people of Leinster. Thence he journeyed to seek Henry of Anjou. That King was then in *Aquitaine*, a great province lying south of France, of which he was Duke under the nominal suzerainty of the King of France. Henry was busily engaged at the time in fighting his own subjects of Aquitaine and also his liege lord, the King of France. He was so much occupied by his ambitions for Continental power that he was unable to give personal assistance to Diarmuid. But he welcomed the exile, and sympathised with his story of revolted subjects and an unjust suzerain. Besides, he had for some time fostered designs upon the western island. Accordingly, he gave liberty to Diarmuid to recruit such of the Norman adventurers on the Welsh marches as might be enticed into an enterprise in Ireland.

Dermot on the Welsh Marches.—Returning to Bristol, Diarmuid first secured the promise of *Strongbow's* services. In that warrior's needy circumstances the prospect held out by Diarmuid of a marriage with the latter's daughter and the succession to his Kingdom was sufficiently alluring. Next, Mac Murrough won over *Robert Fitz-Stephen* and *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* and others of the Geraldine clan. To these he promised the town of *Wexford*. This promise cost Diarmuid as little as did that to Strongbow; the succession to his throne was not his to give, for it depended upon the free will of his people; the town of Wexford was not at his disposal, for it was held by the Norse descendants of its founders. Untroubled by any scruples regarding the rights of others Diarmuid concluded his arrangements, and quietly returned to Uí Cinnsealaigh towards the close of the year 1168. That winter he spent in Ferns making secret preparations for his allies.

Arrival of the Geraldines: Capture of Wexford.—In the month of May, 1169, the first body of the adventurers arrived under the leadership of *Robert Fitz-Stephen* and others. About 2,000 strong, they landed at *Bannow Bay* in the extreme south of the present county of Wexford. The district was part of *Uí Cinnsealaigh*, and the people of the open country were loyal to their chief. But on the one side lay Waterford, and on the other Wexford, and the *Norse inhabitants* of both towns were bitterly hostile to Diarmuid. From Ferns, Diarmuid sent a body of men under his natural son, *Domhnall Caomhanach* ("Kavanagh") to meet his friends, and the combined forces attacked *Wexford*. Retreating before the mail-clad knights, the inhabitants defended the walls and beat off their assailants. At length, however, they yielded on terms, and recognised Diarmuid as their lord. The town and surrounding country were granted to Fitz-Stephen and his principal associates.

Terms with the Ard Rí.—Some of the sub-chiefs of *Laighin* had submitted to Diarmuid, but the more important chiefs refused to acknowledge him, and these he now assailed. Passing through the gaps of the Blackstairs, he attacked *O'Ryan* of Uí Drona and *Mac Gilla Patrick* of Osraidhe—his deadly enemy. Next he ravaged the lands of *O'Byrne* and *O'Toole*, and of *O'Connor* of Uí Failghe. At length, however, the Ard Rí moved. He had but recently celebrated the Fair of Tailte with great pomp, and he now approached at the head of a large army. Diarmuid professed to submit, and was to get the sovereignty of Laighin under Rory as Ard Rí on condition that he sent away the "*Flemings*," as the Irish styled his allies. These easy terms were due to the fact that *O'Brien*, son-in-law of Diarmuid, and traditional ally of Uí Cinnsealaigh, had revived the old quarrel with the O'Connors, and Rory had to defend his own patrimony. Diarmuid's promises were insincere, and despite them, he welcomed the arrival soon afterwards of another body of allies under *Maurice Fitz-Gerald.*

Raymond Le Gros.—Meanwhile Strongbow was being urged by Diarmuid to carry out his promises. A striking incident that probably did much to encourage him was the success of a small body of Normans, who crossed the island to the support of O'Brien, apparently without opposition. He feared Henry too much, however, to move without his special license, and the King was slow in granting this. A year had elapsed from the arrival of the first comers before Strongbow's advance guard landed (May 1170). These were under the command of another Geraldine, *Raymond Le Gros*. They landed at *Dundonald* in Waterford Harbour, where they were immediately besieged by the Norse of Waterford, O'Phelan, chief of the Deisi, and the chiefs of Osraidhe and Uí Drona. Matters were very critical when by a sudden sally Raymond defeated the besiegers. Seventy of the prisoners were cruelly slain; their limbs being first broken, they were hurled, still living, over the cliffs into the sea. For this outrage, Raymond himself does not seem to have been responsible.

Arrival of Strongbow : Capture of Waterford.—Three months later, Strongbow landed in Waterford Harbour with an army of 3,000 men (August, 1170). Joined by Diarmuid's troops, and the earlier arrivals, the combined forces attacked *Waterford*. The people of that city, like those of Wexford, were the descendants of the *Norse* founders. Aided by the chief of the *Deisi*, they made a brave defence, twice beating off their assailants. At length, Raymond Le Gros made an entrance, the besiegers poured in and slaughtered all the inhabitants. Then, in the midst of the reeking city, Strongbow was married to Diarmuid's daughter *Aoife*, or *Eva*.

The Norse Towns.—Two of the great seaports on the eastern coast were now in the possession of the invaders. Greater than either, however, was *Dublin*. Like them, it was occupied by inhabitants of Norse descent, and, like Wexford, it was situated in Laighin, and Diarmuid, therefore, had claims over it. All the Norse, however, had fiercely resisted the supremacy of Diarmuid, and they were even less friendly disposed towards the Norman barons and their armies of Flemish soldiers, whose record of pillage in England was well known to them. The Norse of Dublin had a special reason for fearing Mac Murrough, for they had murdered his father and given him an ignominious burial. Accordingly when Diarmuid sent messengers demanding their submission, their King, *Asculph Mac Torkill* defied him, and, on the other hand, besought the help of the Ard Rí.

Preparations of the Ard Rí.—The Ard Rí responded to the call of the Dublin Norsemen, and soon an army from nearly all the Irish clans encamped near Dublin. Diarmuid, flushed with success, had now extended his claims to the supremacy of all Ireland, and prepared to march against his enemies. The eyes of all were directed to Dublin as in the days before Clontarf. The position, however, was now reversed; the Irish army defended Dublin; the invaders were the assailing force. The Ard Rí sent troops to block the road which lay between the mountains and the sea. With his main army he encamped at *Clondalkin* to meet any force which, following Brian's route (*page* 79), might come round the mountains through the plains of Leinster.

Capture of Dublin.—The Leinstermen, however, knew their territory too well, and they and their allies came by neither route. Traversing the valleys and sacking Glendalough on their way, they crossed the passes of the mountains, and poured down on Dublin behind Rory's army, through the woods which stretched to the very walls of the city. The citizens, taken by surprise, sent the Archbishop, *St. Laurence O'Toole*, to treat with the enemy, but while the negotiations were proceeding, some of the Normans led by Raymond Le Gros and Milo de Cogan, burst into the city and began slaughtering the inhabitants. The other Normans followed. Mac Torkill and some of his followers escaped to their ships, and sailed to their kinsmen in the Isle of Man and the Hebrides, and the Normans remained in possession of Dublin (September, 1170).

Death of MacMurrough.—When Dublin fell, Rory's army disappeared—each unit retiring to its own territory. Diarmuid and his associates then went to the assistance of his friends amongst the O Maolachlans, and ravaged the lands of their rivals in *Meath*, and also attacked his old foe, O'Rourke of *Breifne*. Otherwise, the invaders merely held the three

seaports they had captured from the Norse inhabitants. At a *synod* held in Armagh towards the close of the year, the invasion was declared to be a punishment for the practice which prevailed amongst the Irish of buying English children as slaves, and it was decreed that any English slaves in Ireland should be set free. Early next year (May 1171) the aged Mac Murrough, known ever after as "*Diarmuid na n-Gall*" died at Ferns.

St. Laurence O'Toole.—A prominent figure in the events connected with the invasion was that of St. Laurence O'Toole. His father was chief of his clan, representative of *Uí Muireadhaigh*, and, therefore, one of the three great "ruling clans" of Laighin. Early in life he had been a hostage in the hands of Diarmuid Mac Murrough, who treated him with severity, and although his sister was afterwards married to Diarmuid, and became the mother of Strongbow's bride, Eva, there was little friendship between the brothers-in-law. At an early age Laurence was made *Abbot of Glendalough*, and in 1161, when he was not yet thirty years old, he was consecrated *Archbishop of Dublin*. When the invasion took place, he endeavoured to unite his fellow-countrymen in opposing it, and when he found that the invaders had made a permanent footing in the country, he exerted himself to secure some measure of justice in their dealings with the Irish clans. His position in the See of Dublin is more prominent because his successors for many centuries were practically the *nominees of the Kings of England*.

Section III. Arrival of Henry II

New Aspect of the Invasion.—Upon the death of Diarmuid, Strongbow at once assumed the title of *King of Leinster*, and created the great officials generally appointed by a feudal King. The whole character of the invasion was now changed. Up to this, it had been the effort of an Irish provincial king to regain his throne with the help of foreign adventurers. It was a claim with which many of the Irish chiefs must have nourished a more or less secret sympathy; even those who opposed him must have regarded the contest as a purely personal one. But all now beheld a stranger declaring himself to be an Irish King in defiance of all their known principles of succession, and introducing methods and laws which were essentially opposed to all their conceptions of justice and government. The conflict of *two hostile systems* had begun

The Normans Attacked.—The country rose against this sinister threat to its national life. Most of the clans of Laighin which had supported Mac Murrough fell away from Strongbow, and were led by "*Murchadh na n-Gaedheal*." O'Brien also declared against the

foreigner. Mac Carthy of Desmond captured the garrison of *Waterford*, and Dublin was attacked, but without success, by its former King, Mac Torkill with a fleet from the Hebrides and Orkneys. Soon a large army was collected chiefly by the exertions of Laurence O'Toole, who traversed the country for the purpose. Under Rory O'Connor it encamped at *Finglas* near Dublin, while a fleet of the Gaelicised Norse from the isles, under the King of Man, lay in Dublin Bay. For two months the Normans lay besieged in the city, where they received the news that *Wexford* had been taken and Fitz-Stephen made a prisoner at his castle of Ferrycarrig. Strongbow was forced to treat for terms, and offered to *hold Laighin under the Ard Rí*, but the latter refused all terms except the departure of the Normans and the surrender of the cities of Dublin, Wexford and Waterford. In despair, the starving Normans made a sudden sortie. The Irish, expecting a surrender, and lulled into a false security, were unprepared and taken by surprise. O'Connor was nearly captured; his army, destitute of binding qualities, dissolved into its component parts, and each unit again made its way back to its own territory (September, 1171).

Raid on Osraidhe.—Leaving Dublin in charge of *De Cogan*, Strongbow forced a passage to Wexford, fighting the indomitable O'Ryan on his march. The townspeople refused to surrender either the town or Fitz-Stephen, and the Normans were forced to move on to Waterford which they had succeeded in recovering. Next he made a raid on Osraidhe in alliance with the fickle O'Brien of Thomond, during which an act of treachery meditated by the allies towards Mac Giolla Patrick was foiled by the sturdy chivalry of a Norman knight—*Maurice de Prendergast.*

Henry and Strongbow.—Strongbow now had to face a danger which he feared more than the hostility of the Irish. His assumption of the crown of "Leinster"—as the Normans called it—was resented as much by the King of England as it was by the Irish. Henry II had, for a time, crushed the rebellious barons in England with great difficulty, and now he saw some of the most unruly of them erecting a new feudal Kingdom for themselves across the Irish Sea. Soon after Diarmuid's death he ordered the return of his subjects in Ireland, and prohibited any ship from sailing to this country. Strongbow had sent Raymond Le Gros to appease him, but without avail. Now came a peremptory demand that Strongbow should present himself before the King. The earl crossed to England, and found Henry on the west coast with a large army prepared for Ireland. With much apparent reluctance on the part of the King, and with much humility—probably not more sincere—on the part of Strongbow, Henry at length consented to accept the

Earl's submission and the offer of all his possessions. "Leinster" was re-granted to Strongbow to hold as the King's vassal, but the towns and castles Henry reserved to the Crown.

Murder of Becket.—Another motive which is said to have actuated Henry in his expedition to Ireland had no connection with this country. This arose from the murder of Thomas a' Becket, *Archbishop of Canterbury*, who was slain on the steps of the high altar of his Cathedral by four Norman knights, December, 1170. The murderers were of Henry's household, and the King was charged with having instigated the crime. The Pope threatened to excommunicate him, and it is said that in order to avoid the Legates carrying out the sentence, Henry passed over to Ireland. But his ambitions and his jealousy of the barons were sufficient reasons for his visit.

Landing of Henry.—On the 18th October, 1171, Henry's fleet of 400 ships arrived in Waterford Harbour, and the King landed at *Crook* with a fully equipped army of nearly 10,000 men. From the first he professed to come not as a conqueror, but to curb his lawless subjects and *to protect the Irish* from their aggression. When the people of Wexford handed him over their prisoner, Fitz-Stephen, he ordered him to be fettered—but released him in a few days. At the same time, however, he claimed an acknowledgment of his *over-lordship* as a powerful and protecting sovereign.

Submission of the Chiefs.—An acknowledgment of such *a vague supremacy*, with its promise of immunity from the adventurers, the Irish chiefs were apparently quite willing to give. At Waterford and Cashel, the chiefs of *Leath Mhogha*, including the hereditary rulers of Munster—*Mac Carthy* and *O'Brien*—and the militant chiefs of the *Deisi* and *Osraidhe* all paid homage to Henry. From Waterford the King and his imposing Court and army proceeded to Dublin. There other chiefs came in: *O Maolachlan*, *O'Carroll* chief of *Oirghialla*, and even that old warrior, the scarred and one-eyed *Tiernan O'Rourke* of Breifne. *O'Connor* held aloof beyond the Shannon, although Norman writers say that he made some sort of acknowledgment to Henry's ambassadors—De Lacy and Fitz-Adelm De Burgh. The chiefs of *Tír Eoghain* and *Tír Chonaill*—true to the traditions of the Northern Uí Neill—and the chiefs of Ulaidh, refused any token of submission.

Henry in Dublin.—The winter of 1171 was spent by Henry in Dublin. In a large pavilion of wicker work erected outside the city on the height which rose over what is now College Green, he entertained the Irish chiefs, and impressed them by the pomp of his Court, as well as by the luxuries which the Crusades were introducing into Europe from the East. He also busied himself in organising the future government

of his subjects in Ireland. He installed the great feudal officers of state, each of whom was responsible for his own sphere of government and administration; instituted royal courts of law, and appointed judges and sheriffs to be a check on the nobles in their own territories. These institutions affected his own subjects only; the Irish, of course, still maintained their own laws and customs.

Synod of Cashel: Pope Adrian's Bull.—Early in the following year (1172), Henry caused a *Synod of the Church* to be held at Cashel which was attended by most of the Irish bishops—Gelasius, Archbishop of Armagh, and some other northern bishops being the exceptions. This Synod is said to have been convened in consequence of a famous bull of *Pope Adrian IV*, regarding which there has been much controversy. That Pope was named Nicholas *Brakespear*, and was the only Englishman who was ever Pope. The year after Henry became King he represented to Adrian the fearful state of Ireland, and offered to cure her ills. The Pope, knowing him only as the King who had saved England from anarchy, issued a Bull (1155), which purported to make a *grant of Ireland* to Henry for the purpose of "reforming evil manners, planting virtue, and increasing the Christian religion." For sixteen years Henry did nothing with regard to it, and now he was in danger of being excommunicated for the murder of Becket. The Synod of Cashel was necessary to keep up an appearance of carrying out the objects for which the Bull was granted. Yet, strange to say, no mention of the Bull was made at the Synod, and the decrees which were passed by it related only to formal matters of Church discipline.* These decrees, however, were forwarded to the Pope, and three years later at another Synod at Waterford, an acknowledgment of them, and a confirmatory grant from Pope Alexander III, were read. This was the first public announcement of Adrian's Bull.

There has been much controversy regarding the authenticity of this Bull, chiefly based upon the delay in publishing it, and the fact that the original has never been found, but the balance of authority is in favour of its being genuine. Even admitting this, however, and apart from the questions of the authority of the Pope to make the grant and the truth of Henry's representations which secured it, it is evident that the Irish Church had shown sufficient vigour to carry out *its own reform*. In any case, Henry and his barons were far from being the most edifying instruments for the advancement of religion and morals.

Henry's "Grants" of Irish Territory.—Six months Henry spent in Ireland. He had met with no opposition. On the contrary, his superior position had been more or less definitely acknowledged by most

* *Such as marriage within certain degrees of kinship, the payment of tithes, etc.*

of the country. He had come as a protector, and had been received as such. He had carried on *no warfare*. The fighting had been done by the early adventurers, and it had been chiefly against the *Norse* townsmen. It was now necessary, on the one hand, to reward those who had prepared the way, and, on the other, to secure his own control. Accordingly, he proceeded to make "grants" of great pieces of Irish territory to his chief followers. Strongbow was confirmed in his *Lordship of Leinster*. The dissensions of the O Maolachlan family were utilised as an excuse to make a grant to Hugh de Lacy of the ancient patrimony of the Southern Uí Neill as the *Lordship of Meath*. Other great grants, made either during Henry's visit, or soon after, were those of the Earldom of "*Ulster*" to De Courcey, and of *Connaught* to De Burgh. Territories of lesser extent in various parts of the country, in many of which a Norman had not yet been seen, were similarly "granted" as feudal fiefs. But *the towns* Henry kept for himself. Dublin (which he made the seat of his viceroy), Wexford, and Waterford were fortified and guarded by strong castles, and placed under the control of governors or "constables" to be nominated by the King. The Norse inhabitants of *Dublin* were removed to the north side of the Liffey, and their places taken by *settlers from Bristol*.

Departure of Henry.—Henry was now suddenly summoned before the *Papal Legates* to account for his share in the murder of Becket. He sailed from Wexford on the 17th April, 1172, and hurried across England to Normandy, where he made an abject submission to the Pope, and afterwards went through a humiliating public penance.

Section IV. The "Submissions" and the "Grants": The Feudal System

Two Hostile Systems.—Some knowledge of the feudal system is necessary in order to understand the new relations which were created between Henry and the Irish, when on the one hand the chiefs acknowledged the supremacy of the King, and on the other hand he professed to give away large tracts of Irish land to his followers. The "*submissions*" as well as the "*grants*" were looked upon by both parties from different points of view, and their meaning was interpreted in different ways by the Irish, whose ideas were those of the clan system, and by the Normans, who were governed by the feudal system. Two different conceptions of social and political life were brought into conflict.

Origin of Feudalism.—The feudal system probably had its origin in the conditions under which the "barbarian" tribes led by their Kings had planted themselves on the ruins of the Roman Empire. It had

developed under the *Empire of Charlemagne*, and now spread over Western Europe, breaking down the early Teutonic and Celtic systems, except amongst the *independent Celtic nations* of the extreme West. The Normans had carried it into England at the Conquest, and upon it their Kingdom there was based. For many centuries England was governed by it, and it still influences her constitution and laws. It was *firstly* a system of *government*, and *secondly* a system of *land tenure*.

Feudal Government.—The feudal system of government was that of *lord and vassal*. The lord protected the vassal, who, for his part, paid *homage* to the lord and promised him *fealty*. The relationship was generally, but not always, accompanied by a grant to the vassal of lands belonging to the lord, in return for which the former gave *military service* to the latter in his wars. There were many gradations, and in most cases the same person might be at the same time both a lord and a vassal. At the head of all was generally the King, who was no man's vassal—except where he paid homage to an emperor (as in Germany), or to some similar over-lord. Under the King were his immediate vassals, his great lords—dukes, counts, earls, great barons, etc. These, in their turn, had their own vassals, lesser barons, knights, etc., and they, again, frequently had "tenants" under them, the owners of single "*manors*" or "*demesnes*." Beneath all were the *serfs*, who were regarded merely as part of the manor or demesne. The essential principle of feudal government was the *exclusive dependence* of the vassal upon his lord. "*Every lord judged, taxed, and commanded, the class next below him.*"

Allegiance to the King.—The duty of the vassal being to *his own lord alone*, if that lord rebelled against his King the vassal was bound to follow him against the King. For instance, the German Emperors and the Kings of France were engaged for many centuries in wars with their great vassals, and these again with their own tenants. But the Norman Kings had introduced an important change *in England* by procuring a law that all free holders of land should swear *fealty to the King* direct, whether they were or were not also vassals of an intermediate lord. This direct allegiance to the Crown was enforced by the custom—largely developed by Henry II himself—of sending the King's *sheriffs* and *judges* into every shire to uphold the authority of the King, and to carry out his laws.

Accordingly, when we read of Irish territories being parcelled out into *counties*, we know that it was for the purpose of sending sheriffs and judges into them to enforce the rule of the Crown of England in the early period against his own too powerful subjects, and at a later stage against the whole Irish people.

Feudal Land Tenure.—The feudal system was, in the second place, a system of *ownership of land*. According to it, the land of a country was the *absolute property* of its sovereign lord—generally the King. The King granted it in large *fiefs* to his great vassals or "*tenants in chief*," on condition that (amongst other services) they would aid him in his wars with a specified number of knights and men-at-arms. They, in their turn, sub-granted parts of their fiefs to "*mesne lords*" on similar conditions, and so on. These fiefs, although not at first hereditary, soon became so, but if the owner broke his pledge of fealty, the lands might be resumed by his lord. This system of land tenure was, therefore, similar to the system of government just described, and the two together made the full feudal system. But they were *not always combined*, and frequently feudal government existed without feudal land tenure, and homage and fealty were often paid without admitting any right of the lord to the lands. In England, however, owing to the circumstances of the Conquest, feudal ownership of land was universal, and the *dominion of the King* over the lands of his tenants was unquestioned.

Nature of the "Submissions."—It will be seen, therefore, that so far as the submissions made to Henry II by the Irish chiefs were concerned, there was not so much difference between the Irish and feudal conceptions of their meaning. In Ireland, from time immemorial, the chiefs of a tribe or an oip-ri acknowledged the supremacy of the ri without sacrificing the internal independence or the possessions of his clan. Nor did the homage paid to the Ard-Ri before the time of Brian confer upon him any right to interfere in the jurisdiction of such of the "provincial Kings" as acknowledged him. The removal of the "provincial Kings" had left the *political integrity* of the clans unimpaired, although their chiefs now submitted to the High King himself direct. Similar personal submissions conferring no right of *interference in internal affairs* were well known under feudalism. Henry himself paid homage to the King of France, but had absolute dominion over his duchies of Normandy and Aquitaine and his other possessions, and he was, in fact, at constant war with his liege lord. The dukes and counts who ruled most of what is now France were similarly placed, and so also were the kings, dukes and electors who comprised the Empire of the Germans. Kings of Scotland had frequently paid homage and fealty to English Kings, but they still ruled their own Kingdom.

The acknowledgment of the superior power of Henry was, therefore, at the most *an act of personal submission* on the part of those Irish chiefs who made it, and conferred, either under feudal or Irish custom, *no right or dominion over their clans or territories*.

The Irish and the "Grants."—It was in respect of its conception

of *land tenure*, however, that feudalism came most violently into conflict with Irish ideas. We have seen (*page* 59) that amongst the Irish, the land of the clan was the common property of the clan. To whatever extent private ownership prevailed, it did not interfere with that essential principle. The chief had no right to alienate any part of his clan's possessions. To people accustomed to such ideas feudal ownership was unintelligible and abhorrent—even immoral. The claim of even a rightful King to deal with the land as his own property was to them impossible; for a foreign King to profess to grant Irish lands to his own followers was *an act of injustice and conquest* compared with which the piracies of the Norsemen were mere incidental robberies.

The hostility between Irish and feudal ideas of land ownership, affecting, as it did, the very *basis of social and political life*, lay at the root of the future struggle between the two races. The conflict between the two ideas, begun by the grants of Henry of Anjou, continues to the present day.

DATES OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

	A.D.		A.D.
Fitz-Stephen lands: Capture of Wexford . .	May, 1169	(*Murder of Thomas a'Becket*) .	December, 1170
Raymond Le Gros lands	May, 1170	Death of MacMurrough,	May, 1171
Strongbow lands: Capture of Waterford .	August, 1170	Henry lands . .	October, 1171
Capture of Dublin,	September, 1170	Henry departs .	April, 1172

CHAPTER II

THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NORMANS

DEPARTURE OF HENRY II TO THE INVASION OF EDWARD BRUCE (A.D. 1172–1315)

SECTION I. THE EARLY PHASES

A War of Plunder.—During more than a century Ireland was torn and harassed by the efforts of the Norman barons to occupy the lands thus allotted to their enterprise by their King. These grants were made, as we have seen, in utter disregard of the rights of the Irish owners; they violated the spirit in which some of the Irish chiefs submitted; many were in faithless breach of specific treaties; others affected territories whose chiefs had never paid homage to Henry. Destitute of moral sanction, they had not even the excuse of successful conquest and future peace for the *lands were not yet occupied*, and could not be without bitter warfare. They were, in fact, an utterly callous inducement to a general war of extermination—"letters of marque authorising them to rob, plunder, and steal whatever they could, and to hold as of right whatever they could steal."*

Isolated Fighting.—The fighting that resulted was, for the most part, isolated and local. Each Norman endeavoured to seize his own particular piece of country; each clan defended its own territory against the assailant. On neither side was there unity or cohesion. The barons were far from being loyal to the King, and the King, for his part, was far from trusting them; from the first the rivalries between the adventurers were fierce, and often broke out in open warfare, sometimes marked by treachery. But they were *the attacking parties*, and could choose their time and place, relying upon the power of the Crown until opportunity offered. The clans, on the other hand, content to restrict themselves to the defence of their respective territories, could not know when or whence an attack might come. It was a situation which demanded constant vigilance, but, too often, the opening for the attack was afforded by the *rivalries of clans* and the *dissensions of families*.

* *Professor Geo. Stokes—Lectures on "Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church," Divinity School, Trinity College, Dublin.*

Influence of Geographical Features.—The topography of the country contributed to this feature of the struggle. The mountains and most difficult country lay along the coasts of the island, and a *wide circle of unconquered clans* always encompassed the invaders. These must advance along the river valleys, and through the open country beyond as the earliest colonists or invaders had done in past ages (*page* 3). In the centre of the island the Irish availed themselves of the protection of the isolated mountain groups, the lakes, the extensive bogs, and the great forests which covered many districts for centuries afterwards.

The Two Norman Bases.—There were two great bases of early Norman influence. One was at *Waterford and Wexford*; opening up, on the one hand, the valleys of the sister rivers—the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow—and from thence into the plain of Leinster; and, on the other, the narrow strip of coast leading to Dublin. The second was at *Dublin*—important as being the seat of the government and commanding the great Central Plain. It was from those two bases that *wedges of Norman influence* were driven into the island which split it into sections. Between the two lay Strongbow's Lordship of Leinster, while De Lacy's Lordship of Meath stretched away inland from Dublin, continued on the north by De Courcey's earldom of "Ulster" and across the Shannon by the settlements in Connacht.

Norman Jealousies.—The period immediately following the visit of Henry was taken up by the efforts of the invaders to push into the country from those two centres. The record of these tentative efforts is necessarily *disconnected and confusing*, and it is rendered more so by the rivalries of the great lords and the suspicion of all which was entertained by the King. So little did the latter trust any one of the barons that he feared to make any of them Chief Governor* for any length of time. During the twelve years after Henry's visit that office changed hands no less than seven times. The same attitude of suspicion is shown by his other dealings with his unruly subjects. Lest Strongbow should become too powerful in Leinster, De Lacy was set up as his rival in Meath. It was De Lacy also, and not Strongbow, who was made the first Justiciary and Constable of Dublin. In the latter position, again, were associated with De Lacy, really as a check upon him, the two Geraldines —Maurice Fitz-Gerald and Robert Fitz-Stephen. No other office or grant was given at the time by Henry to any of the Geraldines —not even to the intrepid Raymond Le Gros. De Burgh and De Courcey, however, were each, in turn, utilised against their rivals, and, like them, were *alternately encouraged and depressed.*

* *The Chief Governor was called the "Justiciary" or "Lord Justice"; when a person acted in place of an absent "Lord Lieutenant" (often a member of the Royal Family of England) he was called the "Lord Deputy."*

Murder of O'Rourke.—The first exploit of De Lacy as Viceroy and Lord of Meath was the killing of the aged Tiernan O'Rourke. The latter's submission to Henry did not save him when De Lacy, in seizing upon his Meath territories, came into conflict with the Chief of Breifne, whose land bordered upon them. A conference was arranged between the two at the *Hill of Ward* (the ancient Tlachtga near Athboy in Meath). A body of fully armed knights accompanied De Lacy, and while the conference was in progress they rushed upon O'Rourke and slew him. His head was spiked over one of the gates of Dublin, and his body was gibbeted, feet upwards, at another gate (1172).

Battle of Thurles.—After a brief absence with the King in Normandy, Strongbow returned to establish himself in his territory of Leinster, and plundered Uí Failghe on one side, and the Deisi on the other. But *Domhnall Caomhanach* (*page* 110) had now been recognised as their King by the Leinstermen, and he and his brother-in-law, *Domhnall Mór O'Brien*, were united in opposition. Strongbow marched against the latter, who was aided by O'Connor, and at Thurles the Normans were utterly defeated (1174). Strongbow fled to Waterford, where he was closely besieged; O'Brien razed the castle which had been erected at Kilkenny, while Rory entered Meath, broke down De Lacy's castles there, and approached the walls of Dublin.

Capture of Limerick.—Strongbow's soldiers attributed these misfortunes to the absence of their favourite, *Raymond Le Gros*, who had been their commander, but had retired to Wales owing to a quarrel with Strongbow. The latter was forced to recall him, and to consent to his marriage with Strongbow's sister. Under his leadership the tide again turned. O'Connor retired, and Raymond, aided by Mac Gilla Patrick of Osraidhe—traditional foe of Thomond—marched against Domhnall Mór, and captured Limerick—*the lower gate to Connacht* (1175).

A quarrel having taken place at this time between Mac Carthy and his son, Raymond supported the former, and was rewarded by a grant of territory in *Ciarraidhe* on the south of the estuary of the Shannon. On the lands thus granted by an Irish chief, his descendants remained as Barons of Lixnaw—the earliest Geraldine settlers in Desmond.

Treaty of Windsor.—O'Connor now sent ambassadors to Henry, one of them being St. Laurence O'Toole, and at Windsor a treaty was made between the two Kings (1175). By its terms, Rory was to remain *King of Connacht under Henry* as fully as he had hitherto possessed it; he was to have dominion over the other Irish Kings and princes, who were to pay tribute through him to the King of England, and, if they failed to do so, were to be deposed by Rory; but the latter

was to have no jurisdiction over the Norman settlements. Henry, in fact, was recognised as a superior King, but was given *no dominion* over any new territory.

Death of Strongbow.—Next year Strongbow died at Dublin (1176), and Raymond hurried back from Limerick, which was immediately burned by O'Brien. Strongbow had succeeded De Lacy as Justiciary, and Raymond hoped to succeed him. But Henry hated him and all the Geraldines, and appointed their enemy, *De Burgh*, instead. Raymond surrendered all his authority to the King's new representative, and he figures no more in Irish affairs.

Fresh "Grants."—Soon afterwards fresh "grants" of Irish lands were made out to some of the principal Normans. The most important of these was that of "*Ulster*" to John De Courcey. It is not, indeed, certain whether that warrior ever got a formal grant or made a foray on his own authority. It resulted, however, as we shall see, in extending the Norman settlement northwards along the coast to the shores of *Belfast Lough*. About the same time De Burgh got a grant of *Connacht and Limerick*—this being in direct violation of the Treaty of Windsor made two years before. *Cork* was granted to De Cogan and Fitz-Stephen, and *the Deisi* to Le Poer (1177–9).

Death of St. Laurence O'Toole.—In 1179 the Archbishop of Dublin attended the third Lateran Council at Rome when he was created *Papal Legate* for Ireland. Next year he proceeded on a mission from O'Connor to Henry II. The latter King was then in Normandy, and there Laurence O'Toole died at *Eu* (14th November, 1180), his last words being in Irish, and of his country. He was canonized in a remarkably short time afterwards (1226). Upon his death, Henry summoned some of the Dublin clergy to England, and caused them to elect his nominee, *John Comyn*, as Archbishop of Dublin. Henceforth the Archbishops of Dublin are practically the nominees of the English Crown, and are active and influential courtiers and politicians.

Visit of Prince John.—De Burgh's vice-royalty was short-lived, for he was removed to make way for Hugh De Lacy (1179). The latter, again, was dismissed in a year, only to be reinstated and again dismissed. Finally, Henry sent over his own son John to represent him (1185). John had been proclaimed (1177) by Henry II as "King in Ireland"—another breach of the Treaty of Windsor—but now came as "*Lord of Ireland*." Young, profligate, and arrogant, he was surrounded by Norman courtiers of his own type. They grossly affronted the Irish chiefs, and mortally offended the Irish Normans. Their conduct aroused the Irish, while the settlers remained sullen, and soon all the colonists were driven into the towns, while the castles they had built through the country were

broken down. The experiment lasted for eight months, at the end of which John was recalled by his father. Four years later, Henry died, discovering on his death-bed, that John, his favourite son, had joined his other sons in rebellion against him.

Section II. The Great Lordships and Their Fate: (1) *Leinster*; (2) *Meath*; (3) *Ulster*; (4) *Connacht*

Power of the Great Lords.—The story of the Norman settlement is not, however, to be found in the records of the appointments and dismissals of nominal Chief Governors in Dublin. It follows, indeed, *no single course*, but varies with the varying fortunes of the great families to whom had been granted the right of plunder in so many Irish territories. The history of the early Normans is the history of the great Lordships and of the families upon whom they were conferred. The grants had been accompanied by almost *sovereign rights*, and in their own territories the great lords made peace and war, granted lands, created nobles and officials, and erected castles, independently of the Crown. Over them the King's governor had no control; he was merely a rival competitor. The events connected with the development and fate of the four great Lordships—that of Strongbow in *Leinster*, of De Lacy in *Meath*, of De Courcey in "*Ulster*," and of De Burgh in *Connacht*—comprise nearly the whole history of the Normans in Ireland during this period.

The fate of all four affords a *striking similarity*. In the course of a few generations the families who founded them all die out for want of male heirs, and their lands and titles pass away to strangers.

The Lordship of Leinster.—The Lordship of Leinster stretched from one to the other of the two great Norman bases. Through its entire length, however, ran a core of mountain chains, with a narrow belt of comparatively level country on the coast side and open plains on the other, while beyond the plains again lay a broad, continuous belt of alternate bog, forest and mountain. Through the plains of Leinster lay the *routes from Dublin* to all the South of Ireland; to hold them and the narrow coast road was, for centuries, a matter of vital importance.

The Marshalls and the De Lacys.—Strongbow had planted his vassals on the lower valleys of the Suir, the Nore, and the Barrow, and along the coast. He also endeavoured to secure the plain, and had parcelled it out to other followers, but it was held only with difficulty and by constant effort. When he died, leaving an only daughter, Isabel, his sovereign rights in Leinster passed to her husband, *William Marshall*, the great Earl of Pembroke. But the Marshalls were great English noblemen, absorbed in English politics, and the Normans in Leinster were left

practically without a lord. On their north was the powerful Hugh De Lacy, and when he was Viceroy (1179–84) he erected many castles through Leinster. Those at Arklow, Wicklow, and Newcastle controlled the coast: those at Carlow and Leighlin Bridge guarded the passes of the Barrow; a line of forts from Castledermot to Maynooth maintained communications with Dublin and Meath. These were ostensibly "royal" castles, but the ambitious De Lacy may have aimed at the union of the almost derelict lordship with his own territory of Meath. Henceforward, the Marshalls are the determined opponents of the Lords of Meath, and it was William Marshall, the younger son of the great Earl, who fought them in the "*War of Meath*" in 1224 (*page* 128).

The "War of Kildare"; Murder of Richard Marshall.—The deserted possessions of the Marshalls continued, however, to be an object of rapacity, and soon they were the cause of a tragedy in which forgery, treachery, and murder were the leading features. The chief actors in the crime were the principal Normans in Ireland—the Lord Justice (Fitz-Gerald), the De Lacys, De Burgh and others—and the victim was Richard Marshall, brother and successor of William Marshall the younger. He had rebelled against the King in England, and his Irish estates had been confiscated, and many of his castles seized. By means of lying letters he was inveigled over to Ireland, and at the same time forged letters in the name of the King (Henry III) were sent to the chief lords, ordering them to capture him alive or dead, and promising that they should share his estates. He was received by *Geoffrey De Marisco*, who had several times been Lord Justice. Falsely encouraged by De Marisco, Marshall gathered an army, and in a short campaign, called the "War of Kildare," he recovered his Leinster castles, and captured Limerick. The other lords had offered little opposition, and a "friendly conference" was arranged for on the Curragh of Kildare. Marshall came, accompanied by De Marisco—the latter with eighty followers, Marshall with only fifteen. De Burgh, Fitz-Gerald, and Hugh De Lacy were attended by 140 men. Having urged Marshall on to a point which admitted of no compromise, De Marisco, who had been in the conspiracy from the first, suddenly drew off his followers. The other conspirators overwhelmed Marshall's small troop, and he was wounded and made prisoner. Even then, however, his life might have been saved. But the wound was wilfully aggravated by a surgeon in the pay of the conspirators, and the death of Richard Marshall was thus accomplished (1234).

Disruption of the Lordship: The Geraldines and the Butlers.—Soon afterwards the last of the sons of William Marshall and Isabel died. Their five daughters had married English earls, and amongst

these their possessions were divided. Split into five fragments, *Strongbow's lordship disappears* (1245). Many of the descendants of his followers, however, had retained a tenacious hold of their castles and lands, and still formed the two narrow belts of Norman influence in Leinster, which constituted the Lordship. Anongst those were two families which were destined to rise into prominence. In the north were the Fitz-Geralds, who had been created "*Barons of Offaly*" by the Lords of Leinster, and who afterwards (1290) acquired one of the shares of Strongbow's lordship. In the south were the Butlers, whom the Marshalls had established in the lower valleys of the Nore and the Suir. Originally "*Lords of Carrick*" (Carrick-on-Suir) they also absorbed much of Strongbow's lordship, and eventually became the great rivals of the two Geraldine families of Leinster and Munster (*page* 161).

The Earldom of Meath.—The fierce dissensions of the *O Maolachlan* family had left the ancient Kingdom of Tara without a recognised owner. Henry had seized the opportunity to grant it to Hugh De Lacy by a charter which professed to confer upon him all the sovereign rights of the O Maolachlans, to be held, however, as the King's vassal. The great territory thus dealt with extended from the Shannon to the sea, approached the very walls of Dublin, and bordered upon Strongbow's lordship. Unlike Leinster, it was *a great open plain*, forming, on the coast, the principal gap in the mountain chains which encircled the island, but broken, inland, by many bogs and a chain of lakes.

De Lacy's Castles.—Hugh De Lacy was one of the ablest and most vigorous of the early Normans, and he was, above all, a great builder of castles. Soon he had covered with castles not only all of Meath which lay east of the Boyne, but also the part of Oirghialla which lay between that river and Dundalk (now called Co. Louth). Here the powerful Earl installed his chief followers, many of whom were the ancestors of the families who figure in the later history of the "*Pale*" * (*page* 172). Thus was made a compact settlement in a great *wedge-shaped district*, which on the coast extended from Dublin to Dundalk, but narrowed inland to the castles of Trim and Delvin.

The "Causeway" to the Shannon.—Westward of those two forts lay the *bogs and lakes*, but through the passes De Lacy's barons also forced their way until they reached the Shannon at Athlone. Here a bridge, protected by a royal castle, maintained connection with Connacht. Upon this narrow Norman causeway from Trim to Athlone chiefly depended communication with *the country beyond the Shannon*, and its

* *Nugents, Tuites, Tyrrells, Daltons, Dillons, Cusacks, Plunketts, Prestons. Barnewalls, Flemings, Verdons, Gernons, etc.*

existence was only second in importance to that of the Leinster "belt." It did not, however, prove to be as permanent as was the latter.

De Lacy's Ambition.—De Lacy's power was too great for him to enjoy the permanent confidence of the King, and accordingly we find him frequently appointed to and dismissed from the position of Viceroy. Apparently the King's suspicions were not unjustified, for De Lacy's ambition evidently extended beyond Meath. We have seen how he filled Leinster on his south with castles, which were only nominally royal ones, while by his second *marriage with Rose O'Connor*, a daughter of Rory O'Connor, he created an alliance beyond the Shannon. When Prince John returned from his unfortunate visit, he laid the blame for its failure upon De Lacy. Next year, however, the Lord of Meath was killed by a young Irishman as he was supervising the erection of a castle on the site of the Columban monastery of Durrow (1186).

The De Lacys Banished.—Hugh De Lacy left two sons by his Norman wife—Walter and Hugh—and three by his Irish wife. *Walter* succeeded him as Lord of Meath, but *Hugh*, the younger, was more able and active, and was frequently Lord Deputy. Soon a rivalry sprang up between the De Lacys and De Courcey, whose earldom of "Ulster" lay upon their north, and when, as we shall see, King John determined to crush De Courcey, he employed the De Lacys to do so, and gave the *Earldom of Ulster* to Hugh the younger. But five years later the King turned upon the De Lacys, who in the meantime had been fighting with various Norman lords. John landed in Ireland with a large army, and drove the brothers out of both Meath and Ulster, and into exile (1210).

The "War of Meath."—Walter De Lacy was restored to Meath about the year 1215, but soon the feud with the Marshalls broke out (1221). Hugh came to the assistance of his brother, and for three years the "War of Meath" raged between the opposing factions, both of which had Irish allies. William Marshall the younger crossed to Ireland in 1224, besieged Walter in Trim, and met Hugh near Dundalk. At the latter place a peace was arranged which imposed no conditions upon the rebellious barons, and ten years later the De Lacys were amongst the leaders of the conspiracy which brought about the murder of Richard Marshall.

Partition of De Lacy's Lordship.—When Walter De Lacy, the second Lord of Meath, died in 1241 he left no male issue surviving him. The lordship descended to his two grand-daughters and became divided between their husbands, and eventually one half passed to the family of *Talbot* (*page* 180), and the other into the possession of the *English royal family*. In the latter half the families originally established there by Hugh De Lacy became immediately dependent upon the English

Crown, and formed the principal elements in what was in later years called the "Pale" (*page* 172). The claims of the issue of Hugh De Lacy by Rose O'Connor—and there is evidence that there was such issue—appear to have been ignored.

De Courcey in "Ulster."—The extension of Norman power to the North was the result of pure brigandage, for there is no evidence that John De Courcey had even the excuse of a royal grant for his adventure. With a small body of picked men he marched beyond Dundalk, and penetrated the gap between the Mourne Mountains and Lough Neagh into the ancient retreat of the *Clanna Rury* (*page* 19) (1177). Suddenly appearing before Downpatrick, he seized it despite the protests of the Papal Legate, Cardinal Vivian, who was then in the town, and defeated an army under *Mac Dunlevy*, the chief of Dal Araidhe. Firmly establishing himself in the territory of Lecale on the shores of Dundrum Bay and Strangford Lough, and in the peninsula of the Ards, De Courcey was eventually given the title of Earl of "Ulster" (1181). The name was borrowed—as were most of the Norman names for Irish territories—from the Norsemen of the maritime towns. "Ulster" represented then, and for centuries afterwards, only the *narrow belt of north-eastern coast* which hitherto we have known as the Kingdom of "*Ulaidh*." and only a part of this—Lecale and the Ards—had been occupied. But in later times it became the policy and interest of the English Crown to extend the name of this little maritime district over all the country which lay behind it.

De Courcey Suppressed.—The natural defences of his new possessions protected De Courcey. The narrow peninsula of the Ards was almost sea-girt; while the wider entrance to Lecale was defended at either side by castles at Downpatrick and Dundrum. Continued fighting with varying success against his neighbours, Mac Dunlevy, O'Carroll of Oirghialla, Mac Loughlin of Tír Eoghain and O'Flynn of Dal Riada did not loosen his grasp or weaken his power, although it failed to extend the settlement. At one time he acted as Lord Justice, and later he made an unsuccessful raid on Connacht (1188). In his remote territory he was *practically independent*. At length, however, King John resolved to suppress him, and at the instigation of the King, the two De Lacys marched against him, and he was made a captive at Downpatrick (1204). Of his later life we know nothing authentic, but he disappears from Irish history, and his Earldom of Ulster was granted to *Hugh De Lacy the younger*.

The De Burghs become "Earls of Ulster."—The career of the new Earl of Ulster is associated with the history of the lordship of Meath. Six years after the fall of De Courcey, his successor was in turn proclaimed

a rebel and driven into exile with his brother, Walter of Meath. After an eventful life abroad, during which he aided his relative *Llewellyn of Wales* in a war against the English King (Henry III), Hugh returned to participate, as we have seen, in the "*War of Meath*" (1224), and ten years later to assist in the destruction of another "rebel"—*Richard Marshall*. When he died he left an only daughter, upon whose marriage with *De Burgh* the title of Earl of Ulster passed to yet a third family, and became involved in the history of the *Lords of Connacht*.

Finally the title passed into the royal family of England (*page* 165).

De Burgh in Connacht.—The attempt to secure the fourth great Lordship—that of Connacht granted to De Burgh—was the longest delayed and the most protracted of all; and it was also the least successful in establishing a compact settlement. It is doubtful whether any formal grant was made by Henry during his stay in Ireland, but in 1179 a grant of Connacht and Limerick was made to *William Fitz-Adelm De Burgh*,* in flagrant violation of the Treaty of Windsor. Two years before, De Cogan had interfered, but unsuccessfully, in the disputes which took place between the members of the O'Connor family, but apart from this, no Norman had yet set foot in Connacht. The dissensions of the O'Connors continued, and afforded an opportunity for the Normans. De Burgh, De Lacy and De Courcey assisted the competitors, frequently fighting on opposite sides, and as frequently changing sides. Eventually, *Cathal Crobh Dearg*, the youngest son of Turlough Mór, became undisputed King (1201), and next year a massacre, tainted with treachery. of the Normans in Connacht forced De Burgh from beyond the Shannon. In the two following years De Burgh raided Connacht, and for the first time erected castles and made settlements. He died, however, the following year (1204), and Cathal remained supreme in Connacht.

Confusion in Connacht.—During the rest of his reign—till 1224—Cathal's supremacy in Connacht was unchallenged. On the occasion of King John's visit (1210) he came to that King and accepted his protection, but as King of Connacht. In 1216 John died, and the chief power in England became vested in the great Justiciary, *Hubert De Burgh*, the cousin of William Fitz-Adelm, and his influence secured the issue of fresh grants of Connacht to his relatives. But they were not able to avail themselves of these until the death of Cathal, when the renewed *dissensions of the O'Connors* again gave them an opportunity. For twenty-five years—1224-1249—confusion ruled in Connacht, and the De Burghs, the Geraldines and other Normans again took part in the fighting, and extended their own power. But the rivalries and quarrels amongst the Normans themselves prevented any serious conquest.

* *Ancestor of the Burkes.*

Rivalry of De Burghs and Geraldines.—Hubert De Burgh had been dismissed by his ungrateful master (Henry III) in 1232, and his kinsmen in Ireland were powerless for a long time after his fall. Consequently, their rivals had been the chief gainers in Connacht—the Geraldines, in particular, establishing themselves towards *Sligo*, whence they menaced the borders of Tír Chonaill. But when, by marriage with the daughter of Hugh De Lacy, Walter De Burgh became *Earl of Ulster* his influence increased, and in 1265 he drove the Geraldines out of most of their lands and castles in Connacht. The De Burghs thus became sole leaders of the Normans there, while, side by side with them, the O'Connors were still the acknowledged leaders of the Irish clans.

Extent of Connacht Settlements.—The Norman settlements in Connacht were not compact but stretched, roughly, in *three narrow belts*. One line of castles led from Athlone westwards to Galway; a second led northwards from Galway by the eastern shores of Lough Corrib and Lough Mask to the Moy and Killala Bay; from the second belt a third branched off on the upper valley of the Moy, and reached to Sligo. *Galway* became the principal stronghold of the Normans, who controlled the districts north and south of that town; Athenry was an important centre on the road from the Shannon; Sligo, often lost and won, was a threat to the frontiers of Tír Chonaill.

Richard De Burgh, "Red Earl of Ulster."—The power of the De Burghs reached its zenith in Richard De Burgh—known as the "Red Earl" of Ulster. Succeeding his father, Walter, in 1271, he was Lord of *Connacht* in his own right and Earl of *Ulster* through his mother, while through her he also claimed the *Meath* possessions of the De Lacys. The feuds of the O'Connor family, renewed in 1274, and continued for 35 years, effectively prevented any opposition from them; and when the Geraldines, strengthened by their new acquisitions in Leinster (*page* 127), endeavoured to regain their Connacht territories, he finally expelled them. His power was unquestioned west of the Shannon; he defeated his Norman opponents in Meath and Thomond; he was the first Norman who forced the chiefs of Tir Chonaill and Tír Eoghain to submit. He, and not the King's Deputy, was the *real leader of the Normans* in Ireland.

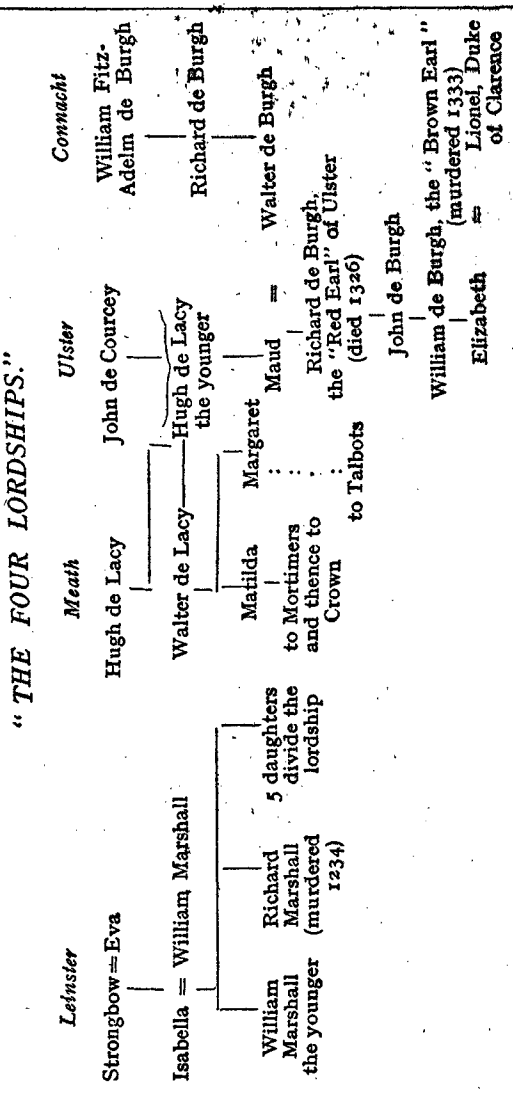
The Geraldines in Munster.—Apart from the four great lordships, there were minor settlements in South Munster, some of which became of importance in later years. We have seen that one branch of the Fitz-Gerald family had acquired lands in Leinster under the Marshalls. Another branch established itself on the south bank of the lower Shannon, and acquired large tracts of the ancient territories of the O'Donovans (*page* 74) adjoining the lands given to Raymond Le Gros by

Mac Carthy (*page* 123). About the middle of the thirteenth century these were given a grant of "*Desmond and the Decies*,"* thus acquiring an interest on both sides of Munster. *Cork*, and the district around, had been granted by Henry II to De Cogan and Fitz-Stephen, and on the part of this territory, lying *between the Blackwater and the sea*, the Barrys, Roches, Flemings, and other Normans had settled. In later times this, too, became part of the possessions of the Munster Geraldines.

The Nucleus of "the Pale."—The settlement in the immediate neighbourhood of Dublin differed materially from those throughout the country. In the vicinity of the seat of government, *no powerful noble* was established, but small "manors" were granted to petty barons, each of whom was the immediate vassal of the King or of his nominee, the Archbishop of Dublin. The settlers around the city were accordingly *dependents of the Crown*, and no great lord stood between them and its authority. They, together with the remnants of De Lacy's lordship of Meath, ultimately formed the "*Pale*."

The city was occupied chiefly by colonists from *Bristol*. Many of these were slaughtered by a sudden attack of the neighbouring clans at *Cullenswood* near Rathmines on Easter Monday, 1209, and a fresh colony from Bristol came across to take their place.

* "*Decies*" (*na Deisi*) *was originally granted to Le Poer.*



SECTION III. THE PRESSURE ON THE CLANS

Lack of Cohesion.—The clans naturally opposed a strenuous resistance to this continued and widespread series of marauding raids. Their weakness lay in family disputes and in the want of national cohesion. The centralised authority which Turlough Mór O'Connor had struggled to establish was strangled at its birth. Even the provincial Kings might now have done something towards greater local unity, but their authority

had been weakened in the struggle. The traditional influence of their families, however, remained, and their leadership was recognised. The heads of the opposition in every district were the *representatives of the dynasties* which for so many centuries had ruled the various Kingdoms.

The O Maolachlans in Meath.—In Meath many generations of the O Maolachlans atoned by brave fighting for the fatal dissensions of their family. During all this period one chief after another—still bearing the title of "*King of Tara*"—carried on a continued fight against the De Lacys and their followers, breaking down their castles again and again. Most prominent amongst those chiefs was "*Art na g-Caislean*," or "Art of the Castles," "the greatest warrior of his time against the English," who died in 1283 after a reign of over 40 years. These efforts prevented the full extension westwards of Norman power, and confined the "causeway" to Athlone to dangerously narrow limits. But all their eastern territories were lost to them, and even the western portion of their ancient Kingdom was split in two.* Henceforward, the families of the Southern Uí Neill—O Maolachlan, Mac Geoghegan, Molloy, etc.—appear mostly in association with the neighbouring clans of Laighin.

Separation of the Leinster Clans.—The former Kingdom of *Laighin* was also divided, the Norman "wedge" in the plains separating the clans in the mountains from those in the district around the Bog of Allen and Slieve Blooms. From this open country the *Mac Murroughs*, *O'Byrnes* and *O'Tooles* were driven on one side into the mountainous distrcit on the east, while the *O'Connors of Uí Failghe* and the *O'Moores of Laoighis* had to retreat to the difficult country on the west. *Domhnal Caomhanach*, son of Diarmuid Mac Murrough, had been acknowledged as *King of Laighin*, and the title was continued in his family, who took the name of *Mac Murrough Kavanagh*. They still maintained their independence in part of their patrimony of Uí Cinnsealaigh, but, cut off from their principal supporting clans, they were shorn of their power.

Massacre of O'Connors of Uı Failghe.—In Uí Failghe the O'Connors opposed the Normans of Meath on one frontier, and those of Kildare on another. Their greatest disaster was due to an act of treachery on the part of a Norman named *Pierse Bermingham*. The chief of Uí Failghe, his brother, Calvagh O'Connor, who was named the "Great Rebel," and thirty chiefs of the clan, were invited by Bermingham to a feast at his castle of Carbury. When the banquet was over the Norman caused every one of his guests to be murdered (1305).

* *The detached northern part of Teabtha came under the power of O'Farrell, hitherto sub-chief in Breifne, who gave it the name of Anghaile* (*Annally=County Longford*).

Migrations in Desmond.—In South Munster the dislocation of the clans was even greater than elsewhere. While in other parts of the country the clans were forced to retire to restricted parts of their own territories, the pressure in Desmond resulted frequently in wholesale migrations to new and strange lands. In their later situations, also, the new comers, on their part, caused a serious disturbance of the earlier inhabitants. The advance of the Normans along the valley of the Suir drove the *Mac Carthys* and the *O'Sullivans* from their traditional territories on the plains of Cashel, and forced them to transfer themselves to the mountainous districts of West Munster. On the Blackwater the *O'Callaghans* and the *O'Lehanes* were driven westwards. Other clans were similarly forced to migrate, by aggression from Cork on one side and Limerick on the other.

The Mac Carthys: Battle of Callan.—In their new and limited territories in the extreme south-west the *Mac Carthys* were still acknowledged as supreme *chiefs of Desmond*, and they led the clans in their immediate neighbourhood in maintaining their independence. They soon, however, became divided into two branches—*Mac Carthy Mór* and *Mac Carthy Riabhach* (Reagh), and dissensions which followed permitted the Geraldines to encroach further upon them. Fionan (or Florence) Mac Carthy Riabhach in a fierce battle at *Callan*, near Kenmare, eventually inflicted a complete defeat upon the Geraldines and their allies, and put a stop to their aggressions (1261). West of Cork and south of Tralee the clans remained thenceforward independent. But this compact mountainous territory was almost completely *encircled by Norman settlements*, and Mac Carthy was cut off from the isolated clans which still remained scattered over many parts of Desmond.

Domhnall Mór O'Brien.—Domhnall Mór O'Brien, the victor of Thurles, continued his defence of Thomond, and succeeded in keeping the Normans out of his territories. When Prince John built castles in the valley of the Suir, Domhnall swept down and destroyed them all as far as Ardfinnan (1185). When De Courcey invaded Connacht, O'Brien assisted Connor Moinmoy O'Connor in repelling him (1188). Again, when a large force of Normans crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, O'Brien fell upon them and drove them back (1192). Upon his death (1194), all Thomond, both north and south of the Shannon, was still free of the invaders. In *Limerick*, alone, had they a footing and even there they were not secure.

Dissensions of O'Briens.—Domhnall's son followed his father's example by destroying Norman castles in Eile and as far as Laoighis, but dissensions arose in the O'Brien family, and a Norman castle was built at *Killaloe* (1215) which secured another passage across the Shannon.

Their own disputes, however, did not prevent the O'Briens from interfering in the quarrels of others, and we find them aiding O'Connor claimants in Connacht, and assisting Marshall against De Lacy. They showed, however, one notable sign of broad patriotism when, as will be seen, Tadhg O'Brien waived his traditional claims, and acknowledged Brian O'Neill as Ard Rí at the *Conference of Caol Uisge* (1258).

Murder of Brian Ruadh O'Brien.—An act of cruelty and gross treachery marks the last effort of the Normans to occupy Thomond. *Thomas De Clare*, Earl of Gloucester, secured a "grant" of Thomond from Edward I of England in 1275, and two years later proceeded to realise it. A dispute was raging between two members of the O'Brien family—Brian Ruadh and Turlough. De Clare espoused the cause of Brian Ruadh and pledged his friendship in the most solemn manner. The allies defeated Turlough, but De Clare suddenly changed sides, treacherously captured Brian Ruadh, and caused him to be put to death by being dragged between two horses (1277). All Thomond arose: the sons of Brian defeated De Clare and captured him and his relative, Fitz-Gerald—and released them upon conditions! The attempt was again renewed, but De Clare was defeated and slain (1286), and Thomond remained almost completely free from the invader.

Family Strife in Connacht.—In Connacht the quarrels between the descendants of Turlough Mór O'Connor* surpassed any of the disputes of either Gael or Norman elsewhere. They were more intense, more lasting, and more confusing. Practically every branch of the O'Connor family participated in the struggle, which was continued throughout this period and long afterwards. A few brief intervals relieved the series of bitter contests, and a few prominent names stand out for a time amidst the chaos. To those few exceptions must be ascribed the fact that Connacht was not completely subdued by the Normans.

Connor "Moinmoy."—The parricidal strife began when in 1177 Muirkertagh, a son of Rory O'Connor, rebelled against his father and brought in the aid of De Cogan. The attempt, however, ended in disaster. After a brief struggle with another son, Connor "Moinmoy," Rory retired into the *Abbey of Cong* (1186), where, twelve years later, the *last Ard Rí* died. Connor Moinmoy, now King, was forced to meet the attack of *De Courcey* in 1188. Aided by Domhnall Mór O'Brien he drove De Courcey west towards the frontiers of Tír Chonaill, where he was met by its then chief, *O'Maldory*. Flight alone saved De Courcey, and he escaped across the Shannon after severe loss. Other Irish chiefs joined the new alliance, but next year Connor Moinmoy was assassinated (1189), and the brief unity and the peace of Connacht alike ended.

* *See Table on page* 143.

Cathal "Crobh Dearg."—A fierce struggle ensued between Cathal "Carrach," son of Connor Moinmoy, and Cathal "Crobh Dearg" ("the Red Hand"), the youngest son of Turlough Mór. For twelve years the contest was continued, Cathal Carrach being aided by De Burgh and Cathal Crobh Dearg by De Lacy, De Courcey, and O'Neill of Tír Eoghain. During all this time the attempts of Crobh Dearg were frustrated. At length by lavish promises he won over De Burgh to his side, and Cathal Carrach was defeated and slain (1201). The followers of De Burgh were quartered in Connacht, but suddenly the inhabitants fell upon them and massacred 700 of them. De Burgh next year raided Connacht in revenge, but he died in 1204. Cathal Crobh Dearg was now supreme, and until his death, in 1224, he kept the invaders at bay and Connacht at peace. In 1210 he made a formal acknowledgment to King John, and he afterwards supported the Marshalls against the De Lacys. The most able and vigorous of the sons of Turlough Mór, he was a worthy successor to the fame of Domhnall Mór O'Brien.

Renewed Strife.—On the death of Cathal Crobh Dearg the disputes of the O'Connors again broke out between the *sons of Cathal* on one part, and the *sons of Rory* on the other. For twenty-five years—1224–1249—the bitter struggle was continued, each side being supported by both Irish and Norman allies from Connacht and elsewhere. But while the Irish clans returned from battle to their own territories, the Normans remained and built castles. De Burgh and the Geraldines frequently changed sides, and on repeated occasions ravaged Connacht from end to end and established their castles in many districts. In 1249, however, *Felim, son of Cathal Crobh Dearg*, became King and the dissensions of the O'Connors ceased for a time.

Peace and Further Strife.—During the reigns of *Felim* (1249–1265) and of his son *Aodh* (1265–1274), the O'Connor family remained unusually free from domestic strife, and Norman influence was, consequently, kept in check. Aodh had distinguished himself in youth by his resistance to the invaders, and he represented his father at the conference of *Caol Uisge* in 1258 and led the forces of Connacht at the subsequent Battle of *Downpatrick* (*page* 142). While King, he took several castles from the Geraldines, and successfully foiled their attempt upon Tír Chonaill. Upon his death, however, the fatal jealousies of the posterity of Turlough Mór were revived and resulted in warfare which surpassed in confusion all that had gone before. In one year after his death, three members of the family succeeded one another as King; every branch of the descendants of Cathal Crobh Dearg took part in the contests, and, to add to the turmoil, the posterity of Muirkertach "Muimhneach"*

* *The "Munsterman."*

(another son of Turlough's), known as the "*Clann Murtough*," entered the lists. The strength of the Siol Murray was dissipated, and the *Red Earl of Ulster* (*page* 131) became the most powerful noble in Connacht. At length peace seemed to be restored when *Felim*, a descendant of Aodh, the son of Cathal Crobh Dearg, was inaugurated as King of Connacht through the influence of *MacDermott*, the powerful chief of the most important of the minor branches of the Siol Murray (1309).

Norman Lord and Irish King in Connacht.—The power of the Red Earl in Connacht was, however, that of mere feudal supremacy, and it did not represent any fresh acquisition of territory. The tide of Norman colonisation had exhausted itself by this time and no new settlements were being made. De Burgh was Norman Lord of Connacht, while one or other member of the O'Connor family claimed to be Irish King of Connacht, and a natural rivalry existed between the two. De Burgh was opposed by Norman antagonists; the O'Connors fought between themselves over the claims of different competitors of the same family. In the long series of bitter contests occasioned by the latter, practically all the clans of Connacht took part on behalf of the different claimants—the clans of the Siol Murray and of the other branches of the Uí Briuin, the clans of Uí Fiachra, and the old subordinate clans. But in no instance did any but an O'Connor claim to be leader. Whoever was the rightful O'Connor was recognised head of the clans of Connacht.

Effects of the Pressure in Connacht.—The displacement of the clans in Connacht was not so marked as it was in the case of those already dealt with. The *O'Connors* and the other clans of *Siol Murray* still retained nearly all their own patrimonies. So also did their kindred Uí Briuin of Breifne—now divided into two sections under *O'Rourke* and *O'Reilly* respectively. The Uí Briuin of the west, however, were driven from their lands on the east of Lough Corrib, and settled under their chiefs, the *O'Flaherties*, to the west of that lake. Both branches of the *Uí Fiachra* lost territory by the Norman occupation around Galway and on the lower Moy respectively, and they became too weak to question the sole supremacy in Connacht of O'Connor. In *Luighne* the occupation of the Upper Moy drove the clans to settle (but only for a time) in other territories. Many castles were built in *Uí Maine*, but a fierce resistance there on the part of the *O'Kellys*—combined with occasional time-serving—succeeded in preventing any occupation that would have *linked up* the passes on the middle and lower Shannon, and checked any expansion of the settlement in the districts around the *bridge of Athlone*.

The Northern Uí Neill.—When practically all the rest of the Irish chiefs formally accepted Henry II of England as their titular over-lord, the chiefs of the Northern Uí Neill held sternly aloof. The Cineal

Eoghain and the Cineal Chonaill alike refused to acknowledge any superior in the land of Eire. Their independence won for them respect, and no attempt was made to "grant" their territories to any of the adventurers. This alone would not have saved Tír Eoghain or Tír Chonaill from the rapacity of the Norman barons had they been more accessible. Their *remote position*, however, supported the spirit of their chiefs. Tír Chonaill could be attacked only on the narrow pass across the *Lower Erne* after the Normans had penetrated Connacht; Tír Eoghain could be reached only through the *mountain passes* north-west of Dundalk, and these were still surrounded by independent clans of Oirghialla, or else by an attack across the *Lower Bann* from De Courcey's settlement in "Ulster." At these points attempts were, indeed, made during this period, but without any real success.

In both sections of the Northern Uí Neill this period witnesses the accession to sole and permanent leadership of two families which henceforward figure prominently in Irish affairs—in Tír Eoghain the *O'Neills*, in Tír Chonaill the *O'Donnells*.

Tír Chonaill.—It has already been noticed (*page* 72) that of the two divisions of the ancient Kingdom of *Aileach*, the Cineal Eoghain had become predominant and had monopolised the sovereign title. But the Cineal Chonaill still remained independent and the recent partition of the old Kingdom (*page* 94) had strengthened their position. For some generations their leaders had been of the family of *O'Maldory*, and it was under a prince of that name that they drove back De Courcey when, on his raid through Connacht in 1188 (*page* 136), he approached their western frontiers. Again, in 1197, when the Normans from De Courcey's earldom crossed the lower Bann, and marched along the northern coast, Flaherty O'Maldory met them on the shores of Lough Foyle and defeated them at *Faughanvale*. In this battle, the last exploit of his family, O'Maldory appears as the leader of both the Cineal Chonaill and the Cineal Eoghain.

Domhnall Mór O'Donnell.—After a short contest between rival claimants, the supremacy of Tír Chonaill became finally vested in a chief in whose family it remained ever afterwards until the fatal day of Kinsale (*page* 263). This was Domhnall Mór O'Donnell, who became prince of Tír Chonaill in 1208, and reigned over it until 1241. At the time of his accession the Geraldines in Connacht had advanced to the Erne, and they attempted to build a castle at *Caol Uisge* (near Belleek) to guard the passage of that river. But O'Donnell, aided by O'Neill of Tír Eoghain, fell upon the Normans and destroyed the castle (1210), and during the rest of his long reign his territory remained free from foreign intrusion. Nor did he act solely on the defensive.

Married to a daughter of Cathal Crobh Dearg, he participated in the disputes of the *O'Connors*, while he also interfered in the affairs of *Tír Eoghain*, and upon one occasion at least took its hostages, while the last incident of his career was the battle of *Caimeirghe* (1241), which, as will be seen, placed the O'Neills in permanent power in Tír Eoghain.

Claims of O'Donnell in Connacht.—In his efforts against the Norman menace from Sligo, Domhnall Mór revived ancient claims over the territory called *Cairbre* (Carbury), the district lying between Sligo and Lough Melvin. According to the "*Book of Rights*" (*page* 26), this district was part of the Kingdom of Aileach. But the claims of the Uí Neill had always been contested by the neighbouring families of the Western Siol Chuinn. O'Donnell now renewed them and declared himself Lord of "*Lower Connacht.*" His object may have been to protect himself against the Geraldines, but in future years, when that danger had vanished, there remained a constant cause of conflict between the O'Donnells and the family of O'Connor Sligo.

Battle of Credran.—During the declining years of Domhnall Mór the Geraldines had increased their power in the adjoining territories of Connacht, and in 1245 they succeeded in building the Castle of Sligo. Two years later Lord Maurice Fitz-Gerald defeated and slew Melaghlin O'Donnell on the River Erne and placed *O'Cannanain* (Cannon), the representative of a rival family, over Tír Chonaill. *Godfrey O'Donnell*, however, quickly re-established the supremacy of his family and ten years later defeated Fitz-Gerald in a battle at *Credran* in Cairbre, destroyed the castle that had now been erected at Caol Uisge, and burnt Sligo (1257). *Domhnall Óg*, the son of Domhnall Mór (1258–1281), continued the struggle with success, but after his death rival members of the O'Donnell family fought for the chieftianship. Tír Chonaill, weakened by the dissensions, was forced to give hostages to the Red Earl, who, penetrating the country, erected a castle beyond its eastern frontier at *Greencastle* in Inishowen (1305).

O'Donnells and O'Neills: Battle of Desertereaght.—Although it was by the assistance of O'Donnell that the O'Neills had been made supreme in Tír Eoghain, the ancient rivalry did not, on that account, cease. On the contrary, *new ambitions* on the part of both families in respect of adjoining territories had introduced, as will be seen, new seeds of strife. The great rival chiefs of the North were frequently at war. It is said that immediately after the battle of Credran O'Neill demanded tribute from Godfrey O'Donnell,* and that the latter, carried on his

* *The laconic messages are thus given: O'Neill to O'Donnell—"Pay me my tribute, or——" O'Donnell to O'Neill—"I owe you no tribute, and if——."*

dying bier, defeated his opponent at *Conwal* near Letterkenny. The story is not corroborated by the Irish annals, but the Cineal Chonaill did not take part in the Conference of Caol Uisge in the following year, nor in the battle of Downpatrick. Eventually a fierce conflict took place between the rivals at *Desertcreaght* in Tír Eoghain not far from Lough Neagh, to which O'Donnell had penetrated aided by auxiliaries from Connacht. *Aodh Buidhe O'Neill*, with the assistance of Norman forces, defeated the Cineal Chonaill; Domhnall Óg was slain, and the power of Tír Chonaill shattered (1281). In the accounts of this battle O'Donnell is described as "*King of Tir Chonaill, Fermanagh and Oirghialla.*"

Mac Laughlins in Tír Eoghain.—Rory O'Connor had broken up the *Kingdom of Aileach*, and had endeavoured to partition Tír Eoghain between the kindred but rival families of Mac Laughlin and O'Neill. In the first he was successful, for, although the tradition remained long afterwards it was merely the excuse for an empty title. In the second he was not successful, for although the two families of the Cineal Eoghain remained hostile, their contest was for the leadership of the *entire territory*. At first the supremacy lay with the Mac Laughlins. It was *Domhnal Mac Laughlin*, "King of Aileach" who fought against De Courcey, and died in the moment of victory near *Newry* in 1188, and his brother, Muirkertach, who succeeded him, also fought against the invaders. But at the battle of *Faughanvale* a Mac Laughlin fought on the side of the Normans against O'Maldory.

Supremacy of the O'Neills.—In 1198 *Aodh O'Neill* became "King of Aileach" despite the opposition of the Mac Laughlins. During a reign of over thirty years he not only kept the invaders out of Tír Eoghain but attacked them at different points—with O'Donnell at *Caol Uisge* in 1211, and with Mac Mahon of Oirghialla and O'Hegney of Fermanagh at Clones in 1212. When King John came to Ireland in 1210 he was met by O'Neill, who departed "without hostages or security." He aided the De Lacys in their war with Marshall and also participated in the feuds of the O'Connors. Upon his death in 1230 the struggle of the two families was renewed. At length in the battle of *Caimeirghe*, *Brian O'Neill* won a decisive victory with the aid of Domhnall Mór O'Donnell. The Mac Laughlins never again challenged the superiority of their rivals, and the *O'Neills* ever afterwards were *sole leaders* of the Cineal Eoghain (1241).

Conference of Caol Uisge: Battle of Downpatrick.—During the reign of Brian O'Neill in Tír Eoghain another attempt at cohesion, similar to that made in the time of Connor Moinmoy, was made by some of the Irish princes. At a conference held at Caol Uisge on the River Erne, *Tadhg O'Brien*, King of Thomond, and *Aodh O'Connor*, son of

Felim, King of Connacht, met Brian O'Neill to arrange for common action by the Irish. The three great houses which had struggled for the supremacy of Ireland before the coming of the Normans were thus represented. Patriotically laying aside their own claims, O'Brien and O'Connor accepted O'Neill as *supreme King* (1258). But in two years the brief alliance ended disastrously. In a fierce battle, fought near *Downpatrick*, the Irish led by Brian O'Neill and Aodh O'Connor were defeated with great slaughter by the Normans under the Lord Deputy. O'Neill was slain and became known in history as "*Brian of the Battle of Down*" (1260).

Aodh Buidhe and Domhnall O'Neill.—Brian was succeeded as "King of Aileach" by his cousin, *Aodh Buidhe* (Hugh Boy), who in 1281 defeated Domhnall Óg O'Donnell at *Desertcreaght*. Upon his death (in 1283) his son and the son of Brian became rivals for the Kingship. The contest lasted until 1295 when Brian's son, *Domhnall O'Neill*, secured the position. The Cineal Eoghain were, however, weakened by the dissensions, and Domhnall was unable to prevent the Red Earl from erecting the castle of *Greencastle* in his territory of Inishowen, and even had to surrender hostages to him. It was Domhnall O'Neill who invited Edward Bruce to take the crown of Ireland (*see next Chapter*).

The Clans of Ulaidh and Oirghialla.—The flood tide of invasion had now spent itself, and both the Cineal Chonaill and the Cineal Eoghain, although weakened, had preserved their integrity. It was otherwise, however, with their neighbours of *Ulaidh* and *Oirghialla*. These former Kingdoms, already, as we have seen (*page* 93), mere vassal states of the "Kings of Aileach," were completely disorganised by the settlements that had been made amongst them. The isolated clans which still held possession of their lands were too weak to protect themselves, and were forced to seek the protection of the *Uí Neill* leaders against the foreigners. Such protection implied supremacy, and we find therefore both O'Neill and O'Donnell claiming an *over-lordship* over the districts around them. O'Neill, in particular, as "King of Aileach," began to figure as ruler of all the North, but O'Donnell also put forward claims, more limited in extent, over the territories adjoining Tír Chonaill.

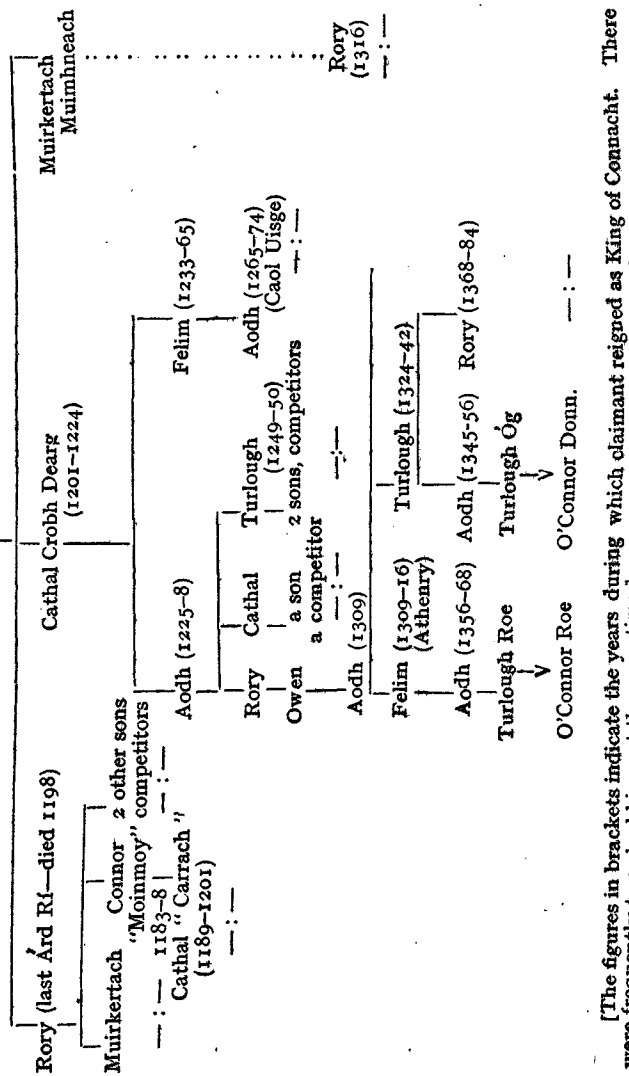
To the ancient rivalry of the two branches of the Northern Uí Neill were now added *rival territorial ambitions*.

Mac Guinness, Mac Mahon, Maguire.—In the two shattered northern states new names now arose which figure prominently in later history. In *Ulaidh*, south of De Courcey's settlement, *Mac Guinness*, descended from the clan Rury, retained large territories bordering on the passes between the Mourne Mountains and the south of Lough Neagh.

Oirghialla was now roughly divided into three parts—the *eastern* occupied by the Normans, comprising the modern county of Louth or "Oriel"; the *middle*, in which *Mac Mahon* descended from the O'Carrolls, former Kings of Oirghialla, becomes chief; and the *western*, or "Fermanagh," in which *Maguire* at this time supersedes the earlier chiefs.

All those clans, together with others less prominent, became more and more dependent upon their more *powerful neighbours* for support and leadership.

The Descendants of Turlough Mór O'Connor.



[The figures in brackets indicate the years during which claimant reigned as King of Connacht. There were frequently two rival kings at the same time.]

Section IV. General Nature of the Settlement

End of "Conquest."—The tide of invasion had spent itself long before the end of this period. It had, in fact, been a single wave. The early adventurers had been left to spread anarchy in the country and to profit by the result. They got *few new recruits*, and very little help from the Crown of England. The Kings and barons of England were otherwise engaged. During the reigns of John, Richard I and Henry III, England was distracted by the contentions of kings and nobles; Richard I was engrossed by the Crusades; Edward I was occupied in conquering Wales, attempting to conquer Scotland, and in carrying on war in France. Instead of getting help from the King, the Normans in Ireland had to assist him in his wars. During the latter half of the thirteenth century, therefore, there had been very little acquisition of Irish territory by the invaders—the fighting that took place was only the result of the effort to secure the possessions already so violently seized upon.

No Central Authority.—There was practically no central authority to control the restless and lawless adventurers. The English King's representative was nearly always one of their own class, whom they regarded as a *rival*, often fought him in the field, and occasionally made him a captive in their castles. Sometimes bishops were appointed to act for the King, like John's favourites, *John de Gray*,* Bishop of Norwich (1210–13) and *Henry de Londres*, Archbishop of Dublin (1213–15 and 1219–24) who, between them, erected Dublin Castle and St. Patrick's Cathedral. On a few occasions the Lord Deputy was an English official or a royal favourite like *Peirs Gaveston*† (1308–9), to show his contempt for whom the Red Earl set up an opposition Court at Trim. The spirit which the King could not control in England was thus given free play in Ireland. The natural result followed. "The great nobles quarrelled, fought, oppressed the people, defied the viceroys, despised the Crown."‡ The native effort towards a central authority which began with Brian Boroimhe, and was almost consummated by Turlough O'Connor, was *thwarted and destroyed*. Even the traditional local authority of the great families was, in most cases, either shattered or made ineffective. No substitute for national government was even offered by the marauding nobles. On the contrary, they effectively checked and defeated any effort towards unity and orderly government. Incapable themselves of governing the country they remained *a disturbing element*, just strong enough to hinder the natural political development of the nation.

* *It was the Pope's refusal to recognise De Gray as Archbishop of Canterbury that resulted in the excommunication of King John and an "interdict" on England.*

† *Afterwards executed by the English nobles.*

‡ *Professor Geo. T. Stokes, D.D.*

Extent of Settlements.—The extent of the settlements has been indicated in dealing with the great Lordships, but it is important to realise clearly the broad lines in which they lay. With a base that stretched from Dublin to Dundalk a great Norman triangle reached to Trim and was continued to Athlone. Beyond it lay the belts to Galway, and thence to Killala Bay and Sligo. On the north it was connected, through dangerous passes which were bordered by Irish clans, with the remote settlement around Strangford Lough and Belfast Lough. On the south lay the plains and coast of Leinster, which united by double bonds Dublin and Waterford. From the occupied district around Waterford Norman lines lay along the valleys of the south-eastern rivers and reached, with difficulty, to Limerick. Below Limerick the Geraldines lay from Croom to Tralee. But no effective communication was established between Limerick and Athlone, the lower and upper keys respectively, to Connacht. Attempts had been made to occupy both banks of the Shannon between those towns, but on each side they had been repelled.

The Clans and their Leaders.—Norman *wedges* were thus driven through the island, splitting up every district into sections. In these sections—which generally consisted of difficult or naturally protected country—the Irish remained independent. In most cases the lands they retained were part of their original possessions, and in their diminished territories the clans still grouped themselves under the recognised leadership of the *titular Kings* of the ancient but now shattered Kingdoms. On the slopes of the Leinster mountains *Mac Murrough Kavanagh* was still called King of Laighin; in the extreme south-west *Mac Carthy* was acknowledged King of Desmond by kindred and allies; north of the Shannon, *O'Brien* was still King of the Dalcassian and other clans of Thomond; the clans of Connacht recognised as King one or other of the warring competitors of the *O'Connor* family. But these leaders, and the adjoining clans who followed them, were encompassed by lines of Norman castles and cut off from many of the clans who had previously acknowledged their rule.

O'Neills in the North: The Midland "Island."—In this compulsory new grouping of the clans there were two groups which call for special attention. The first was in *the north*, over which the supremacy of the O'Neills had greatly extended by their over-lordship over the chiefs of Oirghialla on their south, and the chiefs of Ulaidh, both south and north of Lough Neagh, on their east. Their supremacy—challenged only by the equal traditions of the O'Donnells—bid fair to make the prehistoric "*Cuige Uladh*" a reality. The second was the remarkable grouping of clans of different Kingdoms which took place in the

midlands, where they formed an "*island*" *of Irish independence*, which for centuries continued to be a most important factor in Irish affairs. In the centre of the country these detached members of various stocks,* without a common leader, surrounded by Normans, remained unsubdued and exercised a powerful influence upon the districts around them. They, on one side of the Shannon, and the O'Kellys of Uí Maine on the other, were the principal barriers which lay between *Athlone and Limerick*. On their north they menaced *the way to Athlone*; on their east they threatened the *plains of Leinster*.

The Two Peoples.—An extraordinary state of affairs is shown by this chequered design. In one small island lie two races of different language and different culture, two systems of government, two systems of law, two social systems, side by side, interspersed, dovetailed. The Norman lord in his castle rules his retainers by feudal law; the Gaelic chief leads his clan and administers it by Brehon law. Each surrounds and is surrounded by the other. Each despises the other until experience modifies the views of both. There is no authority over the chief except the free spirit of the clan and the influence of brehon or bard; little authority over the lord beyond the occasional power of the King's deputy and the more infrequent visit of the King's sheriff.

Norman Counties and Parliament.—Two attempts, indeed, were made by the Crown to curb the power of the Norman nobles in Ireland. The first was on the occasion of the second visit to Ireland of John (now King), who at the time was under the ban of excommunication by the Pope (1210). The parts of Ireland which were occupied by the Normans were parcelled out into "*counties*" of which twelve† were named. In each of these counties the *King's sheriff* was supposed to represent the authority of the Crown of England, and the *King's Judge* to administer the law of England. This arrangement, however, affected only the Normans in the newly created counties, and they, on the whole, regarded it but lightly. The second attempt was when Sir John Wogan, Lord Deputy, summoned the *first representative Parliament* of the Normans in Ireland which passed a law prohibiting (amongst other matters) private wars (1295). But immediately afterwards De Burgh and Fitz-Gerald were again fighting one another!

Two Races in the Church.—The hostility between the two races entered even into the Church. From the first there had been friction between the Irish and Norman clergy, and St. Laurence O'Toole

* *O'Carroll of Eile, Fitzpatrick of Osraighe, O'Moore of Laoighis, O'Connor of Uí Failghe, O'Maolachlan, King of Tara, Mac Geoghegan, O'Molloy of Fercal, etc.*

† *Dublin (which included Wicklow); Uriel or Louth, Carlow, Kilkenny, Wexford, Kildare, Meath (including Westmeath), Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kerry, and Tipperary. There were none in "Connacht" or "Ulster."*

had to suspend 140 of the latter for their irregular lives. After the death of St. Laurence, the *Archbishops of Dublin* were all nominees of the King of England, and were for the most part courtiers and politicians rather than ecclesiastics. Wherever Norman power extended, the bishops were also generally the nominees of the King. The Pope, however, who, during this time was struggling against the claims of temporal sovereigns to "invest" bishops, frequently supported the Irish clergy in their election of Irish bishops to their dioceses. *Nicholas Maol Iosa*, Archbishop of Armagh (1272–1303) vehemently opposed the appointment of Norman bishops, and formed an association amongst other bishops to resist it. Thus there were *Norman bishops* in some dioceses and *Irish bishops* in others. A similar state of affairs prevailed in the *monasteries* both of the old orders and of the new orders of "friars"—Franciscans, Dominicans, Carmelites—which were introduced at this time. In the religious houses in Norman lands no Irishman was allowed to enter, while in those in Irish lands no Norman was admitted. The *building of great abbeys*, which had begun before the Invasion, was continued by the Irish chiefs. The Normans, too, who were great builders of abbeys as well as castles, erected many abbeys in the districts which they had been able to occupy.

Section V. Literature of the Period

Decay in Literature and Art.—During the ravages of the Norsemen Ireland had produced both literature and art; some of her greatest works belong to the period when the rival claimants for supreme power were bitterly fighting in all parts of the country. But the warfare inaugurated by the Normans had a more *paralysing effect* upon Irish genius. The advent of the new invaders inaugurated a period of decay in both literature and art. Their warfare was one that threatened the extermination of a people, or, at least, the destruction of their social and political system. Poet and scholar were alike driven from their studies and their dreams. The Invasion "thoroughly arrested Irish development and disintegrated Irish life."*

Respect for Learning.—Yet learning, and the ancient esteem for it, were not extinguished in Ireland. The annals, which are so sparing in their references to any but special events, record, year after year, the careers of famous professors, lawyers, historians and bards in all districts of the country. Most of these held hereditary positions attached to some great chief and retained for generations in the same family. But initiative and creative power appear in only very few instances.

* *Professor Douglas Hyde—"Literary History of Ireland."*

Donough Mór O'Daly.—The only prominent writer of the period is Donough Mór O'Daly. Although he lived and was buried (1244) in the Abbey of *Boyle*, it is uncertain whether he was a cleric or layman. His poems, however, are all on religious subjects. Thirty-one of these remain, and are conspicuous for their smoothness, which has caused him to be styled the Irish "*Ovid.*"

Murrough O'Daly : Mac Namee.—Another poet of the same name, Murrough O'Daly, of Lissadill near Sligo, is chiefly celebrated for a famous flight he was forced to make before O'Donnell of Tír Chonaill. The poet, having killed O'Donnell's messenger who was levying tribute in *Cairbre* (*page* 140), fled before the vengeance of the chief through many parts of Ireland. Eventually he found a refuge in Scotland, and was at length pardoned by O'Donnell in return for some verses he addressed to the latter. Most of his poems which remain were preserved by means of Gaelic tradition in *Scotland.*

Amongst the other few poets of the period the only prominent name is that of *Giolla Bhrighde Mac Namee*, who wrote a lament for Brian O'Neill and other chiefs who fell at Downpatrick.

Irish on the Continent : Ratisbon.—Irish influence on the Continent is still felt both in religion and in scholarship. But abroad, as well as at home, the blighting effects of the invasion are appearing. The bulk of England is now interposed between Ireland and Europe, and the intimate ties which had long associated the Gael with the nations of the Continent are becoming weak. Irish monks, however, still proceed to the monasteries founded by their countrymen. Of these, the greatest now is *Ratisbon*, which at this period establishes branches in *Vienna* and elsewhere, and sends missions into *Bohemia* and *Bulgaria.*

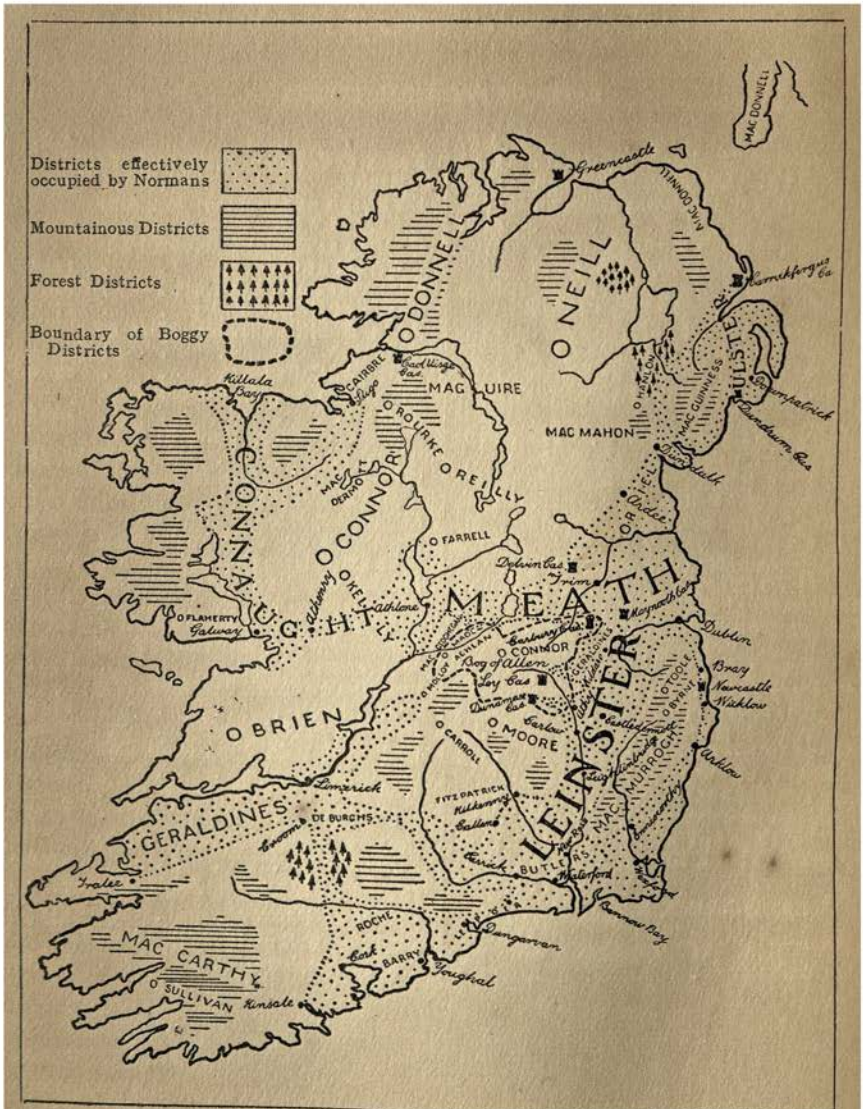
John Duns Scotus.—The most brilliant name amongst Irish scholars on the Continent at this time is that of John Duns Scotus, a great ornament of the *Franciscan* Order. He was first a student of the Franciscan Friary in Downpatrick (whence his name of "Duns") and afterwards taught in the University of Paris and in Cologne. Famous, even in the age which produced Thomas Aquinas, for his wonderful learning and penetrating intellect, he is known as the "*Subtle Doctor.*" He died at *Cologne* in 1308 at the early age of 34 years.

"Giraldus Cambrensis" : Morice Regan.—At this period we first find works on Ireland by foreigners. Of those writers the most celebrated is "Giraldus Cambrensis" or *Gerald Barry*, Archdeacon of Brecknock, and a member of the Geraldine clan. Coming to Ireland in the train of Prince John, he wrote two Latin works giving a description of Ireland, and an account of the Norman "Conquest." Full of anti-Irish prejudice, Giraldus was the first of the line of English traducers of Ireland. Another

account of the incidents of the invasion is that which is called "*The Song of Dermot and the Earl*," a poem by a French writer, based upon a narrative given to him by Morice Regan, secretary to Mac Murrough.

DATES OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

	A.D.
Treaty of Windsor	1175
Death of "Strongbow"	1176
De Courcey in Downpatrick	1177
Prince John's visit	1185
Death of Hugh De Lacy	1186
Connor Moinmoy, King of Connacht	1186–9
De Courcey repelled by Connor Moinmoy and O'Maldory	1188
(*Richard I, King of England*)	1189–99
Death of Domhnall Mór O'Brien	1194
Aodh O'Neill, King of Aileach	1198–1230
(*John, King of England*)	1199–1216
Fall of De Courcey: Hugh De Lacy (the younger) becomes Earl of "Ulster"	1204
(*Normandy annexed to French Crown*)	1204
Domhnall Mór O'Donnell, King of Tir Chonaill	1208–41
Massacre at Cullenswood	1209
King John in Ireland; the De Lacys banished; counties formed	1210
(*Henry III, King of England*)	1216–72
"War of Meath"	1221–24
"War of Kildare": murder of Richard Marshall	1234
Death of Walter De Lacy, last Lord of Meath	1241
Battle of Caimeirghe; O'Neills supreme in Tir Eoghain	1241
Brian O'Neill, King of Aileach	1241–60
Art na g-Caislean, King of Tara	1245–83
Partition of Lordship of Leinster	1245
Felim O'Connor, King of Connacht	1249–65
De Burgh of Connacht becomes Earl of "Ulster"	1255
Godfrey O'Donnell defeats Fitz-Gerald at Credran	1257
Conference of Caol Uisge	1258
Battle of Downpatrick	1260
Aodh Buidhe O'Neill, King of Aileach	1260–83
Battle of Callan	1261
Geraldines expelled from Connacht	1265
Aodh O'Connor, King of Connacht	1265–74
"Red Earl" succeeds to Ulster and Connacht	1271
(*Edward I, King of England*)	1272–1307
Domhnall Og O'Donnell, slain at Desertcreaght	1281
(*Hapsburgs found the House of Austria*)	1276
(*Wales conquered by English*)	1282
(*Alexander III, last Gaelic King of Scotland dies*)	1286
Domhnall O'Neill becomes King of Aileach	1295
(*Wallace in Scotland*)	1297–1305
Red Earl builds castle in Inis Eoghain	1305
Massacre of O'Connors of Uí Failghe	1305
(*Robert Bruce crowned King of Scotland*)	1306
(*Edward II, King of England*)	1307–27
(*Battle of Bannockburn*)	1314
(*William Tell wins independence of Switzerland*)	1315



Norman Settlements at end of 13th century

CHAPTER III

THE ABSORPTION OF THE NORMANS (A.D. 1315–1417)

(FROM THE BRUCE INVASION TO THE DEATH OF ART MAC MURROUGH)

SECTION I. THE BRUCE INVASION

Gaelic Kings and Tradition in Scotland.—The line of Scottish Kings which descended from the Gaels of Dal Riada (*page* 49) had ended with the death of Alexander III in 1286. Gaelic in race, the Kings of Scotland had, for two centuries, ceased to be Gaelic in character. The marriage of *Malcolm "Ceann Mór"* to a Saxon princess in the twelfth century, and the subsequent settlement in Scotland of Norman families —like the *Bruces*, *Stewarts* and *Balliols*—had changed the nature of the Scottish Court. It was by the practically independent rulers of Argyll and "The Isles" that the *Gaelic tradition* in Scotland was now carried on. These—*Mac Donalds* and others—the Gaelicised descendants of the Norse Somerled (Somairle or "Sorley,") who had founded (1150) the "Lordship of the Isles," now occupied the Scottish territories of *Dal Riada*.

The Scots Preserve their Independence.—When, owing to the death of Alexander III, a dispute took place as to the succession to his throne, the matter was referred to Edward I of England. He agreed to arbitrate, and decided in favour of *John Baliol*, one of the claimants. But Edward also put forward a claim of *supremacy over Scotland*,* based upon acts of homage paid by previous Scottish Kings to Kings of England, which were, however, paid in respect only of English lands owned by the Scottish Kings. Baliol and the Scottish Norman nobility weakly submitted, but the Scottish people rose under *William Wallace*, and for eight years fought until Wallace was captured and executed (1305). Next year, however, *Robert Bruce*, another claimant, was crowned King in opposition to the claims of Edward, and after a desperate struggle, in which he was aided by Irish from the north, he secured the independence of Scotland at the victory of *Bannock Burn* (1314).

"Remonstrance" of Domhnall O'Neill.—The Irish had naturally taken a keen interest in the struggle of their neighbours and kinsmen

* *He had annexed Wales to England in* 1283.

in Scotland. Their own condition is well set out in a "Remonstrance" which was sent to the Pope about this time by *Domhnall O'Neill*, King of Aileach.* After pointing out that Henry II, by false representations, had procured authority from the Pope to claim dominion over Ireland, the document goes on to show that the conditions under which this authority had been secured had been violated and that not reforms but disorder and vice were the results. Enumerating the various atrocities that had been committed, such as those by De Bermingham and De Clare, it states that the Irish had been driven from the fertile lands, and that the invaders denied the right of any Irishman to live in his own country. Even their clergy, it went on, were treated with contumely and were denied admission into monasteries and abbeys that had been built and endowed by their own people. Treaties were made only to be broken, the murderers of Irishmen went unpunished, the goods of Irishmen might be plundered with impunity, and they were given no redress by law. The Irish, however, were determined to preserve their lives and liberties against "those cruel tyrants, usurpers of our just properties, and murderers of our persons" to whom they had "never bound themselves by any oath of allegiance."

Invitation to Edward Bruce.—Domhnall O'Neill, the signatory to this "Remonstrance," was the son of Brian of Down, who had been acknowledged as Ard Rí at the conference of *Caol Uisge*. Despite the gloomy tone in which he writes, the Irish had, for some time past, been fairly successful in checking the progress of the invaders. Domhnall had himself contributed to this result. But he saw that the rivalries and jealousies of the Irish chiefs were so strong that unity under a native leader seemed to be hopeless. Himself the heir of the greatest traditions in Ireland, and occupying the strongest position in the island, he patriotically determined to *waive his own claims*, and to endeavour to secure under a stranger king that national unity which a native chief could not secure. The "Remonstrance"† therefore proceeded to say that the Irish had invited *Edward Bruce*, "descendant from our most noble ancestors," to reign over them.

Edward Bruce Lands.—Edward Bruce, to whom the Irish chiefs thus "transferred their own right of royal dominion," was the brother of the victorious *King Robert of Scotland*. Brave and resolute, but reckless and imprudent, he had shared the toils and glories of his brother. Accepting the invitation, Edward Bruce landed either at Larne or at the Glendun river on 25th May, 1315. Joined by O'Neill and other Irish chiefs, and also by many of the descendants of De Courcey's early settlers.

* *He styles himself (in Latin) "King of 'Ultonia' and rightful heir to all Ireland."*

† *It was written, probably, while Bruce was in Ireland.*

he drove his opponents out of all the north, except the castle of *Carrickfergus*, marched south, and captured *Dundalk* and *Ardee*. At the same time, in another direction, *O'Donnell* sacked *Sligo*.

Battle of Connor.—The *Red Earl of Ulster* was, as we have seen, the real leader of the Normans in Ireland at the time. To meet this attack on his own territory of Ulster, he summoned all his forces in Connacht, and both Normans and Irish—the latter led by Felim O'Connor, King of Connacht—assembled at *Athlone*. Near Drogheda the Earl met another army coming from Dublin under *Sir Edmond Butler*, the Lord Deputy. The haughty Earl ordered the King's representative to guard Meath and Leinster, and led his own army against Bruce. The latter retreated to the north, and eventually retired west of the Bann, while De Burgh remained on the eastern bank. *Felim O'Connor* being compelled to withdraw his forces to combat a rival in Connacht, the Red Earl drew back from the river. But he was followed by Bruce, who utterly defeated him at *Connor* (near Ballymena) (10th September, 1315). Some remnants of his forces fled to Carrickfergus; the rest found their way back to Connacht.

Bruce Crowned.—Bruce soon followed up his victory, and marched for the Midlands by Kells and Granard to Loch Seudy (in the modern Co. Westmeath), where he spent Christmas. At *Kells* he had defeated *Sir Roger Mortimer*,* who claimed by right of his wife, a grand-daughter of the younger Hugh de Lacy, part of the lands of Meath. Some of the *De Lacys*—the descendants probably of the first De Lacy's marriage with Rose O'Connor—were in Mortimer's army. But they resented his claims, took no part in the battle, and now openly joined Bruce. The latter opened the New Year by marching into Leinster by Naas and Kildare. At *Ardscull* he defeated *Butler* and other Leinster nobles, and afterwards captured the important centre of Castledermot. Retracing his steps, he returned to Dundalk, where he was solemnly crowned *King of Ireland* (1st May, 1316). The summer and autumn of 1316 he passed in desultory fighting in the north, and in the siege and ultimate capture of *Carrickfergus Castle*.

Rising of the Leinster Clans.—Bruce's march through Leinster had broken the Norman grip on the plains lying between the Liffey and the Barrow (*page* 126), and these were now assailed by the Irish. On one side the *O'Moores*, and on the other the *Mac Murroughs* swept down on the lands from which they had been driven. Similarly, the *O'Byrnes* and *O'Tooles* assailed the coast on the other side of the mountains, and took Arklow, Newcastle and Bray. The Lord Deputy was forced to leave Bruce unmolested while he quelled this attack on the vital communications

* *He was descended, through the Marshalls, from Strongbow and Eva.*

of Leinster. He checked the rally for a time, but a movement had commenced which was to continue for long afterwards.

Battle of Athenry.—Felim O'Connor had left De Burgh on the Bann in order to oppose the attempt of *Rory O'Connor* of the "Clann Murtough" (*page* 138) to supersede him. Rory had distinguished himself by capturing many Norman castles, and had been inaugurated King with the support of most of the chiefs of Connacht. Even *Mulroney Mac Dermott*, chief of Magh Luirg, who had placed Felim on the throne (*page* 138) went over to Rory for a time. He soon returned to Felim, however, and the two defeated and slew Rory. Felim and his lieutenant immediately declared against De Burgh and the Normans, and drove them out of *Luighne* (*page* 138). Declaring his intention of driving the Normans out of Connacht, Felim was joined by all the chiefs of Connacht, by O'Brien of Thomond, and by O Maolachlan and other chiefs of Meath. The defeated Red Earl was now old and without vigour. But his brother, William De Burgh, and Richard De Bermingham, gathered the Norman forces at *Athenry*. There they were attacked by the Irish. In the fiercest and most disastrous battle fought in Connacht since the coming of the Normans, the Irish were utterly defeated. Felim was slain, and with him fell most of the chiefs of Connacht, and many of those of Meath and Thomond (10th August, 1316). Mac Dermott survived the battle, and became the most influential of the Irish of Connacht.

Threat to Dublin.—Edward Bruce had remained comparatively inactive in the north while the clans of Connacht and Leinster were thus fighting. The harvest of 1315 had failed, and provisions were scarce until that of 1316 was gathered in. At the end of the year *Robert Bruce* crossed to Ireland, and the brothers opened a vigorous campaign early in the following year. They led their army straight on *Dublin*, capturing Castleknock and encamping on Kilmainham Green. The citizens made a desperate effort. The suburbs on the west of the city, and on the north of the Liffey, were destroyed, and the materials of St. Saviour's and St. Thomas' Abbey were used to strengthen the city walls. The aged Earl of Ulster, who was suspected because his daughter was married to Robert Bruce, was seized in St. Mary's Abbey and put in prison. The resolution of the citizens probably *saved the Norman power* from extinction. The Bruces withdrew from the city, marched up the Liffey, and took the road round the mountains to the south.

The Bruces in Munster.—The army of the Bruces now penetrated Munster and laid siege to *Limerick*. But Munster did not rise. *O'Brien* of Thomond indeed joined him, but few of the other chiefs came in while another O'Brien—Muirkertach—even joined the Lord Deputy. Not

only famine but pestilence raged in the land. The war had been carried on by both sides in a most destructive manner. The Pope had declared against the invaders.* The Bruces had failed to win the confidence of the Irish, and the neglect to support the clans who fought in the previous year was resented. *Sir Roger Mortimer*,† now Lord Deputy, gathered a large army of the Fitz-Geralds, Butlers, Poers, and other Leinster nobles at *Kilkenny*, and threatened to cut off the Bruces. The latter retreated, and made their way through the Midlands and back to Dundalk, without interference (May, 1317). Robert Bruce soon afterwards returned to Scotland.

Death of Edward Bruce.—The harvest of 1317 also proved a failure, and the scarcity that followed prevented hostilities until that of 1318 was collected. Then a large army marched from Dublin under *John De Bermingham*, brother of the victor of Athenry. Edward Bruce, then at Dundalk, was weaker in numbers, but expected early help from his brother, and O'Neill advised him to avoid a battle. The impetuous Bruce refused to retreat, and O'Neill and the Irish are said to have withdrawn. The two armies met at *Faughart* to the north of Dundalk, where Bruce was decisively beaten and slain (14th October, 1318).

The Annalists on Bruce.—During the three years and a half of the Bruce invasion the sufferings of the Irish people were much greater even than before. The war had been a devastating one, and it had been accompanied by bad harvests, famine, and plague. Whether or not there were other reasons—either personal or national—for animosity it is difficult to say. But it is certain that the Irish annalists are all *bitterly hostile* to Bruce. The "*Four Masters*" in recording his death, say "no achievement had been performed in Ireland for a long time before, from which greater benefit had accrued to the country than from this"; while the "*Annals of Clonmacnoise*" say there was "not a better deed done since the creation of the world and the banishment of the Fomorians." The memory of those years of war was evidently a bitter one; although it is scarcely generous to lay the blame upon the stranger who had been invited to accept the Crown of Ireland.

Section II. The Return of the Clans

Effects of the Invasion.—The failure of the Bruce invasion did not check the recovery of the Irish, which had already begun. On the contrary, the recovery became more pronounced and the clans stronger. The devastation of war, famine, and pestilence had brought the whole

** It was probably in reply to this that Domhnall O'Neill's "Remonstrance" was drawn up.*

† He was afterwards instrumental in the deposition and murder of Edward II and was subsequently hung at Tyburn.

island to ruin, and in this were involved the two races and all classes. But the settlers, being less deeply rooted in the soil, were more affected, and they gave way. The Crown of England had proved itself powerless, and unable to give that *external aid* which alone could have supported them in the country. Their leaders were at deadly feud. So, indeed, were the Irish families, also, but the native clans retained their natural strength, and the *foreign element yielded* before them. Many of the settlers returned to England; many others became absorbed in, or were subdued by, the Irish clans. The century after the invasion witnessed the steady advance of the Irish in all parts of the country.

O'Neills in "Ulster."—The north had been the headquarters of the invaders, and, consequently, the settlers of "Ulster" had suffered heavily. Some of them, indeed, not taking kindly to the De Burgh supremacy, had sided with the Bruces. Their neighbours on the west of the Bann—the O'Neills—were steadily advancing in power under *Domhnall*, and his son, *Aodh* "*Reamhar*" (Hugh, "the fat") (1325–64). The weakness of the settlers now enabled these to cross the Bann, and to aid the old clans of Ulaidh to resume most of their ancient territories, until English influence in the north-east was confined to the peninsulas of the *Lecale* and *Ards*, and a few fortresses along the coast, such as *Carrickfergus*.

"Clann Aodha Buidhe" ("Clandeboye").—Domhnall and Aodh had not been free from domestic troubles, for their leadership was bitterly contested by their kinsmen, the sons of *Aodh Buidhe O'Neill* (*page* 141). The latter, being defeated in the struggle, moved eastwards to the derelict territories of the "earldom" soon after the murder of the "Brown Earl" (*page* 160). Here they occupied a large district along the southern shores of Belfast Lough, and here, in future history, the "*Clann Aodha Buidhe*" figure as the "*O'Neills of Clannaboy*" or Clandeboye. The rulers of Tír Eoghain insisted upon their supremacy over their kinsmen in this conquered district, but the claim was frequently opposed by the rival Clann Aodha Buidhe.

"Kings of Ulster": Territorial Dominion.—To the overlordship which we have seen (*page* 145) the O'Neills had obtained over clans outside of Tír Eoghain was now added a supremacy over nearly all the country *east of the Bann*. They now adopt the title of "King of Ulster" to indicate their leadership over all the north. The name of the *Norman earldom* is utilised to support a claim to a territorial dominion outside the old Kingdom of "Aileach." It is significant also that the names of the territories "*Tír Eoghain*" and "*Tír Chonaill*" are now used instead of the ancient names "Cineal Eoghain" and "Cineal Chonaill," which embodied the idea of kinship rather than of territory.

O'Dohertys Conquer Inis Eoghain.—The success of the O'Neills was, however, confined to the eastern frontiers of Tír Eoghain. On the west the rival O'Donnells not only disputed their authority, but even took from them an important part of their traditional territory. This was the peninsula of *Inis Eoghain* (Inishowen), which was seized upon and permanently occupied early in the fourteenth century by the O'Dohertys, a branch of the Cineal Chonaill. The O'Donnells had again become united under *Aodh*, the son of Domhnall Óg (*page* 140), and during his vigorous reign of fifty years (1283–1333) they imitated the O'Neills by pressing *territorial claims* over Cairbre (*page* 140) and "Fermanagh," and even over Breifne. They were now secure from English attack, for the menace from Connacht to their western frontier had disappeared.

The Meath "Causeway" Broken Down.—The important *strategic* "*causeway*" which led from Trim to Athlone has been noticed in dealing with the early settlement (*page* 127). In the general decay of English power, this important line of communication with Connacht now disappears. The march of Bruce through the midlands must have contributed materially to the effects of the attacks upon it of the clans of Meath. After the invasion these attacks were resumed by the chiefs of Meath* and O'Connor of Uí Failghe on the south, while from the north the O'Farrells cleared the settlers out of "Anghaile." Those who remained became independent of the English Crown, the influence of which was now driven *east of the Boyne.*

The Leinster Lines in Danger.—In Leinster also the two important "belts" which connected Dublin with the south (*page* 125) were in peril. From the slopes of the mountains the clans attacked both the road by the coast and that through the plains. The latter also was assailed on the other side by the clans of the midland "island" (*page* 145), *Lysaght O'Moore* recapturing Dunamase and many other castles in 1329, and *Conall O'Moore* capturing others in 1346. The *O'Connors* recovered much of Uí Failghe from the Earl of Kildare, while *O'Carroll* saved all but the southern part of Eile from the Earl of Ormonde.

"Black Rent" to Mac Murrough.—So perilous was the state of things in these important districts that the English Crown was forced to adopt a policy which was afterwards more fully developed. *Mac Murrough* was still "King of Laighin" and traditional leader of its clans. To Maurice Mac Murrough, therefore, the Crown came in 1335, and requested him *to protect the roads* from Dublin for which they offered (and paid) a sum of eighty marks a year. Thus was commenced the system of "*Black Rents*," or payments to Irish chiefs for protection,

* *O'Maolachlan, Mac Geoghegan, O'Molloy, etc.*

which alone secured toleration for English influence in the narrow territory into which it was being rapidly driven.

Thomond Cleared; "O'Brien of Ara."—Although, as has been seen, the chiefs of Munster had not supported Bruce, yet they had availed themselves of the opportunity his invasion gave them. A few months before the battle of Faughart the O'Briens, aided by Mac Carthy, had defeated another attempt of De Clare to secure a footing in Thomond. Led by Muirkertach—who in the previous year had opposed Bruce—they won a decisive victory at *Dysert O'Dea* (1318), and the English were completely cleared out of all Thomond west of the Shannon. Next they won back most of their former possessions to the east of that river. Muirkertach had a rival in *Brian Ban O'Brien*, who had even fought against him at Dysert O'Dea. The contest went on for some years, but eventually peace was made. Then the O'Briens crossed the Shannon, and drove the English out of Thomond, south of Lough Derg, and here Brian Ban settled, and established a new family known as the "*O'Briens of Ara.*" He succeeded Muirkertach as King of Thomond, made a treaty with the De Burghs (who also had possessions here), and until his death, in 1350, kept Thomond free.

In the south-west, *Desmond* clans maintained their independence, but their ancient territories on the Suir and the Shannon were dominated by the *Geraldines*.

Recovery in Connacht: "O'Connor Sligo."—The disastrous battle of Athenry had left *William De Burgh* and *Mulroney Mac Dermott* the most important chiefs in Connacht. Bitter experience had not taught the O'Connors, and their feuds were again renewed, both De Burgh and Mac Dermott acting as rival *King-makers*. Eventually the latter succeeded in making *Turlough O'Connor*, the brother of Felim, King of Connacht (1324). Turlough was able and vigorous, and the quarrels of the De Burghs equalled any that had ever distracted the O'Connors. We find, therefore, that Turlough drives the last of the Norman settlers out of Luighne, and in Sligo establishes his former rival, who becomes "*O'Connor Sligo.*"* The fall of the "causeway" to the Shannon was followed up by the capture of *Athlone* and the neighbouring castles, and Connacht was completely cut off from what was left of the English possessions (1342). The Normans who remained threw off, as will be seen, all connection with England, whose power beyond the Shannon was thus wiped out.

The Gall-óglaigh: ("Gallowglasses").—A great deal of this change in the fortunes of the Irish was due to the impotence of the Crown of England, and to the feuds and weakness of the Irish Normans,

* *Compare the "Clann Aodha Buidhe" and the "O'Briens of Ara."*

as will be pointed out in the next section. But it was chiefly due to a change in the military methods and organisation of the clans themselves. They still despised the use of armour, and at Downpatrick and Athenry they fought without it. But they were improving in the building of castles and in military tactics. Most important, however, was the introduction of *permanent military forces* into the clans. Hitherto, as has been remarked, the Irish clans were not organised on a military basis as were the Normans. The fighting men were called from their occupations when their services were needed, and to these they returned when the immediate fighting was over. Now, however, the continued warfare made it necessary to have permanent troops devoted especially to warfare and always ready for it. Most of these were recruited from the Gaelicised Norse of *Argyll and the Scottish islands*. These, known as "gall-óglaigh," or "gallowglasses," had been employed by many of the northern and western chiefs in the preceding period, but from this time forward they were an established feature in every clan. Under their own officers, who were called "*constables*," they were ready to serve any chief who employed them, but frequently bodies of them settled down as the permanent followers of one special family. In addition to this "standing army" of gall-óglaigh, *Irish troops* were also permanently employed, and were supported by a subsidy called "*buanacht*" or "*bonnaght*."

Growth of Feudal Ideas.—This adoption of a "standing army" naturally increased the *personal power of the chiefs* at the expense of the clan, as the continued warfare against the Norse had done in an earlier period. Nor was this the only way in which feudal ideas were having an influence upon the Irish organisations. The great practical advantage of an established system of *succession* was being forcibly illustrated, and the feudal right of the son to succeed to the father was being partly recognised. Many of the disputes which occurred in the families from which the chiefs were selected were due to the conflict of the two ideas. The chiefs were becoming *territorial lords* with the right of handing down their authority to their own families. The dues, or tributes, payable from the earliest times by the minor clans to the superior chiefs (*chap. III*) were also materially altered. The Normans were becoming "Irishised," as we shall see, but the clans, on their part, were becoming, to some extent, *feudalised*.

Section III. Assimilation of the Settlers

Weakness of Settlers : Absentees.—The settlers had suffered most from the effects of the invasion, and of the evils which had accompanied it. They had all the weakness of *a foreign element* which needed external

help to enable it to develop. And this external help, as already noted (*page* 144) had for some time been missing. The Bruces had been fought by the Normans in Ireland, and not by the Crown of England. Even less help were the settlers to get during the period that followed, for Edward III was entirely occupied by his warfare with the King of France. Their nominal over-lords in many cases were now "*absentees*" —great English lords to whom had passed the inheritance of the early "grants." Their followers were left without their protection, and in turn abandoned the lands.*

Continued Norman Feuds.—Nor did the lords who remained give much protection to the bulk of the settlers. Left to themselves, they engaged in frequent feuds with each other. In 1328 the Earl of Desmond carried on war against Le Poer and the De Burghs because Le Poer had called him a "rhymer." In Munster the Barrys and the Condons were at war about the same time. In 1329, Bermingham, the victor of Faughart, who had been created Earl of Louth, was killed with 200 of his followers near Ardee by a party of his own race. In 1330 so bitter was the rivalry between the Earl of Ulster and the newly created Earl of Desmond, even while they were in the field against the O'Briens, that the Lord Justice placed both under arrest.

Murder of the "Brown Earl" of Ulster.—The most bitter quarrel of all, and one which had most important results, was that which ended in the assassination of the last De Burgh Earl of "Ulster." The "Red Earl" had died in 1326 in the monastery of Athaisil,† and had been succeeded by his grandson, the "Brown Earl." William De Burgh, the brother of the Red Earl and one of the victors at Athenry, had died in 1324. Between William's son, Walter, and the Brown Earl, some fighting took place, and eventually *Walter De Burgh* was treacherously captured, and starved to death in the Brown Earl's castle of Greencastle in Inis Eoghain. Walter's brother-in-law, Sir Richard Mandeville, in revenge suddenly fell upon the Brown Earl, and murdered him near Carrickfergus (1333). The Earl left an only child, an infant girl, who was carried off to England, and the *last of the Lordships* thus met the same fate that had befallen all the others.

The Normans of Connacht Renounce English Authority.—The effects of this crime were severely felt in "Ulster" and in Connacht. In the former it resulted in the settlement of the Clann Aodha Buidhe O'Neills and the ultimate annihilation of the northern settlement. In the latter it caused the *repudiation of English authority* by the other

* *Wogan's Parliament* (*page* 146) *in* 1295 *had passed laws against the "absentees."*

† *Between Cashel and Tipperary. The De Burghs had possessions here, to which they gave the name "Clanwilliam."*

branches of the De Burghs. These were descended from William, the brother of the first Earl of the family (*page* 130), and were now represented by two brothers, Ulick Burke and Edmond "Albanach" Burke. Knowing that the infant daughter of the Brown Earl would eventually carry the title and its possessions to some "absentee" husband, they definitely renounced allegiance to the English Crown and English law, and adopted the Irish names of Mac William from their ancestor, Ulick becoming *Mac William "Uachtar"* (or "upper"), and Edmond becoming *Mac William "Iochtar"* (or "lower"). To remove the only other claimant to any superior title over them, Edmund seized a surviving son of the Red Earl, and drowned him in Lough Mask (1338). The lesser Normans followed the example of their leaders, and all Connacht was thus lost to the English Crown for more than two centuries.

The New Earldoms: Kildare, Desmond, Ormonde.—It was just when the last of the early Lordships disappeared that there rose into clear prominence *three families* which from that time became the *conspicuous leaders* of the Irish of Norman descent. They were not late arrivals; their founders had been amongst the earliest settlers, but hitherto they had occupied a secondary position to the Marshalls, De Lacys, De Burghs and others. Unlike most of these families, their interests lay altogether in Ireland, and they were only remotely concerned in English politics. They were the *Fitz-Geralds of Leinster*, the *Fitz-Geralds of Munster*, and the *Butlers*, the respective heads of which were now created *Earls of Kildare* (1318), *of Desmond* (1330), and *of Ormonde* (1328).

Territories of the Earls.—The original location of Geraldines and Butlers in the lordship of Leinster, and the development of their influence have been already indicated (*page* 127). Although the Geraldines had lost their possessions in Connacht, they were powerful elsewhere. In Leinster, the *Earl of Kildare* ruled the plains from the Liffey to the Barrow, and across Munster the territories of the *Earl of Desmond* stretched from the mouth of the Shannon to beyond the mouth of the Blackwater. Between the two Geraldine families lay the *Earl of Ormonde*, occupying the coast from Arklow to Waterford, and the country around the lower waters of the Nore and the Suir.* In those wide territories the great earls were obeyed and acknowledged as protectors not only by the Norman lords, but also by many isolated Irish chiefs.

The "Palatine" Earls.—The English Government had already become hopeless of ever conquering Ireland. They now went further and abandoned the duty of governing most of the land that had been conquered. That duty they surrendered to the three earls who were

* *Towards the end of this period (in* 1391*) they made Kilkenny their chief seat.*

given "*Palatine*" powers* over their respective territories. The Palatine Earls were for all purposes *independent princes*. They raised armies and levied war, appointed sheriffs, judges and other officers, created lords and knights, collected and administered taxes, granted lands, and had full power of life and death in their palatinates, without reference to, or interference from, the representatives of the King. The English Government, in fact, *abdicated its functions*, and allowed its authority to be ousted in two-thirds of the lands which were still occupied by its nominal subjects.

"Coyne and Livery."—One of the earliest results of the creation of the Palatine Earls was the introduction of a new burden upon the unfortunate settlers. This was the impost which figures largely in later history as "*coyne and livery*." In the year 1330, the Viceroy called for the help of the *Earl of Desmond* against the Irish of the south. The Munster Geraldine came with an army of 10,000 men, and this large force he quartered upon the settlers. In this, Desmond professed to follow a custom recognised by the Irish by which the chief was entitled to maintenance for himself and his followers (called "*coinmed*" = "coiney," or "coyne") from his under-tenants. Desmond's example was soon followed by the other earls and lords. But, while the Irish laws carefully regulated and limited the amount of this tax, the system was adopted by the Normans without any check or safeguard to protect the unhappy tenants. It became, therefore, an arbitrary and crushing burden to harass still more the inhabitants of the "English land," and to drive them out of the country, leaving their lands to be re-taken by the Irish. The evils of the system were soon seen, and many laws were directed against it, but they were all merely futile proclamations.

Caprices of the Crown.—The English Government quickly realised its weakness in the establishment of these almost sovereign princes, and attempted spasmodically to correct its mistake. But its efforts to curb the power of the nobles were lacking in both strength and consistency. Indeed, the relations between the Crown and its nominal subjects in Ireland were henceforward even more capricious and uncertain than they had hitherto been. In 1331, Desmond and many of the other leading nobles were taken prisoners because they refused to attend the Parliament summoned by the Lord Lieutenant, but in a year and a half the policy was changed, and they were released. A sterner measure was taken in 1341, when the King of England (Edward III) ordered the Viceroy to revoke all grants and patents made by the King or his father, and to remove from office every one but *Englishmen by birth*

* "*Palatine*" *powers were occasionally conferred on feudal nobles. In our modern history the "Palatines" were natives of the German Palatinate who were planted in Munster in the eighteenth century.*

who had possessions in England. The Anglo-Irish lords were filled with anger and resentment, and when the Lord Deputy called them to a Parliament in Dublin they refused to attend, but summoned an *opposition Parliament* at Kilkenny, at which they drew up a protest, impeaching in strong terms the English officials for their incompetence and corruption (1342). Then the King changed his policy, revoked his directions, and redressed some of the grievances of the lords. But when the Anglo-Irish failed to respond adequately to his demand for help in his war against France he again reverted to coercion. A new Lord Justice (*Ufford*) was sent across with instructions to repress the lords (1344). Desmond again refused to attend Parliament, and tried to convene another opposition one. But Ufford suddenly marched into the territories of Desmond, captured by trickery some of his strongest castles, hanged three of his knights who were their "constables," and took possession of a great part of his lands. Next he captured the Earl of Kildare by stratagem. But again the policy changed on the death of Ufford in 1346. The lords were confirmed in their grants by the King, and in return they aided him in his French wars, the Earl of Kildare distinguishing himself at the siege of Calais; and soon afterwards the rebellious Desmond appears as the King's representative (1355), and is succeeded in that capacity by both Ormond (1359) and Kildare (1360).

The Normans become Gaelicised.—There was, however, an influence at work amongst the descendants of the early Normans in Ireland greater than that produced either by the increased activity of the Irish or by the weakness of the Crown of England. It was the influence of a *vigorous national life* upon what was still an artificial element in the nation. Its effects were radical because they produced a change of character. Like the Norsemen in an earlier period, the Normans were being assimilated by the Nation—they were rapidly being *Gaelicised*. They had now been in the country for nearly two centuries, holding most of the lands they had seized against the Irish, who encompassed them on all sides. In many a feud—both Irish and Norman—the two races had frequently fought side by side, and intimate intercourse in peace could not be prevented. Marriages between the two races had been frequent from the time of those of Strongbow with Eva, and of De Lacy with Rose O'Connor. The Normans, originally partly Welsh, as has been seen, were now strongly Irish in blood. They found a charm in many features of the national life around them, and they adopted many of them. Their children were fostered in Irish families, the tie of gossipred bound many of the two races, Irish bards were welcomed in the castles of the lords. They adopted the Irish language (the son of the first Earl of Desmond was a Gaelic poet) and Irish names, and many personal customs which

were peculiarly Irish. Many of their followers were Irish in race, who took the place of the settlers who had fled from the country, and some of the great lords had under their "protection" isolated Irish clans who occupied parts of their original territories under their own chiefs.

The Nation and the Normans.—This process of absorption had been progressing steadily for a long time, but the most definite evidence of it was given when the De Burghs, or Burkes, renounced allegiance to England, and adopted Irish language, Irish land tenure, Irish names and customs. Their example was deliberately followed by the other Normans of Connacht, while it was imitated by many of those in other parts of the country. The Desmond Geraldines, in particular, were conspicuous for their *adoption of Irish ways.* But the process was a natural one, and it affected all. The Normans in Ireland were becoming as Irish as the Gaelic clans around them, from whom they differed only in tradition, in their systems of holding and succeeding to land and titles, and, in some cases only, in a *nominal allegiance* to the English Crown.

The English Nation Formed.—The change in the character of the Normans in Ireland was the more marked because a change had also taken place amongst those in England. Soon after the invasion King John had lost Normandy, which became incorporated in the growing Kingdom of France.* The English Normans, deprived of their possessions on the Continent, were forced to look upon England as their home, and they soon ceased to be Normans, and became fused in the *composite "English" nation* which was then evolved.† The Gaelicised Norman consequently found that his Irish neighbour had more in common with him than had the Anglicised Norman.

The "Sean-Ghaill" and the "New English."—This difference was recognised by both peoples. To the Irish the descendants of the early settlers became known as "Sean Gaill" ("Sean Ghaill," or "*Old Strangers*") as opposed to the more recent arrivals. The latter were known to the Sean Ghaill as the "*New English,*" and they again regarded the older settlers as "*Degenerate English.*" Henceforward the English government recognises three classes in Ireland—the "mere (or 'purely') Irish," or the "King's enemies"; the "degenerate English," or "English by blood," who are often also the "King's rebels"; and the "English by birth," or "new English," or sometimes "mere English."

* *The Kings of England still retained, however, a great part of the south of modern France, as vassals of the French King.*

† *The "English" language was ordered to be used in the law courts in England in 1362—five years before the "Statute of Kilkenny."*

Lionel, Duke of Clarence and "Earl of Ulster."—The antagonism between the early settlers and the "new English" was in evidence as early as the time of the visit of Prince John and his arrogant courtiers. But the distinction between the "*English by descent*" and the "*English by birth*" was first officially ratified by the decree of 1341. That decree, as has been seen, was withdrawn in the following year. Its offensive spirit was more definitely and insultingly proclaimed after a lapse of twenty years. The occasion of this was the first visit of *Prince Lionel*, the son of Edward III, who was sent over as Lord Lieutenant in 1361—to save "our Irish dominions" from being totally lost, said the King. This prince had married the infant daughter of the murdered *Brown Earl of Ulster*,* and in her right he now put forward the claim to the De Burgh possessions in "Ulster" and Connacht which had been anticipated by Ulick and Edmond Albanach. He had scarcely landed when he issued a proclamation forbidding *any of Irish birth* to approach his army. The proclamation, however, was certainly not heeded by the O'Byrnes, Mac Murroughs, and other Irish clans, and Prince Lionel was soon forced to invite the support of "all the King's subjects." Even with their help, he was unable to displace the Clann Aodha Buidhe from "Ulster," or to bring the rebellious Mac Williams back to allegiance. He returned to England, and was created *Duke of Clarence*.

The "Statute of Kilkenny."—Lionel, Duke of Clarence, came back to Ireland in 1364, and again in 1367. On his third visit he summoned a Parliament at Kilkenny, and got it to pass the best known of the anti-Irish decrees, since known as the "*Statute of Kilkenny*." This famous statute shows the extent to which the settlers had been Gaelicised, and the fear which the change instilled into the Government. Intermarriage, fosterage and gossipred with "*the Irish enemy*" were deemed treason, and so also was the adoption of the "Brehon Law"; any of the King's subjects who used the Irish language, assumed an Irish name, adopted Irish apparel, practised Irish customs—such as hurling, or riding without saddles—was to forfeit his property; the Irish were not to pasture their cattle upon the "*English land*"; and severe penalties were provided for those English who should receive or entertain Irish bards, minstrels or story-tellers. The practice of "coyne and livery" was denounced as treason, the employment of Irish troops was prohibited, and private wars against the "Irish enemies" were to be made only with the sanction of Government. In every phase of life, barriers were to be erected between the two races in Ireland; the process of assimilation was to be arrested; the island was to be permanently divided into *two hostile nations*, between whom all intercourse, social, economic, intellectual (and even spiritual) was prohibited.

* *The Earl's widow had been re-married to Ufford the "New English" Viceroy.*

Partition of the Church.—The provisions of this malicious statute extended even into the Church. It has been observed that from the time of the invasion there were in the same Church *two sets of clergy*—Irish in the unconquered lands, Norman in the settlements. The "Statute of Kilkenny" enforced, by legislative sanction, this unedifying condition of affairs. No benefice, it enacted, was to be conferred upon anyone who did not speak English; no "mere Irishman" was to be received into any cathedral chapter; nor could one be allowed to enter any abbey, monastery, or religious order in the "English land." Strange to say, there were amongst the members of the "Parliament" responsible for this un-Christian legislation eight bishops. Most of these, however, were foreigners,* and all—or nearly all—were the nominees of the English King. The struggle over the appointment of bishops (*page* 147) was now acute. The Popes were at this time exiles in Avignon in the territories of the Kings of France, and concessions were often won from them by sovereigns according to changing political conditions. On the whole, however, the Irish bishops continued to be mostly nominees of the Crown in the "English land," and the chosen representatives of the native clergy in the rest of the island.

Futility of the Statute.—Such legislation was obviously inspired by a spirit of malevolence too strong to listen to reason. Its folly was only equalled by its futility. It applied only to what was claimed to be "English land," and even in such districts as could possibly be so entitled there were many Irish clans who were unconscious of its threats. It did not affect the Irish who occupied the great part of the island, and who it seemed would soon occupy it all. Only those on the "marches" or "borders" found that it interfered with their relations with the colonists. It was upon the latter that all its penalties fell. It was they who found themselves restricted in their social life, their commercial intercourse, their acquired amusements, habits and tastes. But the change that had come about was too deep-seated to be affected by legislation which was opposed to nature itself. The provisions of the "Statute of Kilkenny" were practically ignored by the settlers, all of whom, high and low, continued to practise every usage against which it was directed. It was a conspicuous instance of impotent legislation.

Section IV. Advance of the Irish

Failure of the "Conquest."—The "Statute of Kilkenny" had proclaimed more than a spirit of hostility to the Irish Nation. It also declared the failure of the conquest and the impotence of the Crown. In

* *Three bore distinctively Irish names.*

the words of *Gardiner*, the English historian, "*The idea of conquering Ireland was abandoned, and the idea of maintaining a colony on a definite part of Irish soil was substituted for it.*" A foreign element, thwarting natural development, was to be preserved in the little district which soon became known as the "*English Pale*" and in certain walled towns, and it was to be protected by artificial barriers from being absorbed into the national life. Yet, even this *defensive policy* England was unable to carry out. The war in France* was to terminate—despite the brilliant but barren victories of *Crécy* and *Poitiers*—in the loss of nearly all of England's Continental possessions and the extension of French power to the Pyrenees. It was to result in risings of the serfs and peasants in France and England, both already exhausted by the fearful "*Black Death*" and other plagues. England was too distracted to defend the "King's subjects" in Ireland, and in consequence, the "Irish enemy" continued to sweep onwards.

Continued Decay of Colony.—The attacks of the Irish and the secession of many of the "*Sean-Ghaill*" had already loosened the English grip upon the country. Within sight of Dublin, the lands around Tallaght were secured only by paying "black rent" to *O'Toole*; a similar subsidy was paid to *O'Hanlon*, who threatened to shut the mountain passes beyond Dundalk which kept up communication with the remaining fortresses on the north-east coast; *Mac Murrough* was still paid for his protection of the Leinster roads. Beyond the Shannon both "mere Irish" and "English rebels" were equally independent, and even on the eastern side of that river the descendants of Hugh De Lacy's followers who lay beyond the line of lakes had also renounced allegiance. Despite frequent laws against "absenteeism," many of the settlers continued to leave the country.

Renewed Vigour of Irish.—It was this enfeebled colony that the "Statute of Kilkenny" was intended to save from absorption. But the bitter hatred displayed by that act towards their race and national institutions was fully appreciated by the Irish. They knew that it indicated their final extinction, and they saw that it had been passed under the auspices of a son of the King of England. Naturally, it stimulated them to more vigorous efforts, and expedited the process of recovery. O'Farrell expelled the last settlers from *Anghaile*, and took complete possession of it; Aodh, King of Connacht (son of Felim of Athenry) raided *Meath* in 1362 and his successor, Rory, attacked the same district in 1382. In the south Brian O'Brien, King of Thomond,

* *It arose nominally from the claim of Edward III to the throne of France. Its real objects were to prevent the incorporation of Flanders into France, and to secure the independence of "Aquitaine," for which Edward had given homage to the King of France.*

defeated and slew the Earl of Desmond at Adare, and sacked *Limerick* (1370). Art Mac Murrough, King of Laighin, retook possession of his ancient territories on the west of the *Slaney* and threatened the passes of *the Barrow*.

Three Leaders of the Revival.—The revival of the Irish was, however, brought to its highest point towards the end of the century by three leaders, who were to a great extent contemporaries. These were *Niall Mór O'Neill*, *Art Mac Murrough* "*Caomhanach*," and the latter's life-long ally and companion-in-arms, *Murrough O'Connor of Uí Failghe*. Of the three Art was the more conspicuous character. and his fame has overshadowed that of the others, but it was the efforts of all three combined that almost extinguished English influence in Ireland. O'Neill by successive blows drove it in from the north, Murrough O'Connor pressed it from the west, and Mac Murrough shut it off from the south; until, eventually, it became cooped up in the narrow limits of what now became known as "*the English Pale*."

Niall Mór O'Neill.—*Niall Mór O'Neill* succeeded his father, *Aodh Reamhar* (*page* 156), as "King of Ulster" in 1364. After a short contest with another member of his family he directed his efforts against the English and defeated them at *Downpatrick*, their leader, Talbot, being slain (1375). The never-ending struggle with the rival O'Donnells next occupied him. In 1380 he, with other northern and some midland chiefs, visited *Mortimer*, the Lord Lieutenant, but soon afterwards he captured and destroyed *Carrickfergus*, and steadily pressed the English southwards until they were finally driven from beyond the passes of the *Mourne Mountains*.* Through these he followed them to the walls of *Dundalk*, where he defeated them in 1392. When *Richard II* first visited Ireland in 1394 Niall Mór paid him personal homage. But this entailed no surrender of his own territorial rights, and English power extended no further north than Dundalk. Niall Mór died (1397) as "*Monarch of Ulster*," lord of all the clans from Lough Foyle to Dundalk Bay, and from Belfast Lough to the Shannon. The vigorous O'Donnells on his flank alone disputed the sovereignty of O'Neill over all the north. The remnants of De Courcey's "*Earldom of Ulster*" disappear, and the only trace of it left is in *two titles*—one borne by the O'Neills of Tír Eoghain, and the other by a member of the royal family of England.

"O'Connor Donn" and "O'Connor Ruadh."—O'Neill's power about this time began to extend even over some of the Connacht clans, and *O'Rourke*, *O'Reilly* and *O'Farrell* began to look to the great northern chief as their head and protector. No Connacht leader appeared to dispute his authority. The rivalries of the O'Connor family had

* *In "Iveagh," north of the mountains, MacGuinness now recovers importance.*

culminated in 1385, when, on the death of Rory O'Connor, King of Connacht, the lands of the "*Siol Murray*" were partitioned between his nephew—Turlough Óg—and the grandson of Felim of Athenry—Turlough Ruadh. The O'Connors were, thenceforth, divided into the two families of "*O'Connor Donn*," from Turlough Óg, and "*O'Connor Ruadh*" from Turlough Ruadh. Their dissensions, however, did not cease; they both claimed to be "King of Connacht" and head of "the Irish of Connacht," as the Burkes or Mac Williams were heads of the "English of Connacht." But their influence had vanished; there was no acknowledged leader for the clans of Connacht, and those beyond the Shannon began to look to the north for protection in times of danger.

Art Mac Murrough "Caomhanach."—*Art Mac Murrough "Caomhanach"* (or "Kavanagh") descended from Domhnall "Caomhanach," son of *Diarmuid na n-Gall* (*page* 123), became King of Laighin in 1375 at the age of 18 years. His father, also named Art, had, we have seen, retaken much of the ancient territory of "*Uí Cinnsealaigh*," and was still paid his "black rent" of eighty marks. Soon after young Art's accession he married Eliza le Veele, daughter of the Earl of Kildare. This was a violation of the "Statute of Kilkenny," and the Government seized the lands to which the lady was heiress, and stopped the payment of the "black rent" to Mac Murrough. Art declared war, and was loyally and enthusiastically supported by all his subordinate clans from the outskirts of Dublin to New Ross. West and east they fell upon the English, and repeatedly blocked the roads from Dublin to the south. The Leinster clans in the midland "island" (*page* 145) also assisted. The leader of the latter was *Murrough O'Connor*, chief of *Uí Failghe*, who attacked the English of "Offaly" on one frontier and those of Meath on the other. Aided by Mac Geoghegan and O'Molloy, he defeated the English at *Croghan* (1385). Between the pressure of these chiefs on the south, and that of O'Farrell on the north, the frontier of the Meath colony was being steadily driven in. The greatest blow, however, was struck when Mac Murrough sacked the strong walled town of *New Ross* (1394). The destruction of this important "bridge-head" on the Barrow cut in two the territories of the Earl of Ormonde and isolated the English in "County Wexford."

First Expedition of Richard II.—Ireland now entered the *international* arena, and England was confronted in her foreign affairs, for the first time, by "the Irish Question." The King of England at that time was Richard II. Vain, impulsive, and ambitious, he became a candidate for the Imperial Crown of the "*Holy Roman Empire*" by right of his wife. But the German electors and princes thought but little of the power of the English King; they needed a strong Emperor to meet the menace

of the Turks, who were now in Europe; and they taunted Richard with the fact that he was unable to hold Ireland, over which he claimed dominion. Richard sailed for Ireland, and landed at Waterford at the head of what was then an overwhelming army of 34,000 men (October, 1394). New Ross being in ruins, Richard marched to *Kilkenny*, suffering much on the way from guerilla warfare. Here he proposed humiliating terms to Mac Murrough, which were rejected, and the English King resumed his painful march to Dublin, his army harassed at every step by incessant guerilla attacks. At Drogheda O'Neill, O'Donnell and other northern chiefs came to meet him (having refused to come as far as Dublin) and paid him the usual *formal homage*. In February of next year Mac Murrough met Richard's ambassador—the Earl of Nottingham, Earl Marshal of England—at *Ballygorry* near Carlow, and vowed allegiance on condition of getting his "black rent" and his wife's lands. A number of the Irish chiefs visited Richard in Dublin, and seventy-five of them are said to have paid homage to him, while O'Neill, O'Brien, O'Connor of Connacht, and Mac Murrough were knighted by the King's hand. Mac Murrough, however, was imprisoned for a short time on a charge made by the Earl of Ormonde, and was only released on giving hostages. After a stay of nine months, mostly spent in empty display, Richard returned to England "with much honour and small profit . . . he did not increase his revenue one sterling pound, nor enlarged the English borders the breadth of one acre of land; neither did he extend the jurisdiction of his courts of justice by one foote"* (*May*, 1395).

The Struggle Renewed.—Richard's fleet had scarcely left the Irish coast when the hollow nature of the submissions was displayed. An act of treachery caused another rising when the English endeavoured to capture Mac Murrough while their own guest at a banquet; an attempt from which he escaped by the ingenious warning of his bard. The O'Tooles defeated the English near Dublin; while Art himself surpassed his capture of New Ross by taking the strong town and castle of *Carlow* (1397). This was the greatest advance he had yet made, for it gave him the control of all the fords of the *Barrow*, broke in two the English line in Leinster, and brought Mac Murrough into touch with the O'Moores of Laoighis. His forces now freely roamed as far west as the *River Nore* and beyond it. Meanwhile the midland clans were also active, and *Calvagh O'Connor*, the heroic son of the chief of Uí Failghe, defeated the English, and took the Earl of Kildare prisoner (1398).

Earl of March Slain.—The Irish were now to strike a blow which proved, indirectly, to be the most disastrous that they had ever dealt to

* *Sir John Davies.*

England. Richard had left as his viceroy the young *Roger Mortimer, Earl of March*, who was the recognised heir to the throne of England. In this prince was united some of the most famous blood of both England and Ireland, including that of the Mac Murroughs themselves. Descended from the Mortimer who was Viceroy at the time of the Bruce Invasion (*page* 152) he traced his ancestry on one side to *Hugh De Lacy*, and on the other to *Eva Mac Murrough and Strongbow*. His mother was the daughter of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, and through her he was not only heir apparent to the English Crown, but also heir to the remote titles of *De Burgh* and *De Courcey*. The Earl gathered an army to meet his distant kinsman Art Mac Murrough "Caomhanach." The latter now controlled not only all South Leinster, but also the south of *Osraidhe*, and it was in the latter territory, away beyond the Nore, that the two armies met at *Kells*. The English were defeated, and the Earl of March was slain (1398). The loss of Richard's accepted heir in this battle was a chief cause of the "*Wars of the Roses*," which for thirty years made all England a battlefield.

Richard's Second Expedition.—Richard at once determined upon a second expedition to chastise the Irish, and again landed at Waterford (June 1399). With an army nearly as large as on his first visit, he proceeded to Kilkenny, and from that city he marched directly against Mac Murrough. Slowly retreating across the *Barrow* and the *Slaney*, Art kept up a continuous opposition to the English King's advance. Richard burned the villages on his way, and forced the peasantry to cut passages through the woods. But his army was harassed and tormented by Mac Murrough's active warriors, who constantly hovered around it, obstructing its progress, cutting off supplies, and defeating scattered parties. To a conciliatory message from Richard, the defiant reply of Art was "that he was rightful King of Leinster, and would never cease from war and the defence of his country until his death." The starving and disheartened English army laboriously toiled through the mountains, and at length reached the coast near Arklow. There ships came with provisions, and so famished were the soldiers that they rushed into the sea to seize the food.

Return and Fate of Richard.—Richard then made his way to Dublin, Mac Murrough's little army of 3,000 men, still intact, skirmishing on his flanks. Then, to the "great joy of the English camp," Art sent in an ambassador and the Earl of Gloucester was sent to treat with him. The meeting took place in a mountain glen not far from the sea, supposed to be the "Vale of Avoca." But the Earl returned without profit, for Art would consent to no terms but unconditional peace and pardon, and Richard continued his march to Dublin. From that city he dispatched his army in three divisions against Mac Murrough and offered a reward for

his head. For six weeks he vainly waited in Dublin for some result. Suddenly came the news that his cousin Henry, Duke of Lancaster, had landed in England and claimed the throne. Gathering in most of his forces, Richard sailed for England (September 1399), there to be captured, deposed, and murdered.

Advance in Leinster and Meath.—Mac Murrough, say the Annals, had been "brought low" by Richard's formidable army. But the Irish quickly recovered. The *O'Byrnes*, although defeated by the Dublin citizens at Bray, captured *Newcastle*, which guarded the coast road, while the *O'Moores* also defeated the English. Art captured *Enniscorthy* and other castles, drove Ormonde out of all the northern part of County Wexford, and then, moving to the other side of the mountains, captured the important centre of *Castledermot* (1405). He soon received a check, however, when his ally *O'Carroll of Eile* suffered a severe defeat at *Callan** (1407). But he soon recovered, and next year he defeated the future Henry V at *Kilmainham* under the very walls of Dublin (1409). All this time *Murrough O'Connor* and his son Calvagh were capturing towns and castles from the English of Meath and Kildare. The army of Meath was defeated in 1411 and the Sheriff of Meath captured, and two years later, in a decisive battle at *Killucan*, many important prisoners fell into the hands of the midland clans. At length the inhabitants of Meath purchased peace by the payment of "*black rent*" to O'Connor.

Deaths of Mac Murrough and O'Connor.—The last years of MacMurrough and O'Connor were spent in comparative peace, little disturbed even by the arrival of the able and vigorous *Sir John Talbot* as Lord Deputy. In 1417, Art Mac Murrough died (it is suspected from poison), and four years later his ally of Uí Failghe passed away. Most of Leinster had been re-conquered. A small portion near *Dublin* and a few isolated towns on the coast still remained to the Crown; the Earl of Kildare still ruled from the *Liffey to the Barrow*; Ormonde still occupied the lands around *Wexford*. But elsewhere Art had won back their ancient lands into the possession of the clans that obeyed the "King of Laighin." He was "the ablest, the most skilful, the most successful chief whom Ireland had sent to combat the English."†

The "English Pale."—North, west and south, the English power had now been driven back into a thin strip of country, which stretched from the south of Dublin to Dundalk, and whose greatest width was twenty miles. Two-thirds of their old lands were occupied by the Irish; most of the remainder were ruled by the *three Earls*, who professed a nominal allegiance to the English King, but who were

* *It is said that Mac Murrough was defeated in a second battle near the same place, and on the same day, but in this the annalists do not agree.*

† *Rev. Dr. Dalton.*

practically independent. In Meath alone no great noble stood between the Crown and the smaller nobility. Even in Meath the nobility of the western part followed the example of their Norman neighbours of Connacht, and like them threw off allegiance. But those on the east of the Boyne became, like the settlers around Dublin, the immediate dependents of the Crown (*page* 131), and formed with them the "*English Pale.*" Only in that little district—equivalent to the modern counties of Dublin, Louth, and half of Meath—were English laws enforced or the orders of the English King obeyed.

The "Black Death" and Other Plagues.—During all this period Ireland, like the rest of Europe, was repeatedly scourged by *fearful plagues.* These commenced during the time of the Bruce Invasion, but they recurred on numerous occasions. The worst of them was the "*Black Death,*" which swept over Europe, carrying off, it is calculated, one-third of its inhabitants, and which reached this country in 1348. Both before and after it similar pestilences afflicted the country, and both native annalists and English writers record long lists of prominent people who "died of the plague" in various years.

DATES OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

	A.D.
Landing of Edward Bruce, May,	1315
Edward Bruce crowned, May,	1316
Battle of Athenry . August,	1316
Bruces besiege Dublin and Limerick	1317
Battle of Dysert O'Dea . .	1318
Edward Bruce slain October,	1318
John Fitz-Gerald made Earl of Kildare	1318
(*Edward III, King of England*)	1327–77
Butler made Earl of Ormonde .	1328
Rising in Leinster . . .	1329
Maurice Fitz-Gerald made Earl of Desmond . . .	1330
"Coyne and Livery" introduced by Desmond . .	1330
Murder of "Brown" Earl of Ulster	1333
Connacht Normans renounce allegiance . (*circa*)	1335
O'Neills in Clandeboye (*circa*)	1335
"Black Rent" paid to Mac Murrough	1335
(*War between France and England*)	1338–75
English expelled from Connacht	1342
English expelled from Laoighis	1346
(*Battle of Crécy*) . . .	1346
Black Death . . .	1348–9
(*Battle of Poitiers*) . . .	1356
Niall Mór O'Neill, King of "Ulster" . . .	1364–97

	A.D.
"Statute of Kilkenny" . .	1367
Rising in Leinster . . .	1369
"Anghaile" cleared of English	1370
Limerick sacked by O'Brien .	1370
Niall Mór defeats English at Downpatrick . . .	1375
Art Mac Murrough, King of Laighin . . .	1375–1417
(*Richard II, King of England*)	1377–99
Northern and Midland Chiefs submit to Mortimer . .	1380
Partition of "Siol Murray" .	1385
O'Connor of Uí Failghe defeats English at Croghan . .	1385
Niall Mór defeats English at Dundalk	1392
Capture of New Ross . .	1394
First Expedition of Richard II, October, 1394—May,	1395
Mac Murrough captures Carlow	1397
Earl of March slain. . .	1398
Second Expedition of Richard, June–September,	1399
(*Henry IV, King of England*)	1399–1413
Mac Murrough captures Enniscorthy and Castledermot .	1405
Irish defeated at Callan . .	1407
English defeated at Kilmainham	1409
English defeated at Killucan	1413
(*Henry V, King of England*)	1413–61
(*Battle of Agincourt*) . .	1415
Death of Art Mac Murrough .	1417

CHAPTER IV

GAELIC FEUDALISM (A.D. 1417–1530)

SECTION I. NATURE OF THE PERIOD

End of Re-conquest.—The successful careers of Niall Mór O'Neill, Art Mac Murrough, and Murrough O'Connor mark at once the completion of the absorption of the Normans and the end of Irish re-conquest. Henceforward, *little change in territory* took place. The recent conquests were held, but no new ones of importance were made. Indeed, there was but little left to win. The Pale continued to shrink into even smaller dimensions, but the process was gradual, and was due more to internal weakness than to external attack. An effort would have extinguished it, but no such effort was made, and it was allowed to exist on sufferance.

Impotence of the Crown.—The collapse of English influence was much more striking than the shrinkage of the Pale. Little as had been the power of the Crown since the time of Bruce, it practically vanished in the fifteenth century. The reign of Henry V of England (1413–22) was taken up by the conquest of the northern half of France; that of Henry VI (1422–61) was distracted at first by the loss of the French conquests (due to the efforts of Jeanne d'Arc), and afterwards by the *Wars of the Roses*, in which for thirty years (1455–85) rival factions devastated England with civil war. In such circumstances little attention could be given to Ireland. The English Crown in Ireland was impotent. An occasional weak effort was the only sign of its claim to govern or of the exercise of the responsibilities of government. But almost purely nominal as was its existence, it was sufficient to prevent the development of any other central authority, and it continued in its narrow limits until an opportunity came to re-assert itself. Nor was there any disposition, apparently, amongst chiefs or lords to remove a merely *nominal sovereignty*, for one which, even if native, would keep them under control.

No Central Government.—The chiefs and lords, in fact, enjoyed their freedom from control. During all this period they ruled Ireland unchecked by any central Government, and they did not desire to be

otherwise. Lords and chiefs, great and small, Irish and Norman, governed their clans or followers and fought their rivals without any interference. To a few of the great Norman lords, of course, the office of Lord Deputy with the control of the Dublin officials was an asset which they were always ambitious to secure. But, apart from its value as a personal chattel, they paid little respect to the position, and a Lord Deputy broke the laws against fosterage and Irish alliances and "coyne and livery" and private wars as easily as if he were not the King's representative. And, on the other hand, his viceregal position never brought him immunity from war, capture, or imprisonment, at the hands of another nominal subject of the King. No King's sheriff and no King's judge now dreamt of collecting taxes or administering law in the lands which English Kings had "granted" to their followers.

The "Government."—In Dublin a miniature Government, modelled on that of England, had its seat. There was a Viceroy, called the Lord Lieutenant or the Lord Deputy (the former title was held more honourable) and a council, consisting mainly of the chief officials and one or more of the Archbishops. The defence of the people, whether from civil injustice or from the hostility of armed foes, was little attended to. The administration of justice was feeble and corrupt; the Viceroy held that, when he had made reprisals on the Irish who raided the Pale by counter expeditions into their territories, and had perhaps recaptured a few cows, he had done all that could reasonably be expected of him. Round the Viceroy and his council was a crowd of officials and clerks, excessively numerous for the work that had to be done. There was a Treasurer, a Lord Chancellor, a Master of the Rolls, and Justices of the King's Bench, as well as lesser judges.

The full rights of English law were for those of English blood alone. The mere Irish could not claim them, unless they had taken out "papers of denization," that is to say become what we should now call naturalised English subjects, or belonged to "the five bloods"—five families held to be of the race of the ancient provincial Kings. At this period, however, a "mere Irishman" residing within the Pale could no longer be slain by an Englishman with impunity, as had been the case in the earlier colony days.

The "Parliament."—A little Parliament held Sessions in Dublin, or in some other part of the Pale, or in one of the southern cities. There was a Commons' House, in which sat representatives of the counties and boroughs of the Pale, and occasionally some representative of places more remote. Also there were two clerical proctors from each diocese under the English influence. The House of Lords was poorly attended; sometimes scarcely a dozen temporal peers were present at a session.

All, of course, were nobles of English blood. The bishops and abbots, the "lords spiritual," too, came from the dioceses within or near the Pale and from Anglo-Irish monasteries. Now and then a bishop of an Irish diocese or of a southern city appeared, but he seems always to have been either an Englishman or a foreigner from the Continent.

The Clans Feudalised.—The similarity between chiefs and lords was not confined to the latter's independence of the English Crown, and their adoption of Irish national life and customs. If the Normans had become Irish the clans had become feudal. The constant growth of the *arbitrary power of the chiefs* still continued, and the common rights and privileges of the free clan had sunk under the personal influence of the chief and his immediate military dependants.

There was little now to mark any difference between the relations of the military chief with his clan and those of the lord with his followers. The important element of the ownership of the land was the only thing that prevented the chief from being equivalent to a feudal lord.

Dissensions : Hereditary Succession.—To this growth of feudalism amongst the clans may be attributed a great many of the dissensions which tore them even before this period. The feudal idea of hereditary succession was evidently taking root amongst the Irish, and its development was rendered possible by the loss of independence amongst the clans. The weakness of the clans rendered them unable to insist upon their ancient right of electing their chiefs, and the increased power of the chiefs induced them to endeavour to nominate their successors. Contests between the nominee of the chief or the hereditary claims of his son on the one hand and the choice of the clan on the other became frequent. During the whole of this period there was scarcely a clan in Ireland that was not convulsed by contests between rival claimants for the succession, most of which may be attributed to this cause.

Splitting up of Clans.—Nor was this the only cause of dissensions in the clans. There was also at work a process similar to that which was shown in the adoption of the new clan names in the time of Brian Boroimhe (*page* 82). Families of various clans were falling apart. Already we have seen this occur amongst the O'Connors and Mac Carthys (*pp.* 135, 169), and in this period we see the operation extended. O'Brien of Ara and O'Neill of Clandeboy break off from the old stocks, while O'Farrells, Burkes, O'Kellys, Mac Dermotts, Mac Murroughs and others split up into distinct families which bitterly fight one another.

Limited Nature of Warfare.—While the clans were thus fighting

over the claims of opposing chiefs, or over the jealousies of rival families, the Norman lords were just as busily occupied in warfare with each other. On all sides there was turmoil. But the fighting was different from what had gone before or was to come later, for these feuds were not *wars of extermination* nor did they aim at the *acquisition of territory*. Neither did they, apparently, affect the general community, but were carried on by the bands of professional fighting men. But, apart from the bloodshed, they must have been a baneful influence making for disorder and demoralisation.

Trading Activity.—One fact which shows that these constant faction fights were carried on, to a great extent, apart from the ordinary life of the country, is the evidence of the active trade and commerce that prevailed through the island. In all the Irish territories *great fairs* were periodically held, and were attended by Irish and foreign traders. So well attended were those fairs that the townspeople of the Pale complained of the injury they suffered because English and other traders deserted their own markets in favour of them. The records of European ports also show that Ireland carried on a *great foreign trade* at this time with towns from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. And this foreign trade was carried on independently of the Crown. The northern ports were controlled by O'Neill and O'Donnell; the western by O'Connor, Burke, and O'Brien; the southern by Desmond, Mac Carthy, O'Driscoll and O'Sullivan; the south-eastern by Ormonde. Under the protection of those chiefs the foreign trade was carried on, and to them, and not to the Crown, were paid the *dues and profits* arising out of it.

All Irish, but All Feudal.—The period may, therefore, be roughly described as one of "unchecked feudalism." Ireland was a country with no central Government, each territory ruled by its own petty lord or chief. All were Irish, but they were also feudal. In most cases there was not even the control of a superior great lord. Desmond, Ormonde and Kildare might, to some extent, act as petty Kings; O'Neill and O'Donnell, O'Brien and Mac Carthy might control their own immediate sub-chiefs; but the general tendency was in favour of *purely local independence*. As the lords had thrown off the dominion of the King, so the clans had lost much of the old tradition of acknowledged supremacy. The Kings of Aileach, of Tara, of Laighin, and of Caiseal still succeed one another, but their power is only nominal.

Section II. The Clans, The Lords, and The Pale

Desultory Events.—Of a country so circumstanced there can be little continuous history. Most of the incidents are petty and local;

the few important events are of a varied nature. The quarrels, dissensions, and ambitions of clans, the rivalries of lords, the spasmodic malevolence of the Crown officials, the desperate efforts of the Pale to save itself from annihilation, form a strange medley to which the echo of English political strife constantly adds a discordant note.

(A) THE CLANS

The Clans and the Pale.—Throughout this period an intermittent and harassing warfare went on between the Pale and its old antagonists —the Mac Murroughs, O'Connors and O'Neills. Although *Donough*, the son of *Art Mac Murrough*, was made prisoner soon after his father's death, and confined for nine years, yet the contest was continued by his clan during his imprisonment, and after his release he fought two battles at the very gates of Dublin. On the west the *O'Connors* of Uí Failghe maintained a struggle, on the whole successful, the most striking feature of which was the defeat and *capture of the Lord Deputy*, the Great Earl of Desmond, by his brother-in-law, Tadhg O'Connor (1466). On this border also the *Mac Geoghegans* and *O Maolachlans* kept up a constant pressure on the unfortunate Palesmen. On the north the *O'Neills*, both of *Tír Eoghain* and of *Clann Aodha Buidhe*, frequently carried warfare into Louth and Meath. Most prominent amongst their leaders was *Eoghan O'Neill*, grandson of Niall Mór, who joined with O'Donnell and other chieftains in defeating the Lord Deputy, Richard Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin (1423). In 1430 he attacked Dundalk, and levied tribute upon it, and then marched through the midlands and bestowed "*tuarasdail*" on O Maolachlan, Mac Geoghegan, O'Molloy and O'Connor of Uí Failghe. Two years later he was inaugurated chief of Cineal Eoghain.

The Northern Clans.—Most of the fighting, however, that took place in the north was not against the foreign element. O'Neills and O'Donnells fought amongst themselves, against each other, and against their neighbours. Wars of succession frequently rent both great families, eventually resulting in the family of Eoghan retaining the headship of the Cineal Eoghain in *Conn Mór* and his son, *Conn Bacach*, and in *Aodh Ruadh O'Donnell*, and his son, *Aodh Dubh O'Donnel*, being successively chiefs of the Cineal Chonaill. Both families still maintained their claims to supremacy over all the north. Those of the O'Neills were opposed in *Ulaidh* not only by Mac Guinness, but by the O'Neills of the Clann Aodha Buidhe, who fought their kinsmen as fiercely as ever did any of the clans of Ulaidh. The O'Donnells were at the same time engaged in asserting their traditional rights in *Cairbre and "Lower Connacht"*

(*page* 140) against O'Connor Sligo. In one of the battles in this contest they lost for a time the famous "*Cathach*" (*page* 51): in the capture of *Sligo Castle* they employed *cannon* sent to them by a French knight who had visited St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg (1516).

O'Neills and O'Donnells: Battle of Knockavoe.—But the fiercest rivalry was that between the O'Donnells and the O'Neills themselves. However anxious either might be to enforce its supremacy over its other neighbours, it had always to reckon with its great rival. The old struggle between the two branches of the northern Uí Neill became intensified as each one tried to make itself supreme in the north. Occasionally during this period the enmity was put aside, and the two great clans combined. But the union was never lasting. In 1514 a peace was made by which the O'Neills formally recognised the supremacy of the Cineal Chonaill over Inishowen and Fermanagh. But two years after they were again at war. *Conn "Bacach" O'Neill* had gathered a host of allies—the chiefs of Oirghialla and Ulaidh, and clans from Connacht and Thomond—while Aodh Dubh O'Donnell depended upon his kinsmen of the Cineal Chonaill alone. At *Knockavoe*, near Stabane, O'Neill and his allies were utterly defeated in the bloodiest battle that had ever taken place between the Cineal Chonaill and the Cineal Eoghain (1522). O'Neill's Connacht allies, who had laid siege to *Sligo Castle*, then in the possession of O'Donnell, fled in panic when they heard the news. For at least ten years after this O'Donnell exacted tribute from the chiefs of all North or "Lower" Connacht.

Tadhg O'Brien.—In the south the most important event of the period was the attempt of Tadhg O'Brien to revive the claims of his family over *Leath Mhogha* (*page* 73). With the largest army led by an O'Brien since Clontarf he crossed the Shannon, and levied tribute from Limerick. The Lord Deputy, the Earl of Desmond, was forced to acknowledge his rights over most of the old territory of Thomond which lay south of the Shannon. The chief of Osraidhe and some of the Leinster chiefs accepted his "*tuarasdail*." But his career was suddenly ended by fever (1466).

Battle of Knockdow.—Forty years later another O'Brien found himself in opposition to another Lord Deputy. The affair originated in Connacht, which, since the partition of the O'Connors (*page* 178), was without an overlord. In a quarrel between *O'Kelly* of Uí Maine and *Burke* of Clanrickarde (Mac William Uachtar), O'Kelly was supported by the Deputy, the Earl of Kildare, and by nearly all the chiefs of the northern half as well as by the lords of the Pale. Turlough O'Brien, and the other chiefs of Thomond, supported Burke, so that the contest was to a great extent the old one between *Leath Chuinn* and *Leath Mhogha*.

In a battle at *Knockdow* (near Galway)—the most destructive battle since the invasion with the exception of that at *Athenry*—the southerns were utterly defeated after an obstinate fight (1504).

Six years later, however, O'Brien and Clanrickarde defeated Kildare at *Monabraher*, near Limerick, the Deputy's allies on that occasion being the Irish and Normans of Desmond.

(B) THE LORDS

The Talbots and Ormonde.—A new English family now comes into Irish history—that of the Talbots. In 1414 *Sir John Talbot*, afterwards Lord Furnival and Earl of Shrewsbury, came to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant for six years, and on two other occasions (1423 and 1446–9) he occupied the same position. He was a famous soldier, and won great distinction in the French wars, but in Ireland his achievements were not remarkable. He got his brother, *Richard Talbot*, appointed as Archbishop of Dublin, and made him Lord Deputy. But the Earl of Ormonde, the chief supporter in Ireland of the House of Lancaster, resented the appointment, and a bitter hostility developed between the two. Constant quarrels took place, and for thirty years those two principal supporters of the Crown thwarted, opposed, and intrigued against each other. During that period (1419–49), Richard Talbot was Deputy four times, and Ormonde was five times Lord Lieutenant, Lord Justice, or Deputy; but the activities of both were mostly absorbed in their personal struggle for power. The Talbots succeeded in developing yet another generation of "*new English*" officials, whose interests were opposed to those of the powerful lords.

Eclipse of the Geraldines.—While the Talbots and Butlers were thus rivals for official power, the Geraldines of both Desmond and Kildare were excluded from the favour of the House of Lancaster. Eventually, however, the struggle forced Ormonde to cultivate the friendship of one of his traditional rivals. *James, Seventh Earl of Desmond*, had succeeded to the Earldom by expelling his nephew, Thomas, on the nominal ground that he had broken the "Statute of Kilkenny" by marrying an Irish wife. Ormonde's influence secured for him an extension of his sovereign authority over Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Kerry, and liberty to add to the immense possessions of Desmond the remnants of De Cogan's lands in Cork (*page* 132). Desmond, however, was not grateful, for next year he made war upon Ormonde.

The Duke of York: Wars of the Roses.—The play of the English factions, however, soon brought the Geraldines into official favour. The struggle between the Houses of *York and Lancaster* was beginning,

and the first effect of it in Ireland was the arrival of *Richard, Duke of York* as Lord Lieutenant with unlimited powers (1449). He was the grandson of Roger Mortimer, Earl of March (*page* 170), and, therefore, descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence. His policy was to win over the Irish chiefs, and to placate the Irish Normans. He gained the adhesion of both branches of the Geraldines, but although he bestowed offices upon Ormonde, the Butlers remained steadfast adherents of the Lancastrians. A new element was introduced by English politics into the ancient rivalry. During the *Wars of the Roses* (1455–85) many of the Anglo-Irish fought on both sides in the numerous battles in England. The Butlers were almost the only supporters of the House of Lancaster in Ireland, and when the Yorkists were for a time defeated, and the Duke of York fled to Ireland (of which he still claimed to be Lord Lieutenant) he was warmly received and supported (1459).

Independence of Irish "Parliament."—During the second visit of the Duke of York, a striking declaration was made by the colony in Ireland. Richard had been declared a traitor by the Lancastrians, and an emissary of Ormonde was sent over with a writ for his arrest. But Richard summoned a Parliament at Dublin which declared that the "Irish" Parliament was independent of that of England, and that no English writ could be enforced in Ireland. Under this enactment the unfortunate emissary was hanged.

Desmond and the Butlers: Battle of Piltown.—With the success of the Yorkists on the accession of Richard's son as Edward IV, the Geraldines became predominant in Ireland, and during his reign, (1461–83), and that of his brother, Richard III (1483–1485), the Earls of Desmond and Kildare shared official power almost without interruption. The Earl of Ormonde had been beheaded in England and his estates confiscated. The latter measure was ratified by the Irish Parliament, and when *Sir John Butler* claimed the Ormonde estates, he was opposed by Thomas, 8th Earl of Desmond. A fierce battle took place at Piltown (Co. Kilkenny), in which the Butlers were defeated (1462). Edmond Butler, who had taken the name of Mac Riocaird, was made prisoner, and was ransomed by the transfer of two Irish books!* Sir John Butler held out for some years, although his castles at Kilkenny and elsewhere were captured. Upon the accession of Henry VII the lands of the Ormondes were restored, but the Earls of Ormonde continued for a long time to reside in England, and the Butlers were led in Ireland by other members of the family.

The "Great Earl" of Desmond: His Execution.—Thomas,

* *"Saltair Chaisil" and "Leabhar na Carraige." The former bears an inscription in Irish by Mac Riocaird, and a memorandum, also in Irish, giving a record of the transaction.*

Earl of Desmond, the victor of Piltown, was next year appointed Lord Deputy (1463). He enjoyed at once the confidence of all sections amongst the Irish and Anglo-Irish and the favour of the King. The latter conferred much power upon him, and he became so influential that he is called the "Great Earl of Desmond." He was a man of much learning and many accomplishments, and a great patron of Gaelic poets and scholars. He founded a college at Youghal, and endeavoured to create a University at Drogheda, but this was prevented by his death. The *new officials* established by the Talbots had been opposed to Desmond as previously to Ormonde, and had endeavoured, without success, to undermine his influence with the King. While he was clouded by his defeats at the hands of O'Connor and O'Brien (*page* 178) he used some imprudent language regarding the Queen, and this was utilised by his enemies. Through the influence of the angry Queen, *Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester*, was appointed Deputy in his place, and he and the Earl of Kildare were charged at a Parliament in Drogheda with alliances and fosterage with the Irish. Desmond came to Drogheda, and was immediately seized by Tiptoft and executed (1467). *Kildare* went to England and extenuated himself, whereupon he returned, and with Desmond's sons, ravaged the Pale with fire and sword. He was bought off, appointed Chancellor, and next superseded Tiptoft as Deputy. From that time all official power was almost continuously in the hands of the *Kildare family* for 65 years (1468–1533).

(c) THE PALE

Shrinkage of the Pale.—Meanwhile the "little place," as the Pale was now called, continued to shrink and decay. The unfortunate inhabitants were oppressed as much by the exactions of the lords as by the raids of the clans. "Coyne and livery" was still imposed upon them despite frequent laws against it, and the King's own Deputy set the example. In 1416, they petitioned the King to pity his "poor lieges who are environed on all sides with English rebels and Irish enemies." Four years later they begged him to obtain the aid of the Pope on their behalf. While the farmers were spoiled by "coyne and livery" the townspeople were impoverished by the anti-Irish enactments which prohibited them from trading with the Irish. Many fled to England; others affiliated themselves to neighbouring chiefs and lords. In 1422, Dunlavin, Trim, Collon and Dundalk indicate the borders of the Pale. Forty years later a dyke was built between Tallaght and Saggart, and at other places, to keep out the enemy. In 1515 a report to the English Government states that the English rule extended only over one-half

of the five counties of *Oriel, Meath, Dublin, Kildare, and Wexford,* and even in those the greater part of the population was native Irish. The rest of the country was ruled by "Irish enemies" and "degenerate English."* In 1533 a report of Archbishop Allen says that the Pale, where alone English language, dress and customs were used, was only twenty miles long.

Black Rents.—Nor was it by any strength of its own that this "little place" was enabled to exist. Its *military establishment* consisted of only eighty archers and forty "spears" until the voluntary "*Brotherhood of St. George*" increased it by 200 men. It existed only by the *sufferance of the neighbouring chiefs,* which was purchased by the annual subsidies called "black rents." This tribute was paid by every county of the Pale (except Dublin), and even by the great walled towns. Louth paid it to O'Neill, Meath and Kildare to O'Connor of Uí Failghe. Amongst the towns, it was levied on Wexford by Mac Murrough, on Dundalk by O'Neill, on Cork by Mac Carthy, and on Limerick by O'Brien. The Government in Dublin paid Mac Murrough an annual stipend to secure the roads to the south (*page* 157). Content with these annual tributes [which bear a striking resemblance to those paid to the over-Kings of old (*page* 27)] the chiefs who lay around the Pale suffered it to continue, and ignored the possibilities that lurked within its dilapidated borders.

Disorder in Dublin: Sir James Keating.—Nor did order and loyalty flourish conspicuously at the very seat of government. Unseemly broils between the chief officials, and faction fights between the followers of different parties were frequent. The authority of the Crown was more than once defied by its own representatives, and their example was followed by others. When Lord Grey was sent over by the King to supersede the Earl of Kildare as Lord Deputy (1478) he was refused admission to *Dublin Castle* by its Constable, Sir James Keating, who garrisoned the Castle, and held it for two years. Keating was also *Prior of Kilmainham,* an important military "hospital" of the Knights of St. John beside Dublin. When deprived of this rank in 1482 he imprisoned his successor, and kept possession of the "hospital." Although the King excepted Keating from the general pardon to the adherents of Simnel (1488) (*page* 186), yet the intractable Prior held defiant possession of the "hospital" for another three years.

Anti-Irish Decrees.—Reduced to this condition of impotence, the Crown officials could only display a futile malevolence by further anti-

* *In the* 1515 *report we find the modern provinces appearing in official use, the "captains" of Irish and "degenerate English" being both grouped territorially in five provinces* (*including Meath*).

Irish enactments. Some of these declarations against the adoption of Irish customs border on the ridiculous. In 1447 it was enacted that "every man must keep his *upper lip shaved* or else be treated as an Irish enemy!" In 1465 it was ordered that every Irishman living in the Pale was to dress and shave like an Englishman, and take an *English name*, such as the name of a town, colour, or calling. Poynings' Parliament (*page* 187) in 1495 repeated the prohibitions of the "Statute of Kilkenny" (*page* 165) with the conspicuous exception of that against the *Irish language*. So general was Irish now, that no attempt could be made to prohibit it. In 1498 further enactments were passed against Irish dress and the Irish custom of riding without saddles. More important than the enactments against the adoption of Irish customs in the Pale were those attempting to *cut off all intercourse* between the colonists and the Irish. In 1432 it was made felony to trade with the native Irish, and any Irishman trading with the King's lieges was to be treated as the King's enemy. In 1465 it was declared that any Irishman found in the Pale not in the company "of a faithful man in English apparel" might be killed and the slayer rewarded. In the same year ships were prohibited from fishing in Irish waters, because the dues thereof enriched the Irish. In 1480 all intercourse between the two peoples was again prohibited.

Futility of the Decrees.—These vicious decrees, like similar earlier ones, fell most heavily on the colonists, and, like those, they were ignored or evaded. They were directed, indeed, against the social and economic life of the country. Irish language, dress and customs prevailed everywhere even within the Pale itself. The limits of the Pale were too narrow for its impoverished inhabitants to be able to exist if shut off from trade and intercourse with the country around. When Mac Riocaird Butler wrote in the Saltair of Caiseal, it was in Irish; when Desmond's grandson placed the facts of the Great Earl's death before the Council, it was in Irish; Kildare's great library in Maynooth Castle had as many books in Irish as in any other language. Desmond, Ormonde and Kildare all practised fosterage and gossipred, married with Irish families, and fought side by side with them in each other's quarrels. In the Pale itself we hear the sad complaint in 1498 that the burghers of Kells, Trim, Navan and Dundalk use the Irish dress. The races had become completely fused despite the efforts of the "new English" officials.

Section III. The Kildare Geraldines and the Crown

An Unorganised Nation.—During this period, then, English influence was at its lowest ebb. The country was independent, and the nation was

unified in culture; but the one had no centre, and the other no head—there was *no national focus*. The conditions were remarkably like those after Clontarf (*chap. VII*) or like those of the Italian States down to recent times. Certain definite groupings there were. O'Neill and O'Donnell, O'Brien and Mac Carthy were still the accepted leaders of many subordinate clans. Indeed, the continued recognition of the chief family, and of the ruling clan, is striking—in families and clans there were dissensions, but there was very little disloyalty. Those leaders, however, were surrounded by other clans, Gaelic and Norman, over whom they had no traditional claims. Amongst the Normans, too, the three great Earls were obeyed by numerous inferior lords, but they also were opposed by their rivals in any ambitions beyond their respective territories.

It was a state of affairs that could not last. The natural course of events was certain to bring forward one family, either Gaelic or Norman, which would establish its influence over the political fragments of the country. Such a family was, in fact, produced in *the Kildare Geraldines*.

Garrett Mór, The Great Earl.—When Thomas, Earl of Kildare (*page* 182) died (1477), he was succeeded by his son, Garrett or Gerald (Gearóid Mór) as 8th Earl. The Irish Council elected Garrett as Lord Deputy, but the English King (Edward IV) refused to recognise him, and sent over *Lord Grey* in his stead. But the King's nominee was refused admittance to Dublin Castle by the doughty Keating (*page* 183), and the Lord Chancellor refused to deliver him up the Great Seal. Grey called a Parliament in Trim, but Kildare and the Chancellor (his father-in-law, Fitz-Eustace, Lord Portlester) immediately called a *rival Parliament* at Naas. During two years the contest went on until finally Kildare won, and was appointed Lord Deputy with increased powers, which left him practically independent. For the next 35 years (1478–1513) the Great Earl was the most powerful man in Ireland, and with the exception of one break of four years (1492–6) he was all that time Lord Deputy under the Yorkist Kings, Edward IV and Richard III, until 1485, and then under the Tudor King, Henry VII.

End of Wars of Roses: The Tudors.—In 1485 the House of York fell at the battle of *Bosworth*, and Henry Tudor became King of England as Henry VII. The Wars of the Roses had ended, and *new conditions* prevailed in England which were to have a profound influence on Irish affairs. The wars had destroyed the old feudal nobility of England, and for many years to come that country was to be ruled by sovereigns whose power was arbitrary. Untroubled by powerful nobles, the Tudors were able to direct the policy of England with *a single mind*. To their

despotism in England, the condition of Ireland was a sharp contrast. There the clan and feudal nobility were powerful, independent, and assertive, with a princely nobleman at their head, who, although invested with the authority of the King, was a subject only in name.

Lambert Simnel.—Henry found that the Yorkist Geraldines were too powerful to interfere with for the present. He did, indeed, summon Kildare to London; but the Earl evaded the call by getting a Parliament to declare that his presence in Ireland was essential. Kildare was continued as Deputy, his brother Thomas as Chancellor, and Portlester as Treasurer. But they, and nearly all the Anglo-Irish, were still Yorkist, and they soon had an opportunity of displaying their sympathies. The last male representative of the House of York, *Edward Plantagenet*, Earl of Warwick, a boy of twelve, was a prisoner in the Tower of London. Some Yorkist adherents got a youth named Lambert Simnel to personate him, and brought him to Ireland, where he was received with open arms by the leading officials. Kildare held aloof for some time, but when Warwick's aunt, the Duchess of Burgundy, sent an army of Germans to support the pretender, the Earl declared in his favour. Simnel was crowned in Christ Church as Edward VI, and was accepted by many of the Anglo-Irish and by many towns, but not by the Butlers or the city of Waterford. At the head of an army of Germans and Anglo-Irish, Simnel landed in England, but was defeated and captured at Stoke (1487).

Kildare Retained.—Even this did not disturb Kildare's position. Next year Henry sent a Commissioner to take the homage of those who had sided with the Pretender, and to lay down the conditions upon which they would be pardoned. Kildare kept out of the Commissioner's way for some time, and when he and the Council heard the conditions, they declared that sooner than accept them they would one and all "*become Irish.*" At length the conditions were withdrawn, and Kildare and the other officials were pardoned and retained in office upon taking an oath of allegiance to Henry. Another impostor named *Warbeck* afterwards landed in the south of Ireland, but received little support except from the Earl of Desmond.

Kildare Dismissed: the Butlers again.—Soon, however, Kildare suffered a temporary eclipse. This was due in some measure to his hereditary rivals, the Butlers. Henry had restored their possessions to the Earls of Ormonde, who, however, continued to reside in England, and two rival members of the Butlers contested the leadership of the family in Ireland. One, Piers Butler (*Piaras "Ruadh"*), was married to a daughter of Kildare, and the Deputy supported him; the other, Sir James Butler of Ormonde, had, however, the favour of the King.

A fierce struggle took place between the rivals, stories were conveyed to England, and Kildare and the Geraldine officials were dismissed, Sir James Butler being appointed Treasurer (1492). (Sir James—who is also sometimes called Sir James Ormonde—was soon afterwards killed by Piers Ruadh, who figures prominently in later events as *Earl of Ossory* and *Earl of Ormonde*.)

Power of Kildare.—It is evident that Henry had at length resolved to test the strength of the Geraldines, and if possible to curb their power. Kildare was the most powerful subject of the King, and his influence was even greater than that of a mere subject. The absence of the Earl of Ormonde, and the dissensions of the Butlers, together with the absorption of the Earl of Desmond at the time in his own remote territories, had left him, without question, the most prominent of all the Irish of Norman descent. He was steadily cultivating the friendship of the great chiefs, and his sister was married to an O'Neill (as his relative, the Earl of Desmond, was married to an O'Brien) in breach of the "Statute of Kilkenny." His great estates lay within easy distance of Dublin, and formed a barrier against the clans of the midlands. He, and not the Crown, was the *protector of Dublin and the Pale*. The officials, therefore, were his creatures, and the Parliament of the Pale was merely an instrument for expressing his wishes.

Poynings' Parliament: Arrest of Kildare.—Henry was determined to assert his authority, at least over his own officials and Parliament. *Sir Edward Poynings* was sent across as Lord Deputy in 1494, and Kildare joined him in an uneventful expedition to the north. Poynings had been accompanied by a full set of new officials and judges. A Parliament was summoned which met at *Drogheda* and passed some anti-Irish Acts, and also enactments against private wars, coyne and livery, etc. It further declared that all offices were to be held during the King's pleasure, and that none but persons of *English birth* should have the custody of the royal castles. The "Brotherhood of St. George" was suppressed as dangerous. Finally, all grants of land made by the Crown during the past two centuries were revoked: Kildare was attainted, captured and sent a prisoner to England (1495).

"Poynings' Act."—The legislation of this Parliament, which has collectively acquired the name of "Poynings' Act," was, although it was at first acceptable to the Commons, as tending to protect them from the arbitrary power of the Deputy, ultimately destructive of the independence of the Irish Parliament itself, though whether this was the end aimed at by Henry VII is questionable. He had every motive to fear Kildare; but as yet none to fear the Parliament.

The Parliament had, of course, never represented any but the

Norman element. It had met irregularly at the summons of the Deputy, who put before it what measures he pleased, and practically compelled their adoption. Many of the Anglo-Irish lords, especially those whose lands lay far from the Pale, never troubled to attend; most of the towns were represented by nominees of the Deputy. It was, in fact, a "scratch assembly," *the mouthpiece of a powerful noble.* The resolutions which it passed were totally disregarded outside the Pale, and very lightly regarded even inside its narrow limits.

Henry, however, had come to see that this assembly might be used against his authority in Ireland; in fact it had been so used, for Kildare had summoned a Parliament in Lambert Simnel's name (1486) and forced it to proclaim the Pretender. He, therefore, resolved to increase its dependence on the Crown. There was no difficulty in inducing the two Irish Houses to pass the desired legislation, for they did not dare to assert their independence, but were subservient to Poynings as before they had been to Kildare.

It was first decreed that all laws *lately passed in England* should be valid in Ireland, and this was afterwards taken to mean *all* English laws, even those passed long previously, but it must be borne in mind that the Act did not give the English Parliament any right to *legislate for Ireland.* Another and much more important Act declared that in future no Parliament was to meet in Ireland until the King had given his licence for it. Moreover, the Deputy and Irish Privy Council should decide on the legislation which it seemed to them desirable to lay before the Parliament, and then forward the drafts of the proposed measures to England for the sanction of the King and the English Privy Council. Only when this had been obtained were the Bills to be laid before the Irish Houses.

This enactment did not, of course, make the Irish Parliament in any way dependent on the English one, for the drafts of Irish Bills were not submitted to the latter, but it rendered it impossible for the Irish Houses to pass, or even to consider, *any legislation of which the King did not approve.* The Irish Parliament could not be used against the authority of the English Crown in Ireland or even against its wishes.

Originally directed against the *influence of Kildare,* and affecting a Parliament whose authority was only nominal, and extended over only a small portion of the country, "Poynings' Act" was not important. But when English law had been extended over all Ireland this fetter on the Irish Parliament was bitterly resented. It was, however, nearly three centuries before it was destroyed by *Grattan* and *the Volunteers* in 1782.

Kildare's Return to Power.—The attempt to govern Ireland without

Kildare was a failure. When he had been dismissed from office, the Geraldine had withdrawn his protection from the Pale, with the result that the Irish continually raided the settlers in Meath. Kildare's brother had attacked the English at Carlow, and when the Earl was arrested his sons attacked those in Kildare. Sir James Butler attacked the rival Butlers, harassed the friends of the Geraldines and exacted "coyne and livery." Poynings and the "English by birth" were unable to keep order. Besides, Warbeck was being strongly supported, and the King of Scotland was intriguing with O'Donnell. While he was in England the Great Earl married, as his second wife, a cousin of the King. When he was eventually brought to trial he won over Henry. The King's point of view is summarised in his reply to the Bishop of Meath, Kildare's accuser: "All Ireland could not rule this man," said the Bishop. "Then let this man rule all Ireland," was the King's reply. In this spirit was the Great Earl sent back to Ireland and reinstated as Lord Deputy (1496), greater in power than ever. His son Garrett, however, was detained for seven years at the English Court, where he married an English lady.

Geraldine Alliances.—Until his death in 1513 Garrett Mór was *virtual ruler of Ireland*, first under Henry VII and from 1509 under Henry VIII. He professed to act in the King's name, but this did not prevent him from such illegal acts as making alliances with the Irish by marriages and fosterage, and taking part with them in their quarrels. O'Neill Mac Carthy, O'Toole, O'Connor of Ui Failghe, Mac William Uachtar, and Piers Butler all became closely related by Geraldine marriages, while Kildare's son was fostered with O'Donnell. He preserved order within the Pale, but, on the other hand, exacted "coyne and livery." In the frequent quarrels amongst lords and chiefs he frequently took part, generally on behalf of his own relatives and adherents. North, south and west he fought on behalf of his allies, establishing them against their rivals, and handing over to them the castles he had captured. His power in Ireland remained unchecked (except at Monabrahir, *page* 180) until his death in 1513.

Garrett Óg.—The Great Earl was succeeded as ninth Earl by his son Garrett Óg (Ʒeaꞃoꞇo Óʒ), who was also appointed to succeed him as Deputy. The new Earl was as vigorous as his father, and quickly suppressed a movement that the border clans had made. He also continued an attempt, which his father had begun, to re-establish the old settlement in *Lecale* (which they claimed through a grant of Richard II), and in pursuance of it, captured *Dundrum Castle* (Co. Down). For seven years his power was as great as had been his father's.

The First Blow at Kildare.—Garrett Óg, however, was soon to discover that his position was anomalous, and that the Geraldines could

not continue indefinitely to be virtual rulers of Ireland and also subjects of the King of England. Again did the hostility of the Butlers manifest itself. The absentee Earl of Ormonde was now dead, and *Piers Ruadh* (*page* 186) had succeeded to his title and Irish possessions. Piers had been an ally of the Great Earl, and for some time co-operated with his son. But with the acquisition of his new possessions he developed an enmity to Kildare. In this, strangely, he was encouraged by his wife, a restless and ambitious woman, who although a sister of Kildare, became more determined in her hostility to the Geraldines than any Butler had ever been. Ormonde secured the friendship of *Cardinal Wolsey*, the powerful Chancellor of the King, and the two united in hostility to Kildare. At length the latter was summoned to England on a charge of forming alliances with " divers Irish enemies " (1519).

Surrey, Lord Lieutenant.—The following year the Earl of Surrey came to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant. He was a friend of Piers Ruadh and was related to him (by marriage) through *Sir Thomas Boleyn*, a grandson of the previous Earl of Ormonde. At first he displayed much activity against various clans who had risen when Kildare was called away, but he soon tired of a warfare that he deemed to be unending, and he left after one year's stay. Ormonde was then appointed Lord Deputy (1521).

Kildare Reinstated.—During his stay in England Kildare was not imprisoned, but remained in attendance upon the King. Both Surrey and Ormonde had employed themselves in collecting evidence against him, and the charges against him were enquired into by Wolsey. But Kildare, like his father, made an influential second marriage with *Lady Grey*, a relative of the King. Thanks, perhaps, to this, he was allowed to return to Ireland (1523). Almost immediately hostility developed between himself and Ormonde, still Lord Deputy. Commissioners were sent over to inquire, with the result that Ormonde was dismissed and Kildare again made Lord Deputy (1524).

The Second Blow.—Kildare now devoted himself to attempts to reconcile the powerful northern chiefs, O'Neill and O'Donnell, who were still at war. Conn Bacach O'Neill was the near relative of the Earl and had carried his sword of state at his last inauguration. But although Kildare on one occasion brought an army to his kinsman's aid, he repeatedly endeavoured to establish peace between the two and, despite the laws against it, formed the tie of gossipred with O'Donnell. For the time, however, his efforts failed. A serious situation then developed. His kinsman, the *Earl of Desmond*, had entered into a correspondence with the King of France on the prospects of *an invasion of Ireland* by the latter. The plot was discovered by Ormonde, and news

of it sent to the King. Desmond was summoned to London, and when he refused to go, Kildare was ordered to arrest him. The Deputy marched into Munster, but apparently allowed Desmond to evade him (1524). Ormonde declared that Kildare had been guilty of collusion with the southern Earl, and Kildare was again summoned to England and committed to the Tower (1526). After an angry scene with Wolsey at the Privy Council, he was first released on bail and eventually allowed to return to Ireland with Sir William Skeffington, who was appointed Lord Deputy (1530).

The Crisis for Kildare.—This proved, in the event, to be the last return of Garrett Óg to Ireland. He must have realised that the crisis was approaching for himself and for his country. His enemies were powerful. Anne Boleyn, a relative of Butler, had now won a sinister influence over the King, and Piers Butler had resigned to her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, the Earldom of Ormond, taking instead the title of *Earl of Ossory*. It was evident, too, that a *new tone with regard to Ireland* was being adopted by the English officials, and that its affairs were being discussed in a spirit which recognised no rights in either Gaelic chief or Norman lord. *The whole country was spoken of as a single unit, over every part of which the King should have absolute dominion as he had in England.* Kildare could no longer be, at once, the ruler of a semi-independent Ireland and the King's Deputy. On the other hand he knew his own power, to which he owed his immunity. He had added to the widespread alliances of his family by marrying his daughters to the chiefs of Uí Failghe and of Eile (O'Carroll), and all his kinsmen had shown their readiness to support him. One of them (O'Connor) had openly declared his resolve to drive the English out of Ireland. He knew also that not only the King of France but the Emperor of Germany had been in correspondence with Desmond, and that the King of Scotland had sounded O'Donnell. Having ruled Ireland for fifty years the Geraldines were approaching a crisis.

SECTION IV. LITERATURE OF FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES

No Original Literature.—The arrest in the development of Irish literature, which has been noted as marking the advent of the Normans, continued during the succeeding two centuries. If original literature worthy of the name was then produced, all trace and record of it has been lost. Yet our annals clearly show that *learning and scholarship flourished* and were encouraged. They record, year after year, the names of those who were famous as scholars, bards, historians, and lawyers; they constantly preserve the names of Gaelic chiefs and

Norman lords who were conspicuous for their patronage and hospitality to poets and men of learning. Every Gaelic family, and many Norman ones, still had their *hereditary bards and historians* occupying honoured and privileged positions. Learned and famous books were produced, as will be shown, but these were mostly compilations. At the time that the new nations were developing popular literature, the Gaelic voice was suppressed. While England, France, Spain and Italy were creating their national languages, and the *Renascence* was spreading over Europe, the cultured mind of Ireland was forcibly turned back upon the past. The old intimacy with the Continent was broken in upon and destroyed. The *modern nations* of Europe were only then being formed, and with them were being created their *national literatures*. But in Ireland, with its long and glorious tradition of culture and learning, *national progress* and *literary expansion* were alike being thwarted by a foreign element which lacked strength and spirit to provide a substitute. The only interest of the English Crown in the bards, brehons, teachers, and historians of Ireland was devoted to their persecution and destruction.

Professional Lay Scholars.—But if original literature is absent, we have still remaining important books compiled during this period. Mostly the work of trained scholars in whose families were continued from generation to generation the traditions of Gaelic culture, they were carefully preserved either by those families of scholars or by the chiefs to whom they were attached. Unlike the "Books" of earlier times, they are not the productions of monks preserved in the monasteries in which they were compiled, but are the careful and painstaking work of lay professional scholars and historians. All of them relate to the past, and they fall into two groups—the first, annals pure and simple, and historical tracts, and the second, general collections of extracts from and copies of older writings. They are all of the greatest importance in explaining the relations between the great clans of early Ireland.

Annals and Historical Works.—Of the annals compiled at this time, the most important are the "*Annals of Ulster*," the work of *Cathal Maguire*, Dean of Clogher, and compiled by him in the island of Senaid Mac Manus (now "Belleisle") in Lough Erne. The original compiler died in 1498, but the annals were afterwards brought down to the year 1541. In modern print, with translation and notes, they fill three large volumes. At an earlier date the "*Annals of Clonmacnoise*" were probably compiled as they come down to the year 1408. The original Irish version of these annals has been lost, but a translation made in 1627 by Connell Mac Geoghegan has been published. The "*Annals of Tighernach*" were also continued up to the year 1407 by Augustine O'Grady. The historical tracts include the "*Caithreim*" or "*Exploits*

of Turlough O'Brien," written by *Rory Mac Craith,* chief historian of Thomond in the year 1459, which describes the struggles of the O'Briens against the Normans down to the battle of Dysert O'Dea.

Miscellaneous "Books."—The greatest of the general collections is the "*Leabhar Breac,*" or "*Speckled Book of Duniry,*" written about the year 1400 by a member of the great literary family of the *Mac Egans,* who long maintained a famous school at Duniry on the west bank of the Shannon. It is a compilation from various ancient books, and O'Curry says: "The contents are all, with one exception, of a religious character, and all, or nearly all, in the purest style of Gaelic." The "*Book of Ballymote,*" compiled about the year 1390 for Mac Donough of Tír Oiliolla, contains genealogies and extracts from many old books, and also the Ogham alphabet (*page* 9). The "*Yellow Book of Lecan,*" and the "*Book of Lecan*" were both compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century by a member of a great family of historians of Uí Fiachra named *Giolla Iosa Mac Firbis.* Their contents are similar to those of the "Book of Ballymote," and they also contain valuable information regarding the tribes of Uí Fiachra.* The "*Book of Lismore,*" discovered in a wall in Lismore Castle, was written about this time, and consists mostly of lives of the saints and other religious writings.

O'Dúgan and O'Huidhrin.—Although the verses of several poets of this period are preserved, the only important names are those of O'Dúgan and O'Huidhrin, and their works are, says Professor Hyde, "*mainly of research and not of poetry.*" *Sean Mór O'Dúgan* died in 1372, having written a poetical account of the tribes and territories in nearly all Ireland at the time of the Norman invasion. This work was continued by *Giolla na Naomh O'Huidhrin,* and the complete poem is a mine of information as to the positions and relations of the various clans.

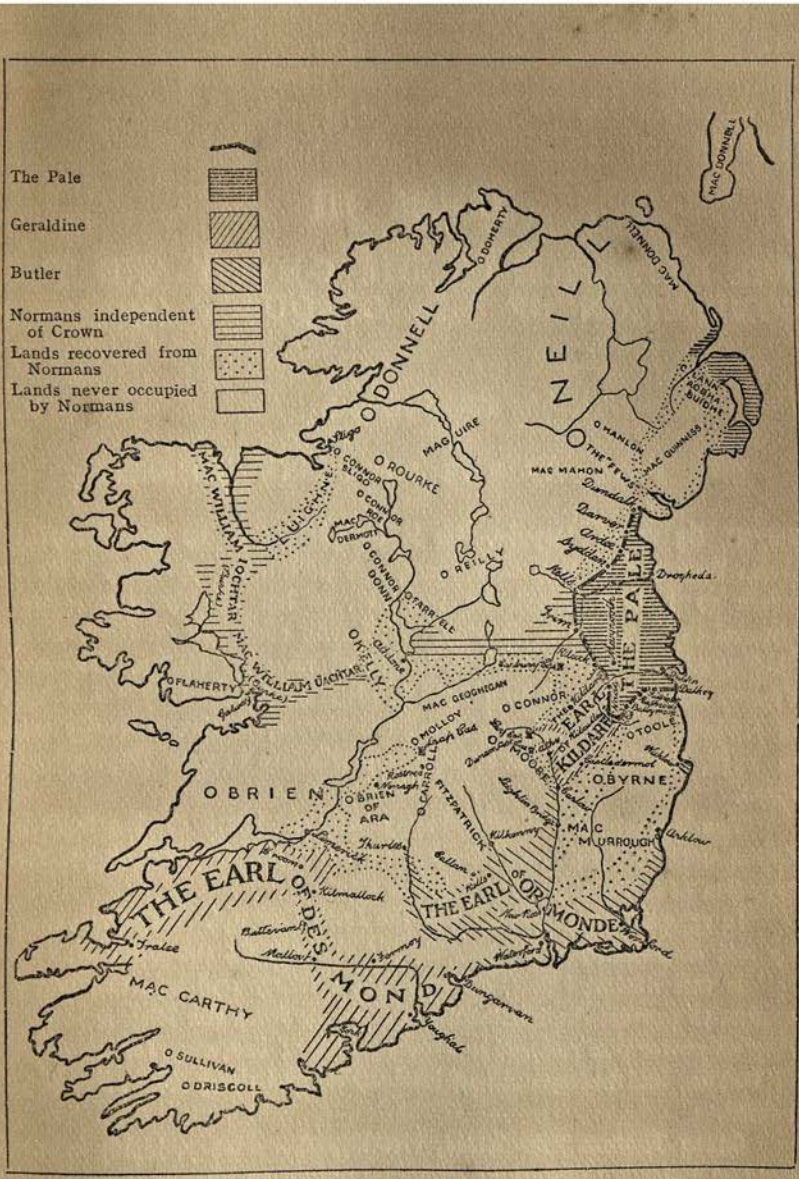
Literary Gatherings: Margaret of Uí Failghe.—Amongst the records of the patrons of learning there are accounts of great gatherings of poets and scholars on the invitation of some great chief. Some of these are noted conspicuously. One was when *William O'Kelly,* chief of Uí Maine, gathered the poets, brehons, and bards of all Ireland and entertained them for all the Christmas time of 1351. Later, *Niall O'Neill* revived the traditions of Eamhain Macha (*page* 7) by building a lordly house upon it, to which he gathered all the scholars of Erin. The most celebrated gatherings, however, were those convened by the illustrious *Margaret O'Carroll,* daughter of the chief of Eile, and wife of *Calvagh O'Connor,* the heroic chief of Uí Failghe. On two occasions in 1434,

* *The "Book of Ballymote" and the "Book of Lecan" preserve our oldest copies of the "Book of Rights"* (*page* 26).

first at *Killeigh* and afterwards at *Rathangan*, she brought together all the learned men in poetry, music and history, Irish and Scottish, to the number of 2,700. The stately lady clad in cloth of gold received the guests, her husband and his guards kept order, and his chief brehon, Mac Egan, marshalled the guests in due order of precedence.

DATES OF PRINCIPAL EVENTS

	A.D.
Rivalry of Butlers and Talbots	1419–49
(*Henry VI, King of England*)	1422–61
Eoghan O'Neill defeats Lord Deputy	1423
Midland chiefs submit to O'Neill	1430
("*Jeanne d'Arc*" *burned by English*)	1431
Trading with Irish Prohibited	1432
Duke of York, Lord Lieutenant	1449
(*Turks take Constantinople*)	1453
("*Wars of the Roses*" *in England*)	1455–85
(*Edward IV, King of England*)	1461–83
Desmond defeats Butlers at Piltown	1462
Desmond captured by O'Connor Uí Failghe	1466
Tadhg O'Brien in the South	1466
"Great Earl" of Desmond executed	1467
Gearóid Mór, 8th Earl of Kildare	1477–1513
(*Richard III, King of England*)	1483–5
(*Henry VII, King of England*)	1485–1509
Simnel crowned in Christ Church	1487
Kildare superseded	1492–96
(*Columbus discovers America*)	1492
(*Moors expelled from Spain*)	1492
Kildare again Lord Deputy	1496
Battle of Knockdow	1504
(*Henry VIII, King of England*)	1509
Gearóid Óg, ninth Earl of Kildare	1513
Kildare summoned to England	1519
(*Luther excommunicated*)	1521
O'Donnell defeats Conn "Bacach" O'Neill at Knockavoe	1522
Kildare again Lord Deputy	1524
Kildare again summoned to England	1526
Kildare returns to Ireland	1530



The "Pale" at end of 15th century.

BOOK III

THE EXTENSION OF THE COLONY AND THE COMPLETION OF THE CONQUEST (1520–1603)

CHAPTER I

THE FALL OF THE HOUSE OF KILDARE

Garrett Óg again Deputy. He is Complained of by the Council.—When Garrett Óg, Earl of Kildare, was permitted by Henry VIII to return to Ireland (1529), he was not, as has already been stated, restored to his office of Deputy. This was conferred on Sir William Skeffington, an elderly English knight of no great ability. The new Viceroy was directed to be guided in his administration by the advice of Kildare. This dual arrangement, however, worked so badly that, in 1532, Skeffington was recalled, and Kildare became Deputy once more.

The haughty Geraldine had apparently not learnt caution from his detention in England ; his administration was as arbitrary and his practical assertion of independence as great as ever.

In 1533 a formal complaint of the Lord Deputy's doings was drawn up and despatched to England by his enemies on the Council.

It was declared that, owing to his tyranny and injustice and his neglect to protect the inhabitants of the Pale from the Irish enemy, the English power was reduced to a mere shadow ; life, even for the citizens of Dublin, had become almost intolerable, and the public revenue was ruined.

Silken Thomas Fitz-Gerald, Vice-Deputy.—Henry, highly incensed, ordered Kildare to come at once to London to answer these charges, but gave him permission to himself nominate a substitute to fulfil his duties during his absence. Kildare's choice fell on his eldest son, Thomas, a dashing, valiant youth, not yet twenty-one years of age, so famed for the splendour of his dress that he had gained the name

of "Silken Thomas." The post which he was to hold would have tried the capacity and prudence of a far more experienced man. Not only were his enemies on the Council many and powerful, but he became the centre, probably without his own knowledge, of intrigues extending beyond Ireland or even England.

The insurrections of Lambert Simnel, and of Perkin Warbeck, in the preceding reign, seem to have directed the attention of the Continental sovereigns to the use that could be made of Ireland for the purpose of attacking England. We know that, at the time of Kildare's departure for England, the Emperor Charles V had an agent in Ireland closely watching the young Vice-Deputy, and reporting to his master as to the means by which he could be utilised.

Soon after Kildare's arrival in England, it was known in Dublin that he had been imprisoned in the Tower. Early in June it was contrived that a letter, falsely implying that he had been executed, should fall into his son's hands. This letter had almost certainly been prepared by Thomas' enemies on the Council. Without waiting for any confirmation, the rash youth resolved, by immediate rebellion, to avenge, as he thought, his father's death.

Rebellion of Silken Thomas.—He made his way with a small band of armed retainers to St. Mary's Abbey, on the north side of the Liffey, and then outside the boundaries of the city of Dublin. The Council was assembled there, when Thomas rushed into the room and, after a defiant speech, in which he accused King Henry of his father's murder, he flung the Sword of State, the emblem of his official authority, on the table, and renounced his allegiance. Cromer, the Primate, ventured to remonstrate with him, but hardly had he finished his exhortation, when one of the young lad's followers, Niall O'Kennedy, the harper, struck his instrument, and began to sing of the past glories of the Geraldines, and to urge their descendant to emulate their valour.

This for Thomas decided the question in favour of rebellion. With a few rough words he silenced the Archbishop, and before the members of the Council had fully recovered from their amazement at this extraordinary scene, he and his retainers had mounted their horses and galloped off.

Lord Thomas' first care was to seek support amongst the Irish chiefs and the Anglo-Irish nobles. With the former he was fairly successful. Brian O'Connor of Offaly espoused his cause warmly; the O'Tooles of Wicklow obligingly raided Fingal. The Mac Murroghs, O'Moores, O'Briens and many of the Ulster chiefs were also on his side. On the other hand, the Pale nobility did little for him; although neither did most of them very actively oppose him.

In July (1534) Thomas appeared before Dublin, and the citizens, feeling themselves not strong enough for resistance, allowed his troops to enter the city and lay siege to the Castle. Amongst those who had taken refuge in the Castle at the beginning of the rebellion was John Alen, Archbishop of Dublin. He had been on the Council one of the chief enemies of Garrett Óg, and now dreaded his son's vengeance, in case the Castle were captured. Before the siege began, he endeavoured to escape by sea, but his boat was driven ashore at Clontarf, and he himself was dragged into the presence of Thomas. The young lord regarded him with contemptuous pity, and turned away, with the remark, "beir uaim an bodach,"* but his followers, wilfully misinterpreting this order, proceeded to murder the Archbishop in cold blood. This crime, although Thomas was not apparently himself responsible for it, had an important effect in hastening the ruin of his cause. It alienated the sympathies of his supporters at home and abroad, and, most fatal of all, produced a sentence of excommunication from the Pope.

All the summer and autumn fighting went on in and around the Pale. The citizens of Dublin rose and expelled the besiegers of the Castle, and the Geraldine party then laid siege to the city itself. Thomas made frequent raids, mostly into the territory of the Butlers, while they, on their side, ravaged the Geraldine lands.

So far the rebels had only been opposed by what might be described as private armies, the feudal forces of certain of the Pale nobility. As yet no help had come from England, though Sir William Skeffington had been appointed Deputy several months before, and a large army had been gathered together for an Irish campaign. It was not until October (1534) that this army crossed the Channel, and when it arrived it accomplished nothing for a considerable time. After various useless marches through the country, the English forces took up their quarters in Dublin, where they passed the winter. Outside, Lord Thomas raided the country at his pleasure, and burnt the towns of Trim and Dunboyne.

In spite of this apparent success, the Geraldine party was beginning to fall to pieces. Numbers of Thomas' adherents went over to the side of the Crown, and the excommunication, promulgated against their leader in November, increased the number of these defections.

It must have become apparent to the young Geraldine—his father had died in the Tower in December, 1534, so he was now Earl of Kildare—that, as Henry VIII showed no inclination to come to terms with him, he could not, without foreign aid, long maintain the struggle. His attempts to obtain such aid met with no success. Probably the

* *Take the clown away.*

Continental monarchs concluded, from the information of their agents, that the rebellion was little likely to develop into anything sufficiently important to embarrass Henry VIII. So they turned a deaf ear to his entreaties. Nor could he obtain from the Pope, before whom he endeavoured in vain to pose as the champion of Catholicity against the schismatic Henry VIII, a reversal of the decree of excommunication pronounced against him.

In the spring of 1535 Skeffington bestirred himself, and marching from Dublin, laid siege to the Geraldines' castle of Maynooth. This fortress was reckoned to be too strong to be reduced by any method but the tedious one of blockade. The shattering power of the improved artillery had not, however, been taken into consideration, though some kind of artillery had been in occasional use in Ireland for a good while previously.

Eight days sufficed to make such breaches in the walls that the garrison were obliged to surrender. All were executed. The fall of Maynooth should have served as a warning to the Pale nobility and the chiefs that a new era in warfare had set in, and that the chances against small rebellions had enormously increased.

Submission and Execution of Silken Thomas.—However, Skeffington's fit of activity was transient, and he attempted, for the present, nothing more. In July Lord Leonard Grey, who had been appointed Marshal of the Forces, arrived in Ireland. His arrival at once changed the aspect of affairs. He marched against the rebels, whom he reduced to such straits that his few remaining allies were compelled to desert Kildare, and in August (1535) he himself submitted and was sent a prisoner to England. Whether his surrender was unconditional or not is somewhat uncertain. The evidence that terms of some kind were guaranteed to him, though very strong, is not absolutely conclusive. At any rate, it was deemed inexpedient to execute him at once, and he was lodged in the Tower. Here he remained for sixteen months, barefooted and shivering in the winter cold, and indebted for even the few rags he wore to the kindness of some fellow captives. His five uncles, treacherously captured by Grey, occupied the same dreary lodging. Only two of them had joined in the rebellion, and two had even been active on the side of the Government. Nevertheless, they all shared their nephew's fate. On February 3rd, 1537, the entire six were conveyed to Tyburn and there hanged.

Importance of the Rebellion of Silken Thomas.—The insurrection of Silken Thomas cannot be considered as a National rising. The object of its leader was merely to avenge, as he supposed, his father's death, to assert the uncontrolled feudal independence of his House,

and to maintain the position of virtual supremacy which it had attained in and round the Pale. The religious motive was a mere afterthought and a convenient pretext. The importance of the rebellion lies in two facts. On the one hand, it brought about the ruin of the Kildare Geraldines, whose power had so extended itself that at one time it seemed not impossible that they might be able to found a dynasty in Ireland, as Norman William had done in England some 500 years earlier. Then again, this rising marks the end of the attempt of the English monarchs to conduct their Irish Government by means of Anglo-Irish Viceroys. Henceforth the Lord Deputy was to be a paid official, sent fresh from England. A Viceroy of this description could never prove dangerous to his master, or attempt to set up independent authority, as the Kildares had done.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Rebellion of Silken Thomas Fitz-Gerald	1534–1535
Execution of the Geraldines	1537

CHAPTER II

THE GERALDINE LEAGUE

Young Gerald Fitz-Gerald.—Of the family of Garrett Óg, only two male representatives survived; Thomas' little half-brothers, Gerald and Edward, aged respectively twelve and nine. Of these, the younger was in England in King Henry's power, but the elder and more important remained in Ireland. Henry earnestly desired to obtain possession of him, and the boy's own uncle, Lord Leonard Grey, tried all manner of shifts to fulfil his master's wishes in this respect, but the young Geraldine had relatives of a different stamp and plenty of devoted adherents in his native land.*

Lord Leonard Grey's Campaigns.—In the December of 1535 Skeffington died, and Grey became Deputy. He made a spring and summer campaign in Munster against the Desmonds and the O'Briens, who were in open revolt, and gained considerable success. He captured Desmond's castle of Lough Gyr, and broke down the fine bridge which O'Brien had built across the Shannon, at a place still known as "O'Brien's Bridge," near Killaloe. At this point, however, his progress was checked by a most inopportune mutiny of his soldiers, whose pay was in arrears, and who declared that without it they would do no more service. Grey had no money to give them, so nothing remained but to march back to Dublin, which he accordingly did. In the course of the autumn and winter the tide rolled back; Desmond regained his castle and O'Brien rebuilt his bridge. The Lord Deputy's campaign had produced no enduring result worth mentioning. Such was the usual course of events in Ireland.

In the following spring (1537) the story of the previous year was pretty accurately repeated. Grey marched out from Dublin with all his array and "subdued" many of the Midland chiefs. But before winter, the clans had made up for the time being their feuds and the family differences, on the continuance of which Grey had much relied, and, as the Lord Deputy had no soldiers to garrison the captured fortresses or to occupy the lands which he considered he had conquered, the expelled chiefs and their followers quietly returned home.

** Garrett Óg had married, as his second wife, Lady Elizabeth Grey, sister of the Deputy.*

These failures, for as such they were counted, increased the boldness of Grey's enemies on the Council and the frequency of their complaints to England. The King, grown tyrannical and unreasonable, would see nothing but that Ireland was a constant source of trouble and expense, from which neither revenue nor an extension of the English power resulted. He severely rebuked the Lord Deputy, though, to make all fair, he likewise rebuked his enemies.

Manus, head of the O'Donnells, was now a widower, and Lady Eleanor Mac Carthy, the aunt of young Gerald of Kildare, looking around for a protector for her nephew, of whom she had taken charge, conceived the plan of enlisting so powerful a chief on the boy's side, by herself marrying him.

The Geraldine League.—O'Donnell was found willing, and in the spring of 1538 the Lady Eleanor, with Gerald and his tutor, journeyed from Cork to Donegal, where the marriage was celebrated. The lady at once bestirred herself to form a confederacy of the northern and western chiefs, the ostensible object of which was the protection of her nephew and the upholding of his cause. This confederacy is known as "the Geraldine League," but, except that all opposed the Lord Deputy and his Government, there was not much singleness of purpose amongst its members. It was, however, a very powerful and widely spread association, and both Anglo-Irish, like Mac William Burke of Clanrickard and his kinsman Mac William of Mayo, and Irish chiefs, like O'Donnell and O'Neill, adhered to it.

Meanwhile, Grey, finding his former policy both ineffective and costly, modified it in the direction of conciliation. He succeeded in gaining over Brian O'Connor, and the campaign which he undertook in the spring and early summer of 1538 was as much diplomatic as military. Many of the midland and southern chiefs, as well as the Earl of Desmond and several of the Burkes, were induced or forced to "come in." They promised tribute and adherence to the English Government; but that the tribute would ever be paid, or that the adherence would be long-lasting, Grey must have been by this time too well acquainted with Irish affairs to suppose. Well pleased with the result of his labours, Grey returned to Dublin in July.

By the Lord Deputy's enemies, however, his very success was made a pretext for further attacks. He had, they said, received into favour some of the most determined enemies of the English Government, O'Connor, O'Brien, the Butlers, the Desmonds, and their like. This, no doubt, was in part true, for it was Grey's policy to endeavour to gain over the most hostile and dangerous of the chiefs. Sir Piers Butler, who had lately exchanged the title of Ossory for that of Ormond, the old title

of his family, was the most powerful man on the Council, and Grey's chief accuser.

The Geraldine League had been but little weakened by the submissions obtained in the preceding year, and in the early part of 1539 it had assumed formidable proportions. The Ulster chiefs, almost without exception, adhered to it; so did many of those of Connacht. Desmond, whose influence in the south was very great, had drawn numbers of the Munster leaders, both Celtic and Anglo-Irish, in the same direction. The loyalty even of the Pale gentry could not be much relied on. Young Gerald was growing up, and had begun to bestir himself in his own cause and to seek adherents. Help was being asked from James of Scotland, and mercenaries hired from Macdonnell, Lord of the Isles.

In July (1539) the hostilities began. James of Desmond invaded Tipperary, and the Ulster chiefs, marching south, attacked the Pale, laying waste the open country and burning several towns. A series of raids and combats followed, into an account of which it would be tedious to enter. There was no decisive result obtained from the campaign as a whole. The Geraldine League was, however, not of a kind to last long, and the departure from Ireland of young Gerald, in the spring of 1540, hastened its decay, since it removed the only bond which had held its members together. Lady Eleanor, fearing that some accident or treachery might place the lad in his uncle's hands, sent him disguised on board a French vessel which landed him at St. Malo. After a while he proceeded to Rome, where Cardinal Pole, his kinsman, received him, and enabled him to complete his education. He returned in 1552 to England, and, two years later, to Ireland; his title and part of his lands having been restored to him by Queen Mary.

Departure of Grey: His Disgrace and Execution.—Grey was recalled from Ireland about the same time as his nephew left the country. His enemies succeeded in procuring his imprisonment, and a year later his execution. The English Government had to thank him, certainly, for the suppression of Silken Thomas' rebellion, and probably for the discomfiture of the Geraldine League. Seldom, even by the most ruthless of kings, have services so great been worse repaid.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Viceroyalty of Lord Leonard Grey . . .	1535–1540
Formation of the Geraldine League	1538
Gerald of Kildare leaves Ireland	1540

CHAPTER III

THE NEW CHURCH POLICY

Henry VIII Declares Himself "Supreme Head of the Church."—In order to understand the events which followed the recall of Grey, we must retrace our steps and consider, in its earliest stages, the question which has, more than all others, down even to our own day, complicated the relations between Ireland and England—namely, what is known as "the religious difficulty." In 1532 Henry VIII had regularly begun a quarrel with the Pope, by asserting himself to be "Supreme Head of the Church" in England, and so withdrawing himself and his Kingdom from all spiritual dependence on the See of Rome. The details of the dispute belong to English History and do not concern us here. It is well, however, to remember that no question of religious beliefs, properly speaking, was involved. To the end of his life Henry upheld the tenets of the Catholic Church, and he sent to the stake or the scaffold, with strict impartiality, those who refused to accept her doctrines, and those who declined to acknowledge the ecclesiastical supremacy which he himself now claimed.

The New Doctrine Receives Little Support in Ireland.—An attempt to extend the new order of things to Ireland followed almost of necessity on its introduction into England.

In Ireland, however, it met, except from a few subservient officials, with practically no support, and as further efforts were made to enforce it, the passive attitude soon developed into one of actual resistance. It could scarcely have been otherwise. There was in Ireland no desire for religious innovations. Complaints there had certainly been from time to time about such matters as the appointment of foreign ecclesiastics to sees and livings, the greediness of lay patrons and of monasteries. But there were no flagrant or extensive scandals, and these things did not influence the attachment of the Irish to the Church. Neither was the manner in which this particular innovation was put before the people, nor the source from which it emanated, likely to commend it to

their favour. They were simply informed, mostly by English ecclesiastics whom they regarded as mere State officials, that they should " renounce the usurped authority of the Bishop of Rome," and transfer their spiritual allegiance to a foreign monarch, whose power had so far manifested itself in their country by acts scarcely calculated to produce affection or induce obedience. In what way the Papal authority had been now discovered to be " usurped " was not explained.

The division of the Church in Ireland into Celtic and Anglo-Irish has been explained in a previous chapter, but this division, being merely one of locality and race, did not affect the present attitude of the people. The nobility, gentry and clergy of the Pale, and the commercial classes of the cities, showed themselves no more inclined to accept the doctrine of the King's supremacy than did the chiefs. As for the poorer tenants and clansmen, they, for the present, and for long after in many parts of the country, knew or understood nothing about the matter.

Attempts to Spread the Reformation in Ireland : George Browne Appointed Archbishop of Dublin.—In 1535 Henry appointed a Commission to begin the enforcement in Ireland of the Reformation, as it soon came to be termed. At its head was George Browne, formerly an English Augustinian friar, but who had been recently chosen Archbishop of Dublin by the King, and consecrated for that office by Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, without any authority from the Pope. The new Archbishop was tactless and uncharitable, domineering when he dared, but subservient to meanness when it suited him to be so. He seemed anxious only to obey the tyrannical master who, as he reminded him, could as easily pull him down as before he had elevated him, and we look in vain in his utterances for any trace of religious zeal.

As might be expected, Browne achieved in his episcopal labours no success worth mentioning. Of the bishops, only Staples of Meath supported him, while the clergy, with few exceptions, slighted his authority, and refused to declare in their churches " the just title of our illustrious prince " at his command. With Grey he quarrelled violently, and his letters to England are full of complaints of the Deputy.

Religious Legislation in Ireland : Dissolution of the Monasteries. In 1536 a Parliament assembled in Dublin, and it was required to pass " the Act of the Supreme Head," which declared " the King Our Sovereign Lord, the only supreme head on earth of the whole Church of Ireland," with power to suppress and punish " all errors and heresies." Anyone refusing to acknowledge the King in this capacity, by the taking of an oath if required, might be punished even with death, if the refusal were obstinate and repeated. This penalty was also incurred by all who persistently preached or spoke against the Royal Supremacy. By another

Act, the "First Fruits" or one year's salary of every ecclesiastical office, hitherto paid by each new incumbent to the Pope, should henceforth go to the King. These Acts appear to have been passed by the Parliament with much reluctance.

The next work undertaken by Henry was the dissolution of the Irish monasteries and convents. There were in Ireland at this time perhaps 500 or 600 religious houses, of which about seventy were convents of nuns. Thirteen were first marked out for destruction, but others followed in rapid succession till, by the end of Edward VI's reign (1553), almost all those in Leinster, most of those in Munster and some in Connacht had been suppressed. Many were situated on territories not really subject to the King, but by assigning the confiscated property to the noble or chief of the district, he often obtained their willing co-operation in his spoliations. In Ulster, and in some of the remote parts of Munster and Connacht, monasteries continued to exist till the early seventeenth century. The pretext put forward for the suppression of the monasteries and convents was, as a rule, merely that they had been abodes of "idolatry and superstition."

The religious houses of Ireland had served many useful purposes in the social life of the people. They had provided hospitals for the sick, orphanages for poor children, refuges for the aged. The monks and nuns kept boarding schools, in which the boys and girls of the upper classes were educated. In a country where inns were few, they offered hospitality to travellers, sometimes even to the Lord Deputy himself. Learned men resorted to them. The establishments in the Pale supplied and paid soldiers for the King's hostings; the subsidies collected from them helped the King's revenue.

These and similar considerations were urged, and urged in vain, even by English officials, to obtain exemption from the common fate for at least a few of the monasteries and convents. The religious, men and women alike, were driven out into a rough world, the ways of which most of them had forgotten or had never known. The lands and houses were assigned or sold to laymen or sometimes to corporations. In either case the new owners usually allowed the buildings to fall into ruin. It often happened that one or more parishes had been under the care of a monastery; and thus, by its suppression, the spiritual interests of the parishioners suffered, as much as did their corporal ones, by the cessation of the various forms of charity formerly practised by the dispossessed monks and nuns.

The dissolution of the monasteries was accompanied, in some instances, by violence and bloodshed, and many religious suffered

imprisonment and even death, rather than profess adherence to the doctrine of the Supremacy.

Destruction of Church Ornaments and of Relics.—In 1539 a Commission was appointed to search out and destroy relics, and to remove the images and the valuable ornaments, chalices and so forth from the public churches. Those of the monastery chapels were confiscated to the King's use as each house was dissolved. The golden chalices, crosses and the rest were, some of them, sent to England, some transferred to the mint to be melted down into coins. The relics were usually burnt. Probably nothing served more to inflame the hatred of the Irish people against the Reformed doctrines, and those who strove to propagate them, than the destruction of these objects, which they had always been accustomed to regard with the utmost veneration.

Activities of Browne: Attitude of the Bishops, Clergy and Chiefs Towards the Reformation.—Browne made an attempt to evangelise the more distant parts of his archdiocese, and even places outside it. He accompanied some of the Council on a sort of legal circuit through part of Leinster and Munster. The Archbishop, we are told (1539), preached to crowded congregations at the various towns, "setting forth the word of God and the King's Supremacy." On the following days the Sessions were held, and criminals judged and "put to execution." This progress, "which equally resembled a gaol delivery and an episcopal visitation, wherein the Archbishop and hangman played their parts alternately," can scarcely have produced many sincere conversions.

The Council certainly boasted that eight bishops and two archbishops came before them in Clonmel and took the required oaths, but it is suspicious that neither the names nor the Sees of these bishops are mentioned. They may well have been mere creations of the King. Of bishops of Papal creation who certainly "conformed" we know of only five. When the news of their action reached Rome they were "deposed for heresy," and their Sees, and those which became vacant by death, were filled up by the Pope in the usual manner. Of the inferior clergy, few within the Pale, and scarcely any outside it, took the Supremacy Oath. Some heads of religious houses "went over" and were rewarded by gifts of lands or by episcopal appointments. In the submissions of the Irish chiefs, of which we find many in the English State papers, dating from 1537 onwards, there is generally, but not always, a clause by which the chief promises to renounce the authority of "the Bishop of Rome," or "the Sovereign Pontiff." This, of course, implies an acknowledgment of the King as Head of the Church. Some even go further, and specifically declare their adherence to the Royal

Supremacy. The full significance of Henry's claim, and the consequence likely to follow it, probably none of them understood.

It must also be confessed that in Ireland, at that period, it was much the habit to enter into engagements without any intention of carrying them out. Laws were constantly passed which no one even attempted to bring into effect, and which, indeed, in many cases, could not have been brought into effect by anyone. The very English Government itself, as administered in Ireland, rested on two contradictory assumptions—that the King of England was "Lord of Ireland," and that the native Irish were his "enemies."

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Henry VIII's Breach with Rome*)	1534
First attempt to spread the Reformation in Ireland .	1535
The Irish Parliament passes the Act of the Supreme Head	1536

CHAPTER IV

THE CONCILIATION OF THE CHIEFS

Difficulties of the English Government. Conciliation Resolved On.—When Lord Leonard Grey left Ireland, in 1540, the strength of the Geraldine League was, to a considerable extent, broken, but yet of the end of the war there was no sign. It had lasted already over six years; there seemed no reason why it should not last six more, or even longer. No sooner was one chief crushed than another rose; while a raid was being avenged by a counter invasion of the raiding clan's territory, cattle were carried off by another clan behind the back of the Deputy's army. Henry, for various reasons, earnestly desired peace in Ireland. Silken Thomas had sought aid from the Continent; others might follow his example, and meet with a more favourable response from the European sovereigns. The Irish war, moreover, was extremely expensive. Henry, having no standing army, had to hire volunteer soldiers, who demanded high pay, and, in England at least, were hard to get on any terms. Then, in Irish campaigns, the army melted away by disease at a terrible rate. The soldiers, too, were often found not very efficient; for they were ignorant of the country, and did not understand the guerilla warfare in which the Irish were adepts. All this grieved the King, who grudged every pound spent on a barbarous island, from which neither glory nor revenue was to be obtained. Robert Cowley, an official of whom we hear much, suggested the complete extermination of the native Irish. This scheme was not adopted. It was pointed out that it would be "a marvellous and sumptuous charge and of great difficulty"—in other words, extremely expensive and not certain to succeed.

Since then neither armed force could be exercised effectually to crush the Irish resistance, nor the utter destruction of the rebellious race be compassed, Henry resolved on making a trial of the policy of conciliation.

Sir Anthony St. Leger, the new Deputy, arrived in Ireland in the August of 1540, and, before the end of the summer, had accomplished much, both by arms and by diplomacy. O'Toole, O'Byrne and several other chiefs were induced to accept terms, and, early in the following

January, the Earl of Desmond also submitted, and his example was followed by many over whom he exercised a more or less undefined superiority or influence. The "submissions" drawn up by the English authorities, and agreed to by the chiefs, vary a good deal in details. The chief usually promised to be obedient and loyal to the King; to pay him certain rents or dues for his land, and to hold it by knight service or other specified tenure; to attend the King's hostings with a certain number of men, and not to maintain or protect rebels. There is no implication that the chief's lands are to be brought under the operation of the ordinary English law, or his internal administration interfered with. The Irish writers regard these transactions as treaties or alliances between practically independent princes, and speak of them as such. The English Government gained this important advantage; that these chiefs were henceforth in certain fixed and direct relationship to the Crown, and now, if they opposed the King, they might be looked on as rebels. "The Lordship of Ireland," though still shadowy enough, was a little more real than before.

Henry takes the Title of King of Ireland.—This title of Lord of Ireland, Henry now desired to alter. It had been conferred on his ancestor by the Pope, and therefore to reject it would be a new mark of independence of the Papal power. Besides this, it was considered that a King of Ireland would command more respect. King of Ireland then Henry was declared, by an Act of the Parliament which met in Dublin in the June of 1541.

This Parliament was the largest and most impressive that had been held in Ireland for several centuries. Some of the Irish chiefs who had lately submitted were present, though only apparently as visitors. The Earl of Ormond translated the opening addresses of the Speaker, and of the Chancellor, into Irish for their benefit.

Submissions of O'Neill and of O'Donnell.—In the latter part of 1542 submissions were obtained from other chiefs, and notably from Manus O'Donnell and Conn O'Neill (known as "Bacach" or "the Lame"), heads of the two great Ulster clans. The terms laid down in these cases were stated in great detail. O'Neill declares that he will renounce the name "O'Neill";* will be obedient to the King's law, and answer his writs, precepts and commands; he and his heirs will use the English habits, and, "to their knowledge," the English tongue. Both chiefs agree to renounce the Papal authority.

The extra concessions offered by Con Bacach were evidently

** The chief of an Irish clan was addressed and he signed merely with the clan name "O'Neill," "O'Donnell," etc. Junior members used their Christian names in addition. English speakers expressed this distinction by the use of "the" in the case of the chief.*

intended to further the granting of the request which he had made to receive an English title. He was, in fact, created Earl of Tyrone.

The Clauses in the "Submissions" regarding Land.—The clauses in the various submissions by which the chiefs agree to hold their lands from the King under certain feudal conditions should be noted; they furnish, in some sort, the key to the whole situation.

We have seen (*Book I*) that, according to the old Irish system the land of a clan was considered as fundamentally belonging, in its several portions, to the family groups, which, taken together, constituted the State. The chief's mensal land was ultimately the property of the State as a whole. It was an appanage of the chieftaincy, and, on the death of an occupant, passed to the elected successor. However much the custom of limiting the succession in practice to the members of one family had obscured this notion, it was still present to the minds of the people, and a verbal or practical denial of it would be resented.

In the agreements made between the chiefs and Henry VIII the communal ownership of the lands was not indeed denied, nothing was said regarding it. All that was specifically done, with regard to possessions other than the mensal lands, was to give the chief a right under English law to the powers over them which previously he had exercised without it. Of his mensal lands he was now constituted absolute owner, and they were to be transmitted by primogeniture to his heirs. A few clans had been in the habit of practising primogeniture, but the great majority had not, preferring usually a brother or a nephew, the son of an elder brother, to the son of a deceased chief. In these clans the introduction of the new succession law became a fertile source of dispute. Again, from regarding himself as absolute owner of the mensal land to regarding himself as absolute owner of the rest of the clan territory, and the clansmen as merely his tenants, was, for an ambitious chief, an easy step, and one which English officials often, when it suited them, encouraged him to take. The chiefs who had bound themselves by these agreements would now, if they failed to carry out the conditions contained in them, and especially if they rebelled against the English Crown, be liable certainly to forfeit their mensal lands; it might be convenient to pretend to consider that the whole of the clan land was also theirs, and so forfeit also.

For the present, however, the clan organisation was in no way affected by the new legal theory, of which the clansmen were probably quite unaware.

English Titles given to Irish Chiefs.—Con Bacach was not the only Irish chief on whom an English title was bestowed. Macgillaphadrich was made Baron of Upper Ossory; O'Brien, Earl of Thomond; while,

of the "Old Foreigners of Ireland," Mac William Oughter (Burke) became Earl of Clanrickard.

Death of Henry VIII: Character of his Irish Policy.—During the closing years of Henry's reign, Ireland was fairly tranquil and even prosperous.

In January 1547, Henry VIII died. Though the officials who exercised power in his name in Ireland had been guilty of not a few acts of cruelty and treachery, yet their rule, as compared to that of their successors under the later Tudors, might be described as mild; while the King himself, in dealing with the native rulers, showed, on several occasions, a moderation scarcely to be expected in the man under whose tyrannical sway such brutal deeds had been done in England.

In Ireland, though the extent of territory under the direct authority of the English Government had not been much extended, yet certainly the power of the Crown, and the respect for it felt by both the Anglo-Irish nobles and the Celtic chiefs, had greatly increased. To the former the destruction of the House of Kildare had been a terrible lesson; while the latter had seen those who stood highest amongst them make "submissions" to the King and solicit titles at his hands.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Henry VIII assumes the title of King of Ireland	1541
Conn Bacach O'Neill created Earl of Tyrone	1542
(*Death of Henry VIII. Edward VI succeeds him*)	1547

CHAPTER V

THE REFORMATION

Irish Policy of Edward VI's Government.—To Henry succeeded his only son, under the title of Edward VI, but, being yet a child, he was King in name merely. The real power was in the hands of a Council of Regency. The majority of the Council were Reformers of an advanced type, and they desired to introduce in England, and to extend to Ireland, a State Religion, differing, to an extent never contemplated by Henry VIII, from the faith of the Roman Church—and, in fact, denying some of her most fundamental doctrines. These innovations found no genuine supporters in Ireland. Many, even of those who had been content to accept the Royal Supremacy, declined to go further, and obstinately insisted on celebrating or attending Mass, and rejecting the new Prayer Books. The bishops who owed their promotion to the royal favour showed, as a rule, but little zeal, except in the violence and vehemence of their abuse of the disobedient Irish people; of their less compliant brethren, who still clung to the old order of things, and not infrequently of one another.

St. Leger, who continued in office for over a year, carried out his conciliatory policy towards the chiefs with a fair measure of success, but the ascendancy party in England considered him lukewarm in pushing the Reformation, and, in April 1548, he was recalled, and Sir Edward Bellingham sent in his place. Bellingham was a man, straightforward and honest enough, but rough, imperious, and a believer in stern direct methods.

His proceedings soon produced mischief in every quarter, and one insurrection followed another. They were savagely suppressed, and the Lord Deputy boasted of the number of Irish killed, but the amount of permanent advantage gained was small. His policy of planting garrisons here and there in Irish districts merely produced trouble; for the garrisons were not strong enough to hold the country, and were a source of irritation to the inhabitants round them, whom, as their discipline was very lax, they constantly plundered.

The authorities in London grew weary of insurrections almost incessant, very expensive to suppress, and the suppression of which was followed by no advancement of either the English power or of the Reformed doctrines; they were also weary of the constant complaints from the Council of the Viceroy's words and deeds. In 1549

Bellingham was recalled, but the evil which he had done remained as a legacy to St. Leger, who succeeded him.

Dangerous Condition of Irish Affairs.—The new Deputy found Irish affairs in what appeared to him to be a dangerous condition. Several of the chiefs, and notably the new Earl of Tyrone and Manus O'Donnell, were looking abroad for help against the Irish Government, of which their fear rather than their affection or esteem had increased. Scotland was now governed by a Regent, Mary of Lorraine, mother of the child-queen, Mary Stuart. The Regent, herself a French princess, was in close touch with her native land, which was then at war with England. It seemed possible, under these circumstances, that, if a rebellion were started in Ireland, it would receive some assistance from France or Scotland, or both. Henry II of France appears to have had an idea that it might be worth his while to take action, and he sent agents to Ireland to report on the state of things there. Next year (1550), however, he made peace with England. Scotland, distracted by the perpetual struggles of the nobility against the Regent, could do nothing, and the Irish chiefs, whose intrigues in Paris and Edinburgh were known to the English Government, were left to find their way back as best they could into the good graces of the Lord Deputy. This they did without much difficulty. St. Leger was too well aware of the obstacles to a campaign in Ulster—its great expense and uncertain results—to desire to drive these powerful dynasts into an attitude of determined hostility.

In religious as in civil affairs, St. Leger was anxious to resume the conciliatory methods of his former Viceroyalty. To the remonstrances of Archbishop Browne, who disapproved of this policy, he only replied by telling him "your matter of religion will mar all."

The troubles of the Deputy were indeed sufficiently numerous. The revenue was in a deplorable state, and an attempt made by the English Government to improve it by debasing the coinage ruined trade, added to the confusion, and caused great suffering. A scheme to work the Wicklow silver mines ended in failure.

St. Leger, in spite of his many difficulties, appears to have made some progress in tranquillising the country, and, though raids and disorder still continued in parts, there seems to have been a decided advance in the general prosperity, and the hostility of the chiefs was diminished.

The Reformed Doctrines make no Progress.—Meanwhile, however, the Reformed doctrines were making no progress, and this, in the opinion of those who ruled in the young King's name, was a matter of vital importance. In February 1551 the Deputy received positive orders to introduce into Ireland the new Liturgy, which "we . . . have

caused . . . to be translated into our mother-tongue of this realm of England," and to have its use enforced in the churches. Very reluctantly, St. Leger summoned the bishops who had either conformed, or were originally of royal creation, and communicated to them the King's commands. These were in general very ill received. "Then shall every illiterate fellow read Mass," said Dowdall the Primate; and, after a heated discussion, he quitted the assembly in great wrath, followed by several other prelates. Browne, of course, professed his readiness to submit to any orders received from "Our gracious King," "making no question why or wherefore." But only Staples of Meath and the Bishops of Kildare and Leighlin followed his example.

Attempts to Spread the Reformation Fail.—In the face of resistance so widespread on the part of the very dignitaries of the Reformed Church, it was obviously impossible to enforce the use of the new Liturgy. Almost everywhere the services were conducted as before. The offenders were too numerous to punish, and the Deputy refrained from futile attempts to enforce the law. As, in addition, he openly expressed his opinion that it would have been better to avoid all this "hurly-burly" by letting the religious question alone, the English Ministers grew angry at his want of zeal. In May 1551 he was recalled, and Sir James Crofts sent in his place.

The new Deputy, considering that his difficulties in dealing with Church matters would be much lessened if he could induce the bishops at least to agree in obedience to the King's commands, arranged a discussion between representatives of the opposing parties. The meeting took place at St. Mary's Abbey. As might have been anticipated, no agreement was arrived at; each disputant remained in the position in which he had started. Dowdall, who, though appointed by the King and consecrated without the Pope's authority, had appeared on the Catholic side, soon afterwards left the country, remaining in exile till after the death of Edward.

It soon appeared that, in the promotion of the new doctrines and the new services, Crofts could accomplish no more than St. Leger. With very few exceptions, clergy and laity obstinately persisted in disobedience, and to compel them to even outward conformity, the Deputy had neither sufficient power nor sufficient money. In the lands of the chiefs, that is to say over the greater part of the country, there was no change in the services, and the Mass was celebrated as it always had been. But in and around the Pale all sorts of modifications were to be found. Sometimes the Mass was translated into English; sometimes portions were omitted. Some priests preached the doctrine of the Royal Supremacy, while otherwise they maintained the Catholic doctrine and ritual

unchanged. Of a great many, even of the bishops, it is difficult to say whether or not they conformed.

General State of the Country.—During his Deputyship Crofts went on several "hostings" into the Celtic districts, especially into Ulster, where he was well received by Conn O'Neill, who permitted him to leave garrisons in Carrickfergus and in Armagh. O'Neill afterwards accompanied the Deputy to Dublin, but, much to his indignation, was there detained against his will. There was fighting in Ulster between Shane, Conn's eldest legitimate son, and Matthew, his half-brother, and, in the west, the Clanrickard Burkes were engaged in a particularly violent family contention.

In the so-called "civil districts" the distress was great, owing to the debasing of the coinage, which had caused the prices of necessities to rise to a height previously unheard of. The soldiers, it was complained, being unpaid, plundered the people, and the military authorities seized provisions for the troops.

All this time, in spite of many obstacles, a certain standard of education was kept up amongst the Irish, and the old learning had not altogether decayed. We read of the death, in 1551, of O'Cassidy, Archdeacon of Clogher, "called the Grecian," evidently an eminent classical scholar, and of Teig O'Coffey, "preceptor of the Schools of Ireland, and poet," who was taken prisoner by the English, and would have been put to death only that he escaped. For Irish learning, literature or art, the English officials had little respect. An order, made in 1549, directs that no poet should "compose any poem or anything which is called 'Auran' (Aṫṗán), except to the King, under pain of forfeiture of goods." Later, it is directed that a search shall be made for Irish harps, which, when found, are to be broken. It must be confessed that there was some reason for this attitude, for the Irish poets did not love the "Sassenach," and viewed with distrust the action of the chiefs who visited and made alliances with the foreign monarch across the Channel, and accepted from him titles and gifts. One of them thus complains:—

"The race of the O'Brien of Banbha under Murrough
Their covenant is with the King of England.
They have turned their back, and sad is the deed
To the inheritance of their fathers.
Alas for the foreign grey gun!
Alas for the yellow chains!"

PRINCIPAL DATES	A.D.
The new Liturgy introduced into Ireland . .	1551
(*Death of Edward VI. Queen Mary succeeds him*)	1553

CHAPTER VI

QUEEN MARY'S POLICY. THE BEGINNING OF PLANTATION

Accession of Queen Mary: The Catholic Church Restored.—On July 6th, 1553, Edward VI died, and Mary, his half-sister, succeeded him. The new Queen was an ardent upholder of Catholicity, and detested the Reformed doctrines.

The accession of a Catholic sovereign caused the greatest rejoicings in the Irish towns. In the Celtic parts of the country the Catholic religion had never been much interfered with, so the change of Sovereign in England excited little interest.

Mary at once proceeded to restore the official position of the Catholic Church within her dominions. In Ireland she met with no opposition. The officials, and the few Anglo-Irish nobles who had changed to please one sovereign, were equally ready to please another by changing again. So, too, were most of the bishops, but some of these had offended too deeply to be forgiven. Six, including Browne, were deprived of their Sees. Hugh Curwen, an Englishman, was appointed in Browne's place; he afterwards proved himself an ecclesiastic of much the same type as his predecessor.

Zealous as was the Queen for the ancient Church, she was too much a Tudor not to be reluctant to part with an iota of the extended prerogative to which her father had laid claim. The title of Head of the Church, being evidently inconsistent with orthodox Catholicity, was abandoned, but that of Queen of Ireland was retained, and, though apparently with some reluctance, confirmed by the Pope.

Mary's Irish Policy.—She dealt with ecclesiastical matters in almost as high-handed a fashion as Henry himself had done. She expelled the Reforming bishops from their Sees and appointed others in their places by her own authority. Only some years afterwards were these acts of the Queen made legal, according to the usage of the Church, by confirmation from the Pope. Neither were the Irish monasteries re-established or their lands restored. It would have been difficult to do anything of the kind, without driving those who had obtained grants

of these lands into an attitude of hostility which might prove dangerous. The Church, therefore, as restored, did not regain its former position in the social and political life of the country.

A sympathetic and kindly treatment of the Irish people, who had adhered so strongly to the Catholic faith, might well have been expected of the Catholic Queen. No trace of this appears, however, in her policy.

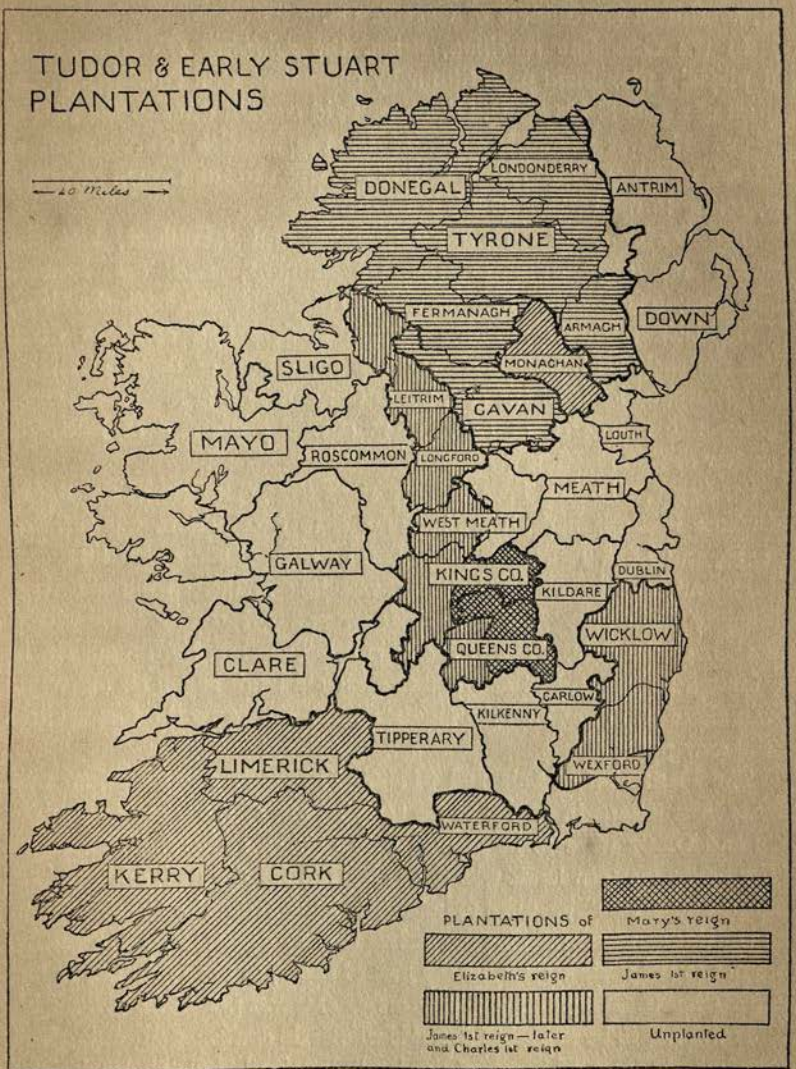
The distinction between the Celtic and the Anglo-Irish Churches was to be maintained. Priests were " to be well chosen and sent out of England " to fill the Irish livings. When Dowdall, the Primate, desired leave of the Queen to pronounce ecclesiastical censures against " the wild Irish," who resisted the authority of the Crown, the permission was accorded. The restoration to his native land of the long-exiled Gerald of Kildare, and of the chief O'Connor Faily are the only two gracious acts for which Ireland has to thank Mary Tudor. That her religious persecutions did not extend across the Channel was no merit of hers. In Ireland there were no Protestants to persecute. The Irish Catholics, always friends of toleration, gave help and shelter to many of those who had fled from England to escape the religious tyranny that prevailed there.

The Plantation Policy Begun.—Of all the evils and miseries which afflicted Ireland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, none certainly caused suffering so widespread or produced results so evil as what is called " the Plantation Policy." It was during Mary's reign that this policy may be said to have begun.

Henry VIII had hoped, by inducing the chiefs to hold their lands from him, and by conferring titles on some of them, to make them instrumental in the Anglicising of their people, and the conversion of these into loyal subjects of the Crown. These hopes had not been realised. The chiefs remained chiefs still. Conn Bacach might be Earl of Tyrone to the English Government; to his Ulster clansmen he was " O'Neill "—holding the position and authority that his ancestors had held before him. And as " O'Neill " he acted. Any attempt on his part to introduce English customs, dress or language, or to inculcate any duty of obedience or feeling of loyalty to a stranger King would not only have failed utterly, but would have increased the comparative unpopularity which had resulted already from his dealings with the foreigner, imperfectly as these dealings were understood.

Since then this means of extending the English influence had produced so little result, and the policy of mere violence seemed, for reasons already explained, inadvisable, a third course, that of planting English colonies in the country, had been suggested by more than one of Henry VIII's ministers. The plan seemed to offer many advantages.

The initial cost would be small, and might be more than covered by Crown rents, to be exacted afterwards from the settlers. If the colony proved a success, it would introduce an element favourable to English rule and law, and accustomed to English ways and speech, whose influence



would, in time, it was hoped, permeate and "civilise" the entire population. But up to Henry's death in 1547 nothing had been done.

The O'Connors and the O'Mores.—Of the Midland septs, whose proximity to the Pale gave them peculiar opportunities for harassing its

inhabitants, none had proved more troublesome than the O'Connors of Offaly and the O'Mores of Leix. Offaly comprised the eastern part of King's Co, with the middle-west of Kildare and the north of Queen's Co.; while the much smaller territory of Leix consisted of the east, south-east and middle of Queen's Co.

In the Geraldine rebellion, Brian, the reigning O'Connor chief, had played a prominent part, till finally compelled to a submission. In respect of a part of his lands, O'Connor paid certain dues to the Earl of Kildare. He was therefore regarded by the English Government as Kildare's vassal, and these lands held to be forfeit to the Crown by feudal law, owing to the treason of his suzerain.

The O'Mores, by their constant raids and rebellions, had also incurred the displeasure of the Government, and Sir Edward Bellingham, in accordance with his policy, erected forts in both the Offaly and the Leix territories. Some English settlers had come to dwell under the shelter of these forts and the protection of their garrisons. But the original lords of the soil, the O'Connors and O'Mores, gathered together and murdered or drove them out. By the end of Edward's reign few of these settlers remained.

St. Leger, who had been Deputy since the beginning of the reign, and whose leanings had always been rather to conciliation, was recalled in 1556, and Lord Fitzwalter (later Earl of Sussex) succeeded him.

Ireland, and especially Leinster, was just at this time more than commonly disturbed. There was raiding and devastating both within and without the Pale. The O'Mores and O'Connors, having got rid of the foreign intruders, had returned to their old lands and their old ways. It was these two clans that the Queen singled out to be the first victims of the new policy.

The Plantation of Leix and Offaly.—Fitzwalter was furnished with precise instructions in regard to the carrying out of the scheme by which Leix and Offaly were to be planted with English settlers. Only a part of the boggy western lands was to be reserved for the native Irish. All, English and Irish alike, were to hold their lands from the Crown, paying rent and dues and conforming themselves to the English laws. The settlers were not to sell their estates, or any part of them, to the Irish, nor to take them as tenants. The purchase or use of firearms was forbidden to the Irish.

It was not to be expected that this wholesale confiscation, unjustified, in the case at least of most of the lands involved, by any legal right* would be tamely submitted to, even by people far less warlike than the O'Mores and O'Connors.

* *Leix was claimed as a part of the inheritance of the youngest of the great granddaughters of Dermot McMurrogh. This portion had, by intermarriage, merged, it was declared, in the Crown.*

At first indeed things seemed to go smoothly. In September (1556) Donough and Barry O'Connor made their submissions to the Deputy, confessing, if the English account is to be believed, that they had wrongfully held the lands of Offaly, and promising to receive thankfully whatever estates should be granted them and their people. Connell Og, the O'More chief, followed their example. The Deputy, with the easy optimism of the newly-arrived English official, believed that all the trouble was over, and that nothing now remained but to arrange details. He was soon undeceived; though the disasters which followed were doubtless, to some extent, due to his own treachery. In violation of a safe conduct, he detained Donough a prisoner, and only released him on the strong protest of the Earls of Kildare and Ormond, who had been his securities. This was in December, and the two O'Connors promised to come to Dublin before the end of the month to learn from the Council particulars as to the lands to be assigned them. They can scarcely be blamed for omitting to fulfil this engagement, or to trust again to the honour of the Lord Deputy. Sussex proclaimed them traitors, put a price on their heads, and prepared for an invasion of Offaly. The O'Connors and O'Mores went into rebellion, and Sussex carried fire and sword into their territories and those of the other clans who were assisting them.

In the midst of all this a Parliament (June 1556) was opened in Dublin, in the name of Mary and of Philip her husband.* The ecclesiastical legislation of Henry VIII was reversed, but the grants of the abbey lands were confirmed. Two Acts relate to the Leix and Offaly settlement. The former asserts that "the counties of Leix, Slewmarge, Offallie, Errie and Glenmalier belong of right to the King's and Queen's most excellent Majesties." Leave was given to Sussex (Fitzwalter had succeeded to this title) to colonise these lands with "their Majesties' subjects, English or Irish," making them grants of estates.

The latter Act enacts that the lands shall be "shired," receiving the names of Queen's Co. and King's Co., in compliment to Mary and her husband. Sheriffs and other needful officials should be appointed for the new counties.

This was all very well on parchment, but most of the districts to be shired and "civilised" were still in the power of the native tribes, and seemed likely for the present to remain so. Two expeditions of Sussex, in the summer and the autumn of 1556, produced little result. To follow the course of the war would be tedious. By constant raids the lands were wasted and ruined. The clansmen when worsted, withdrew to the hills and woods, whence they emerged, as opportunities offered,

* *Mary had married in 1554 her cousin Philip, afterwards Philip II of Spain.*

to slay and spoil the settlers. Eighteen times the O'Mores rose in rebellion. For almost fifty years the war went on, marked by atrocities memorable even beyond the usual horrors of Irish warfare. Most horrible of all was the massacre of Mullaghmast (1577). A number of Irish chiefs, O'Mores, O'Connors, O'Carrolls and others, were invited by the English authorities to a conference on the Hill of Mullaghmast, near Athy. When they came, they were set on by soldiers, and massacred in cold blood.

At length resistance was over. Early in the seventeenth century the remnants of the O'Connors withdrew to Munster, and the remaining O'Mores were transplanted to Kerry.

Disorders in Ireland at the Close of Mary's Reign.—The closing years of Mary's reign were marked by warfare in nearly every part of Ireland, and by renewal of the intrigues with France. Sussex had resumed the mischievous policy of making useless raids into Irish districts. He merely exasperated the Irish, who retorted by attacks on the Pale. Never, wrote Dowdall, in his remembrance, had the country been in a worse state. In Dublin the Council and the Deputy were quarrelling as usual, and writing complaints of each other to England. The brass money, prohibited by proclamation in England (1556), was allowed to circulate in Ireland, and caused the ruin of trade and great misery amongst the people.

Sir Henry Sydney, who, with Curwen of Dublin, was administering the Government as Lord Justice during the temporary absence of Sussex in England, roundly declared that, if the Queen were not prepared to send speedy and effective succours in men and money, it would be better for her to recall her officials, and abandon Ireland altogether. If it were attacked by the French, it would surely fall into their hands.

The French, however, made no attempt to invade Ireland, and when Sussex returned in April, things went on much as before.

In November 1558, Queen Mary died.

At the time of her death, Ireland, both the Celtic parts and those under the authority of the English Government, was in a worse condition than it had been at her accession.

As Mary was childless, she was succeeded by Elizabeth, her half-sister.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Abdication of the Emperor Charles V. Philip II becomes King of Spain*)	1555
The Plantation of Leix and Offaly	1556
(*Death of Mary. Elizabeth succeeds her*)	1558

CHAPTER VII

SHANE O'NEILL

THE time has now come briefly to sketch the career of the most remarkable man who had appeared in Celtic Ireland since the days of Art McMurrough—Shane O'Neill, son of Conn Bacach, often styled, by reason of his high and independent spirit, Seáġan an Ḃiomair (John the Proud).

Shane O'Neill Claims the Succession to the Chieftaincy.—To trace his early life we must return to the days of Henry VIII. We have told (*chap. v.*) how Conn, his father, received from the English King the title of Earl of Tyrone (1542). According to the general rule of English law, the right of succession to the title and lands would belong to Shane as his eldest legitimate son, but, by a singular exception, there was inserted in his patent of nobility a condition that an illegitimate son, Matthew or Feardorcha, should be the heir. Matthew appears to have been already a grown man in 1542, while Shane was a boy of probably thirteen or fourteen.

As Shane grew up, he felt and expressed the greatest resentment at the injustice with which he had been treated and the favour shown to the illegitimate Matthew, who, he asserted, was not an O'Neill at all, but the son of a Dundalk smith named Kelly. It was not that the youth desired an English title, but he considered that the position of tanist during his father's lifetime, and the succession after his death, should fall to him. Amongst the O'Neills primogeniture had long been the ordinary rule of succession to the chieftaincy, and there was little doubt that the clan's choice would fall on him. The English authorities cannot have been ignorant of the equity of Shane's claim; but, whether or not the insertion of Matthew's name in the patent had been originally made at their suggestion, they inclined to follow the usual policy of supporting the weaker candidate in an Irish succession dispute. In 1550 Shane attacked his father, who had yielded up some fortresses to the English, while at the same time Conn was assailed by his other son, Matthew, generally known by his English title of the Baron of Dungannon, who made various complaints of him to the Deputy. St. Leger summoned

the old chief to Dublin, but, when he arrived there, he and his wife were, against their will, detained. Shane and Matthew now made war on each other with varying success. Crofts, the new Deputy, went on a hosting into Ulster, where Shane, the O'Neills of Clanaboy, and the Antrim Scots opposed him. "The English gained no victory and obtained no spoils," say the Four Masters. Next year (1552) the performance was repeated, with even more unsatisfactory results. When Conn was released, he abandoned the cause of Matthew and threw in his lot with Shane. Together they drove the English out of Ulster, and for some years after this the O'Neill family kept comparatively quiet.

In 1556 Shane came to Dublin and made a submission to the Deputy, but next year there was war again, and Sussex marched up to Armagh; after which he marched back to Dublin, and all was as before. Shane now interfered in a family dispute amongst the O'Donnells, and supported Hugh Dubh, a younger brother, against Calvach, eldest son of the reigning chief. Shane's forces were far superior to those of his opponents, but over-confidence brought destruction to them. They were encamped on the shores of Lough Swilly. Calvach O'Donnell sent two spies into their camp, who reported to their own leader the disposition of the O'Neill forces, and the careless watch which was kept. The O'Donnells made a night attack, and Shane's army, taken by surprise, was defeated with great slaughter. He himself barely escaped, and his splendid black horse, "Son of the Eagle," said to be the finest horse in Ireland, was captured.

In 1558 Matthew, Baron of Dungannon, was slain. Shane maintained that he fell in fair fight, but the English authorities say that Shane murdered him, or caused him to be murdered. Of Matthew's four young sons, the second, Hugh, was destined to attain "celebrity greater than even that of his uncle, Shane." Next year (1559), Conn Bacach died. On his deathbed he pronounced a curse, it is said, on any of his posterity who should learn English, build a house or sow corn. To build a house, he declared, was "to make a nest to be beaten out of it"; to sow corn was to "feed the foreigner." He was thinking, doubtless, of the borderlands of his territory, which had so often been raided by the English and the crops destroyed. It can scarcely have been a deliberate declaration of policy. If it was, it was little heeded. The people of Tír Owen dwelt in comfortable houses, and the fields were well tilled. Such, indeed, was the quantity of "butter, corn and victuals" found by one army of English invaders, that they could not carry them off, but had to burn them in the houses where they lay.

Shane Inaugurated as O'Neill: His Power in Ulster.—When

Conn was dead, the clansmen assembled at Tullahogue, the inauguration place of the O'Neills. When Shane stood on the ancient stone, and the straight, white wand, emblematic of the pure and even justice which he should render to friend and foe alike, had been placed in his hand, and he had been proclaimed " O'Neill " by every sub-chief and cleric present, doubtless he felt far prouder than his father had done, when, over in England, the King had girt on his sword, and the herald cried aloud his title as Earl of Tyrone.

Shane was now by far the most powerful chief in Ulster; his territory was at peace and well administered, and none of his sub-chiefs dared to dispute his authority. Sir Henry Sydney, the Deputy, with difficulty persuaded Shane to meet and confer with him; but, when the interview actually took place, he found the Irish chief friendly and reasonable. Shane argued that, under the English law, he certainly had a right, as eldest legitimate son, to his father's lands; under the Brehon law his position was equally clear; he was the chief chosen by the clan. Sydney, writing to the Queen (Elizabeth), confesses that he knew not what to reply to all this. He thought it best, however, to be civil. He assured Shane that he would bring the whole matter before her Majesty. Then he accepted Shane's hospitality, and consented to be godfather of his newly-born son. Finally, O'Neill and the Lord Deputy " departed in a very friendly manner " one from another.

Amongst the many mistakes made by the English Government, in Tudor days and later, in their Irish policy, not the least disastrous was the frequent change of Viceroys. No sooner had a Lord Deputy begun to acquire some knowledge of the country which he was to administer than he was recalled, and a successor appointed and sent fresh from England. Each Deputy had his own policy; in most cases the exact reverse of that of his predecessor. So it happened in this case.

Sussex, Lord Deputy: War with Shane.—To Sydney, who was inclined to try conciliatory methods with the Ulster prince, succeeded Sussex, with his belief in so-called strong methods, and his habit of useless raids. Whether acting on his advice, or on her own initiative, the Queen changed her policy towards Shane. She now denied his right to the Tír Owen lands, and prepared to make war on him, under pretext of supporting the claim of young Brian, eldest son of Matthew. Shane endeavoured to placate her. He wrote that he " meant to be a faithful subject." He desired, he declared, to visit her in England, if proper arrangements could be made. Elizabeth pretended to consider the matter, but all the time she was urging on the military preparations. Nor was Shane much more sincere. He was engaged in a correspondence with the King of Spain.

In truth, neither party was deceived by the other. Shane was well aware of what was going on. The combination against him was formidable. Sussex had enlisted the help of the Scots, both in Ulster and in Scotland. Some of Shane's sub-chiefs had been gained over. Calvach O'Donnell had been promised an English title if he would side with the English, and his wife received sundry presents from Elizabeth herself. The Pale army was to march from the south to support these allies. It was probably Calvach's wife, who much preferred Shane to her husband, who betrayed the whole plot. Shane surrounded the monastery of Kilodonnell on Lough Swilly, where O'Donnell was, and took him and his wife prisoners. He is said to have treated the former with great brutality.

The whole plan of the Deputy was put out of gear by this move. He marched up to Armagh, where he used the Cathedral as a military store-house, to Shane's great annoyance. He then invited the Ulster prince to a conference, but the latter declined to appear; giving as his reason that many Irish chiefs who had trusted themselves to the English —he mentions several by name—had found reason to repent having done so, having been either imprisoned or executed.

Next year Sussex made another attack, and was badly defeated by Shane in the Co. Cavan. Writing to Cecil, he confesses that his army, notwithstanding its advantage both as to numbers and to position, had much the worse of the affair. Cecil, in replying, tells him that he had reported the battle as a defeat of Shane, and had not told the truth regarding it even to the Queen.

Shane visits the English Court.—Shane had for some time been expressing a strong desire to visit the English Court, so as to make personal acquaintance with his "sovereign lady." The English ministers, as the difficulty of dealing with the Ulster chief increased, seem to have come to believe that some improvement in the political situation might result, and to have concluded that it would be best to accede to the request. What reasons can have induced Shane to wish to embark in an enterprise, the dangers of which he must have known, it is impossible to say with anything like certainty; but probable conjectures may be hazarded. It would be a manifest advantage to him to study on the spot the various intrigues of the Court, and to arrive at a just estimate of the policies and influence of the various ministers who surrounded the Queen. Still more vital would it be to his interests to meet and interview foreign ambassadors in London, and to judge of the amount of support he could count on from their respective masters, should he, at any future time, decide to try the chances of rebellion against England. To a man cradled and reared as Shane had been, danger was no deterrent. Still,

he was too prudent not to take all possible precautions. He insisted that the five highest nobles in Ireland should be his sureties, and pledge their honours that he should safely go to England and safely return. His people should not be molested in his absence, nor his tributaries maintained against him. A liberal sum should be allowed him for the expenses of his journey. These conditions he refused to depart from, and to them the English ministers were reluctantly compelled to consent.

In the last days of the year 1561 Shane crossed to England, and on January 6th, 1562, he appeared at Elizabeth's Court, with his followers and gallowglasses, all in native costume. Kneeling on one knee, he "made his submission," stipulating, however, for "the rights enjoyed by his ancestors."

For nearly five months the Ulster chief remained at Court, sharing in the amusements of the nobles and courtiers. He did not forget, however, to take opportunities to speak with the foreign envoys, especially with the Bishop of Aquila, Ambassador of Philip II of Spain. Elizabeth herself was gracious to him. She probably admired this man of strange garb and commanding presence. They, no doubt, spoke together in Latin or French, with both of which Shane seems to have been acquainted; though, at his first appearance before her, he had used his native Gaelic, which was "like the howling of a dog," says Camden.

The Privy Council, which had been often sorely perplexed by Shane's insistence on his right of succession, summoned him before them and questioned him on the subject. His replies were the same in substance as those he had given to Sidney some years before. He was his father's eldest legitimate son, and he was the chief chosen by the clan. As regards relations with the English Crown, he declared that hitherto the O'Neills had owed nothing beyond "mere allegiance" to the Lords of Ireland.

Shane Returns to Ireland: His Defeat and Death.—Shane was now anxious to be gone as speedily as possible, but certain of the English ministers were inclined to detain him. The agreement made, they said, was that he should return home safely, but *when* was not specified. Without violation of the words of the safe conduct, he might be forced to remain in England for any length of time they chose. It might well have happened that they should have taken advantage of this quibble, and that Shane should have seen his native land no more, but for the news that came from Ireland in spring. Ulster, it was declared, was in as bad a state of disorder as ever it had been, and young Brian, "the Earl of Tyrone," as the English called him, had been murdered by the followers of Turlough Lynnach O'Neill, a cousin of his. Things being in this state, it seemed best to send Shane back, and so in May he was sent.

Before leaving London, however, he had been required to sign certain conditions. Afterwards, he declared that, of his own free will, he never would have consented to them, and so did not hold himself bound to observe what he had subscribed. Yet the conditions seem far from dishonourable or derogatory to him. They place him in the position of a tributory prince; confirming his authority over his sub-chiefs, and making him independent of the Deputy, except for the obligation of attending his "hostings." Shane did not linger in Dublin, which he reached on May 26th (1562). As fast as a fleet horse could carry him, he sped back to his native Ulster.

For a while all went well, though Shane complained that the terms made with him had been violated in several particulars. But in the autumn of 1562, Sussex came again as Deputy, and again proved a stirrer-up of strife. He began to send constant complaints to England, accusing Shane of intrigues at home and abroad. Tír Owen, he declared, was too large to be "in one hand." It should be divided; a portion being given to young Hugh, Matthew's second son, and Shane should be expelled.

The Queen seems to have approved of this scheme, and, as a preliminary step, Sussex endeavoured to get Shane into his hands. He was aware that the Ulster prince had expressed a desire to have an English wife to "civilise" him and his people, and, though, no doubt, he had only intended a sarcastic comment on the English views of Celtic Ireland, Sussex chose to take the wish as serious. He wrote to Shane, suggesting that he himself might arrange for him a marriage with Lady Frances Radcliffe, his sister, if, on meeting, he and the lady found that they liked each other. Shane replied politely, but neither on this nor a subsequent occasion did he appear at the place arranged. This was fortunate for himself, for Sussex was prepared, as he himself confessed when writing to Elizabeth, to seize and hold him prisoner if he had come. Of the intended treachery Shane was probably made aware by his spies, for, as the Lord Lieutenant complained, "there can be no matter moved that toucheth him, but he knows it before it is concluded, or shortly afterwards." It must be confessed that the Irishman, though less treacherous, was in this negotiation quite as insincere as was the English official. He was pushing on intrigues against England with the Spanish Ambassador, with the French Court, and with Mary Stuart, Queen of Scotland.

Sussex now attacked Shane, but, though aided by many of the lesser Ulster princes, and by the most powerful of the Anglo-Irish nobles, his success was so small, and the cost of the campaign so great, that, in the autumn of 1563, he was forced to make peace; granting to Shane

terms even more favourable than those to which he had subscribed in England.

Shane was now triumphant, but it behoved him to be wary. Sussex now attempted to rid himself by treachery of an enemy whom he had been unable to conquer in the field. He despatched to him, through a certain John Smith, a Dublin chemist, a present of poisoned wine. Shane drank the wine, and became extremely ill, but escaped with his life. Elizabeth, on hearing of what had been done, expressed horror, and Smith was imprisoned. He was soon, however, released.

The Ulster chief now allowed himself to be induced by the Earl of Leicester to attack the Antrim Scots, whom he defeated with great loss at Glenshesk, Co. Antrim. Angus and James Macdonnell, the two leaders, perished, and Sorley Boy, their brother, was taken prisoner. For all his abilities, Shane had not advanced beyond the position of an Ulster dynast. He did not see that his true policy would have been to conciliate his neighbours, and gradually to unite all Ireland against the growing power of the English.

In 1565 Sydney came again as Deputy, and endeavoured to negotiate with Shane with a view to a permanent peace, but he found him more exacting in his demands, and haughtier in speech, than ever. "For the Queen, I confess she is my sovereign lady, yet I never made peace with her but by her own asking," he said. "My ancestors were Kings of Ulster. Ulster was theirs and shall be mine. . . . With this sword I won (the lands), and with this sword I shall keep them."

Sydney at once renewed the war, and marched northward into Tír Owen. Very little except cattle spoils was gained. Finally, Sydney returned homeward, and, more candid than Sussex, did not even pretend to have achieved any notable success.

Still, Shane's position was a perilous one. Many of his neighbours were jealous of him, and his policy had ever been rather to crush than to conciliate those who opposed him. He now invaded the O'Donnell territory, and Hugh, the newly-elected O'Donnell chief, defeated his army with great slaughter at Farsetmore near Letterkenny. Shane and a small band of soldiers with difficulty crossed the Swilly and escaped.

The once powerful chief seemed now reduced to extremity. Uncertain what to do, he at last decided to trust himself to the Ulster Scots. He released Sorley Boy Macdonnell, and sent him to convey a message to Alaster, his brother, who was now in command of the Scottish forces. It was scarcely likely that Alaster should forget the death of his brothers at Glenshesk; yet, for the time, he dissembled his feelings, and when Shane, with some fifty followers only, came to his camp at

Cushendun (Co. Antrim) he was received with apparent friendliness. There was, however, in Alaster's camp a certain Captain Pierce, most probably an English spy, and it can scarcely be doubted that what followed was, in part at least, due to him. After supper, a quarrel rose between Shane's secretary and a nephew of the Macdonnells, and this gradually developed into a general combat. In the course of it Shane was slain (June 2nd, 1567), by whom, of course, is not known. His body was thrown, wrapped in a shirt, into a pit, and Pierce sent his head to Dublin, to figure, empaled, on the Castle battlements, as the head of a traitor.

Thus perished, in the prime of his manhood, Shane O'Neill, one of the greatest, as he was almost the last, of the Irish Celtic chiefs. By English writers he has generally been represented as little better than a treacherous and brutal savage. But, though his private character is far from blameless, and though he assuredly, in his dealings with the English officials, met deceit by deceit, the stories told to his discredit rest for the most part on a very slender foundation. Even those who, like Sydney, were his enemies, or, like Campion, bore no love to Ireland or her people, have admitted his steadfastness in friendship; his good rule of Tír Owen; his charity to the poor. That he was highly educated, and an accomplished linguist, his correspondence shows. Of his abilities as a diplomatist and a warrior we need no further proof than that which the history of his life affords us.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Death of Con Bacach O'Neill. Shane elected to the Chieftaincy	1559
Shane O'Neill visits the English Court	1562
(*The Wars of Religion begin in France*)	1562
Defeat and Death of Shane O'Neill	1567

CHAPTER VIII

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S CHURCH POLICY

Queen Elizabeth Endeavours to Spread the Reformed Doctrines in Ireland.—After the death of Queen Mary in 1558 (*chap. vii.*) her half-sister, Elizabeth, succeeded, as already mentioned, to the English Crown. Elizabeth was as great a champion of the Reformation as Mary had been of Catholicism. Of religious zeal she herself had little or none, but she desired ecclesiastical uniformity throughout her dominions, and the establishment of a well-ordered State Church of which she should be the head. This Church should, of course, extend its sway over Ireland also.

In 1560 she directed the Irish Parliament to assemble in Dublin, and caused it to pass two important statutes. The Act of Supremacy declared her Supreme Governor, as well in ecclesiastical and spiritual matters as in temporal, and denied the Papal jurisdiction. That of Uniformity required a certain Reformed Prayer Book to be used everywhere at public worship, and compelled the attendance of all on Sundays and holidays at this worship, under penalty of a fine. Any persons holding an office, either ecclesiastical or civil, should declare on oath that he believed the Queen entitled to the position assigned her by the former Act, and that he disbelieved in the Pope's jurisdiction. All who spoke, either in public or in private, against the new laws would be liable to severe punishment.

This religious legislation was far, however, from being strictly enforced anywhere in Ireland. In a great part of the country it was manifestly impossible that it could be enforced at all. But, even in places where the authority of the English Government was a reality, Elizabeth was too prudent to provoke hostility and possible rebellion by premature and excessive severity. On several occasions she checked her officials, when their zeal led them to attempt an enforcement of the actual law. She was content to depend on the influence of time and of the education of the younger generation, and, for the present, to allow the practice to linger much behind the theory.

Quite towards the end of the reign, we hear that one class of officials,

the mayors of the various cities, had not been required to take the Supremacy Oath, and that many Justices of the Peace had not taken it either. The fine for non-attendance at the Reformed services was not strictly exacted, even in the Pale, and not exacted at all in most places outside it, except now and then in some of the southern cities.

It would, however, be a mistake to suppose that this lenity, if such it can be called, was due to either humanity or weakness on the part of the Queen. From first to last her Irish policy had a definite aim—the political subjugation of Ireland, and its reduction to uniformity with England in religion, speech and customs. The Brehon Laws were to be cast aside as mere barbarous customs; the English dress was to be worn; the English language alone was to be taught in the schools.

Resistance to the Queen's Policy: Persecution of the Catholics.—This very connection of the Reformed doctrines with the imposition of foreign rule and a foreign tongue proved, in effect, one of the greatest obstacles to their progress, and joined together the Irish, both the natives and the descendants of the colonists, in resistance to them. Hitherto there had been amongst the Irish little of that love of country as a whole which we have agreed to call Nationality. The O'Neills, the O'Donnells, and the rest lived and died, not for Ireland, but for their clan. Now gradually, under pressure of foreign interference, a broader Patriotism grew up, and entwined itself so closely with Catholicism, that the two ideas became, to the majority, inseparable.

Elizabeth found, therefore, in Ireland for her religious policy many and ardent opponents; while her supporters were few, and, except where their private interests were concerned, lukewarm and unenterprising. This was true of both the Anglo-Irish and the Celtic population, of the clergy and of the laity. At the time of her accession twenty-six bishops and four archbishops occupied the Irish Sees. Very few of these "conformed"; that is to say, took the Supremacy Oath and agreed to the new religious legislation and all that it involved. Nor, we gather, were the inferior clergy more compliant, although, in their case, we have to rely on general statements and indirect evidence, as no figures are available.

The bishops and priests who refused the Supremacy Oath were generally, though not always, deprived of their Sees and livings, and either Englishmen, or Irishmen of more pliant dispositions, put in their places; the better posts being usually reserved for Englishmen. These imported clerics were not, as a rule, persons likely to reflect credit on the Church to which they belonged. Of the bishops, some were men of extremely bad private character; some were lazy and greedy of gain; even those anxious to discharge their duties conscientiously

were hampered by their ignorance of the only language known to most of their flock. The miserable stipends of the Sees and livings were not calculated to attract men who could hope for ecclesiastical preferment in their own country. It was a common practice for a bishop to sell a large part of his episcopal lands, or to let it for long periods of time, at nominal rents, to his relatives or friends. Often also the livings in his gift were bestowed on persons of low class, "servants and horseboys," or on mere children. The churches were neglected, and suffered to fall to ruin. In many places no parochial duty was done.

The ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Queen was, of course, not acknowledged in Rome, and the Pope himself made appointments to Sees, when vacancies occurred owing to either death or "removals for heresy." The position of Papal bishops was a very dangerous one, as Elizabeth regarded them as most serious obstacles to the success of her religious policy. Large rewards were offered for their apprehension, and, when captured, they were imprisoned, for years or for life, often in dark and filthy dungeons into which the light of day never penetrated. Nor was the Irish Catholic Church without its martyrs during Elizabeth's reign and that of her successor. Several prelates and a great many of the clergy suffered death for their faith. The execution of Dermot O'Hurley, Archbishop of Cashel, in 1584, was accompanied by circumstances of great atrocity. His feet, enclosed in metal boots partly filled with oil and butter, were "toasted" in a fire, till the flesh fell from the bones. He was afterwards hanged. Bishop Patrick O'Hely of Mayo was also tortured on the rack, before being put to death (1578). Laymen and women who gave shelter to bishops or priests were often punished by imprisonment.

Owing both to the religious persecution of the clergy, and to the unsettled state of the country, dislocated by the wars, it was impossible to maintain a regular succession of resident Catholic prelates in the episcopal Sees. The parishes also were of necessity neglected; often the church and the parochial house were burnt, and the priest obliged to fly. The religious instruction of the people fell chiefly into the hands of the "poor begging friars," frequently themselves very unlearned, or else into those of the regular clergy, Dominicans, Jesuits, or Augustinians, who wandered about the country, in disguise, administering the sacraments, and celebrating Mass whenever an opportunity presented itself.

In the parts of the country where the authority of the English Government was as yet but nominal, things were in a better state particularly before the Desmond insurrection had desolated the south and the O'Neill wars destroyed the prosperity of Ulster.

The Reformed Doctrines make little Progress.—Amongst the laity the opposition to the Reformed doctrines, instead of diminishing, increased as time went on. At first, when the externals of worship had been but little changed, the common people had not fully understood that a new religion, condemned by the Pope, was being forced on them by the "Saxon" Government, but when they came to realise this, resistance became general. The towns, in which the majority of the inhabitants were of English blood, were no more obedient than were the rural districts. Waterford, always renowned for its "loyalty," became no less so for its "Popery." "At Waterford the Gospel is abhorred; the Church deserted; sacraments eschewed; Masses in every corner; beads carried openly; images set up at the house doors and worshipped; friars maintained," says the (Reformed) Bishop Middleton (1580). All classes were equally implicated. Judges and jurymen would not take the oaths; in Armagh no one could be found willing to become a Justice of the Peace, for fear that the said oaths would be tendered to him. When, in Dublin, there was a Thanksgiving service for the Armada victory (1588), few people attended. Archbishop Adam Loftus reports (1565) that the chief gentlemen of the Pale go to Mass. Sometimes, indeed, the authorities have more satisfactory news to tell. The Lord Deputy (Fitzwilliam) writes that 2,000 people assisted at a solemn Thanksgiving sermon in Cork (1589). But these instances are rare and cannot outweigh the strong testimony that, in general, no progress whatever was being made in the propagation of the new faith.

The Court of Wards took charge of the children of the nobility and gentry, when either they were left minors at their father's death, or when they had passed into the hands of the Government as hostages. It placed them in English schools where they were educated as Protestants, and by this means a certain amount of progress was made in altering the religion of some of the chief families of Ireland. But still a good many of the wards, when they attained manhood, reverted to the faith of their ancestors.

At the end of the reign, of twenty-five Irish temporal peers, nineteen were Catholics.

CHAPTER IX

THE DESMOND REBELLIONS

THE parts of Ireland affected by the wars of Shane O'Neill had been Ulster, some parts of Connacht, and north Leinster; now the southern province, which had been flourishing in comparative peace, was to take its turn in misfortune.

Of the southern nobility the Earl of Desmond was by far the most powerful. The territory over which his sway or influence extended stretched from Duncaoin (Dunquin W. of Ventry) in Kerry to "the Meeting of the Three Waters" (Cumaꞃ na ꝺtꞃi n-Uiꞅge), where the Suir, Nore and Barrow meet in Waterford; and from the great island of Ard Nemidh (Queenstown) to Limerick; and it comprised some of the richest land in Ireland. The Desmonds, like the Kildares, descended from Maurice Fitzgerald, who had come to Ireland in Henry II's day.

Gerald, Earl of Desmond.—In 1558 the head of the house was Gerald, 16th Earl. He was the eldest son of his father's second marriage. The first had been declared void, on the ground of consanguinity, and the son who was born of it, known afterwards as Thomas Ruadh Fitzgerald, illegitimate. Gerald of Desmond has gained a place in Irish history chiefly through his misfortunes. He was a man without either intellectual capacity or moral strength. Vacillating and timid, he let the time for action pass, and finally was forced, by mere fear for his own safety, into rebellion, when those on whose aid he might have relied, if he on his part had assisted them, had one by one been crushed. His younger brother, John, was much his superior; but by far the most notable of the family then alive was their cousin, James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald.

In 1565 the Earl of Desmond, who hitherto had been a most loyal subject, came under the displeasure of the English Government, owing to a quarrel with the Butlers, which had ended in a regular battle at Affane near Lismore. He and his brother, John, were summoned to London and imprisoned in the Tower.

In Ireland James Fitzmaurice took up his cousin's cause, went into rebellion and raided far and wide. Sir Humphry Gilbert went on a sort of punitive expedition, and slaughtered without mercy, men, women and children, but this failed to crush the rebellion. The Deputy, Perrott,

with his cumbersome army, pursued James Fitzmaurice's light-armed troops all over Munster in vain. At length (1572) he submitted. The same year Desmond returned to Ireland, leaving his only son as a hostage, and having promised to give up all his feudal independence. In 1574 James Fitzmaurice left Ireland and betook himself to Rome.

James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald Plans an Invasion of Ireland.—In doing this he had a distinct object in view. He seems to have understood, better than almost any of his contemporaries, the aim of Elizabeth's policy, both civil and religious, and the great chances of success afforded it by the dissensions of the Irish amongst themselves. He thought of enlisting the help of the Catholic powers of Europe, and especially of the Pope, for the upholding of the Faith in Ireland. At the Roman Court he encountered a certain Thomas Stukeley, an adventurer, who had already played a part on many stages and who was now posing as a champion of the Irish Catholics.

The Pope was persuaded to fit out a force of 1,000 men, which was placed under the command of Stukeley. The expedition sailed from Civita Vecchia in the summer of 1578. It was to be joined at Lisbon by James Fitzmaurice, and was then to proceed to Ireland.

When Stukeley reached Lisbon he found Sebastian, the young King of Portugal, preparing for a campaign in Morocco against the Moors. Unfortunately, he allowed himself to be persuaded to join this expedition with his army. On the fatal field of Alcazar, Sebastian fell with the flower of his army, and there, too, Stukeley ended his strange career.

Expedition of James Fitzmaurice: Its Failure.—When James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald reached Lisbon, his expected army had disappeared. Nothing remained for him but to gather together a new force; for he was resolved not to abandon his scheme for invading Ireland. He could only collect some 600 men, of whom eighty were Spaniards; the rest mostly Italians.

With this small force he landed at Dingle in July 1579. He issued two proclamations, of which one was written in English and addressed to the Anglo-Irish nobles; while the other, in Latin, was directed to the Irish chiefs. The substance of both was practically the same; he asked them to help him in this war, which he had undertaken for the defence and upholding of the Catholic faith in Ireland against a heretic Queen. There was little response anywhere to his appeals. Desmond, his kinsman, anxious only to secure his own safety, did not stir. Few of the nobility or the chiefs had yet realised how their religious liberty and feudal or tribal independence were menaced. Meanwhile, Fitzgerald's little army established itself in the fortress of Dunanore (Dún an Oir) on Smerwick Harbour, and waited for the help that never came.

The Lord Deputy was somewhat uncertain what course the Earl of Desmond would adopt. In order to encourage him to persevere in loyalty, he sent to him two English officials named Davells and Carter. These men were resting for the night at an inn near Tralee, when the younger brothers of Desmond, John and James Fitzgerald, forced their way into the house and slew them in cold blood. After this they betook themselves with their followers to their cousin, James Fitzmaurice, who expressed great indignation at the atrocious and perfectly useless crime which they had committed.

It was perhaps partly on account of this that Fitzmaurice soon after separated himself from them, and marched his forces towards the Shannon. Near Castleconnell he was attacked by some of the Burkes, and, in a single combat between Fitzmaurice and Theobald Burke, both were killed. More than any other of those who in Ireland rose against the rule of Elizabeth, James Fitzmaurice seems to have been actuated mainly by the motive of opposing the spread of the new doctrines, and doing battle for the Old Faith. He was a man of high and pure character and a skilful soldier.

The Earl of Desmond forced into Rebellion.—John Fitzgerald was now leader of the rebellion. After the murder of Davells and Carter, he could not expect forgiveness from the English Government; nor did he seek it. He seems to have had considerable military ability. His brother, the Earl, disclaimed all sympathy with his doings, and protested his own loyalty. He certainly had no wish whatever to rebel, and would never have done so had he been treated at all justly or judiciously. "A promise was given to the Earl that his territory should not be plundered in future, but, though it was given, it was not kept, for his people and cattle were destroyed, and his corn and houses burnt," say the Four Masters. The younger Desmonds won a victory at Springfield (Sort na Tiobraide), Co. Limerick, but Sir Nicholas Malbie defeated them at Enabeg (near Croom, Co. Limerick). Desmond again appealed to the English Viceroy.

Sir William Pelham was now Lord Justice;* in answer to the Earl's protestations, he merely had conveyed to him a curt order to meet him at a certain place and time. Desmond was, not unnaturally, too fearful for his own safety and too mistrustful of Pelham to do this, and replied by excuses. In November, 1579, he was proclaimed a traitor.

The Earl, in order to enlist sympathy and support, endeavoured to

* *During the temporary absence of a Lord Deputy or Lord Lieutenant, or during the interval between the recall of one Deputy and the appointment of another, the country was governed by one or more Lord Justices.*

give a religious colour to the rebellion into which he had been forced, and declared that he had taken up arms in defence of the Catholic faith. Pelham conducted the campaign with relentless cruelty, slaying "blind and feeble men, women, boys and girls, sick persons, idiots and old people," as well as combatants. When fortresses were taken, the garrisons were at once put to death. The corn and cattle were carried off, so that, of the wretched peasantry who escaped from fire and sword, many died of hunger. Desmond raided a part of the counties of Limerick and Cork and sacked Youghal, but feared to meet the English in the field, and avoided a combat with considerable dexterity. His brother, James Fitzgerald, was captured and hanged at Cork (1580). Soon after this Pelham was recalled, and Lord Grey de Wilton succeeded him as Deputy (1580).

Revolt of Viscount Baltinglass.—In Leinster, meanwhile, another insurrection had broken out under the leadership of James Eustace, Viscount Baltinglass. Baltinglass had some personal grievances: he had been fined for attending Mass, and he alleged, besides, that he could not admit the title of the Queen to be regarded as Head of the Church. Fiach Mac Hugh O'Byrne, the powerful Wicklow chief, joined him, and they lurked amongst the mountains, waiting for a favourable opportunity to attack the English forces. This opportunity was soon afforded them by the imprudence of the new Deputy. In spite of the advice of those of his officers who were experienced in Irish wars, he started out against the enemy, marching his army through the valleys of the Dublin and Wicklow mountains. At length they reached Glenmalure, a narrow valley, bordered on both sides by steep hills. The soldiers were climbing one of the slopes, so precipitous that it was impossible for them to keep their ranks, when the enemy opened fire on them, from behind the bushwood and low trees with which the ground was covered. Weary and out of breath, the English made little resistance, but fled in disorder. Some 800 fell, and the remnant was led by Grey back to Dublin. As was usually the case after an Irish victory, revolts broke out in all directions, not only amongst the Leinster septs, but also in South Ulster. Just at this juncture, news reaching the Deputy that a Spanish force had landed at Kinsale to help the Munster rebels (October 1st, 1580), he was obliged to abandon, for the present, the idea of prosecuting the war in Leinster, and to march south.

The Smerwick Massacre.—The force which had been sent to the assistance of the Desmonds consisted of only about 800 men, of whom the majority were Spaniards, the rest chiefly Italians. The little army took up its position in the fortress of Dunanore, previously occupied by James Fitzmaurice. This fortress, though small, was reckoned a strong

one, yet, after a siege of only a few days, it was yielded up by San Josepho, the Spanish leader. That their lives were promised to the defenders is not quite certain, but seems highly probable. It is scarcely credible that they should have surrendered unconditionally, as they had an abundant supply of ammunition and provisions. If, however, conditions were made, they were not observed. What occurred after the surrender, Grey himself relates: "When morning came, the Colonel came with ten or eleven of his chief gentlemen, trailing their ensigns rolled up, and presented them to me with their lives and the fort . . . I sent straight certain gentlemen in to see their armour and weapons laid down. Then I sent in certain bands who straightway fell to execution." The number slain was over 600. The lives of San Josepho and of a few of his chief officers were spared in the hope of ransom.

This massacre does not appear at the time to have excited much disapproval. The Queen was highly pleased with it apparently, as she wrote a letter of thanks to the Lord Deputy. Philip of Spain seemed chiefly desirous to disclaim all responsibility for an enterprise which had failed so signally.

End of the Desmond Insurrection.—Desmond, with his brother John and Baltinglass, who had joined them, were encamped near Tralee, but they remained inactive; though that, with the defeat of the foreign expedition, their last hope of success was bound to vanish, they must well have known. They may have intended marching to the help of the Spaniards, when the unexpected surrender of the fort disorganised their plans. Some months after (1581), John Fitzgerald was slain in a skirmish by one Thomas Fleming.

Baltinglass had fled to the Continent, and Fiach Mac Hugh O'Byrne had submitted, so, of the leaders of the rebellion, the Earl of Desmond alone remained. At first he gained some unimportant successes, but his followers dwindled more and more, until he became a mere fugitive, lurking with a small band amongst the woods and mountains.

Meanwhile Grey ranged far and wide through Munster, completing the ruin of the land, which only a few years before had been the richest and most prosperous in Ireland. Now, from the Rock of Cashel to the sea, the lowing of a cow could not be heard. The wretched people lay dead by the wayside. The survivors, "mere anatomies of death," crept on their hands and knees from the woods and glens, where they had taken refuge, to feed on water cresses or sorrel, if they could find any, or on the very corpses which they scraped out of their graves. At length even Elizabeth recognised that things had gone too far. In 1582 she recalled Grey.

The Earl was now reduced to the last extremity. In the beginning

of the winter of 1583–1584, he was wandering with a few followers in the neighbourhood of Tralee Bay. In their great need, the kerns seized some cows belonging to Owen Mac Donnell O'Moriarty, and drove them off. The owner followed, with some of his friends, to the Vale of Gleanagenty, a few miles from the town of Tralee. At dawn they came to a small hut, in which they found three persons only, of whom one, on being attacked, cried out: "I am the Earl of Desmond. Spare my life." A soldier named Daniel Kelly, anxious to obtain the Government reward, smashed his right arm with a stroke of his sword, and then, dragging him out, cut off his head. This grisly trophy was despatched to London, and there placed in the Tower. The Earl's lands were declared forfeit to the Crown. Of the rights of his son there was no question.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Rebellion of James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald . .	1578
Rebellion of the Earl of Desmond	1579
Rebellion of Viscount Baltinglass. Defeat of Lord Grey in Glenmalure	1580
The Smerwick Massacre	1580
Death of the Earl of Desmond. End of the Rebellion .	1583

CHAPTER X

THE ELIZABETHIAN PLANTATIONS

THE policy inaugurated by Queen Mary of establishing English colonies in Ireland, as a means of extending the authority of the Crown, seemed to her sister worthy of imitation. She gave permission, on request, to certain private individuals to "plant" specified portions of land, which, if they succeeded in their enterprises, they could hold from the Crown. The rights of the Irish proprietors who were to be dispossessed were not considered.

Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, in Ireland.—The first two of these attempted colonisations—that of Chatterton in part of Co. Antrim, and of Thomas Smith in the Peninsula of Ards, Co. Down—were entire and almost immediate failures.

The enterprise of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, was planned on a more extensive scale. He obtained a grant from the Queen of almost the whole of the Co. Antrim, and also the loan of a sum of money. The territory included in the grant belonged, as a whole, to the O'Neills of Clanaboye, a junior branch of the house of which O'Neill of Tyrone was the head, but the south-east portion had long been inhabited by the Scotch MacDonnells, some of whom held their lands under a Crown grant. Sir Brian Macphelim O'Neill had all his life been a peaceful and loyal subject, and it was difficult to find a pretext for attacking him. Essex, in point of fact, did not allege any pretext. He merely ravaged the lands of both the Irish and the Scotch with strict impartiality. Naturally, he met with considerable resistance, and soon discovered that the difficulties of the plantation were much greater than he had supposed. The friends who had accompanied him, in the hope of speedily enriching themselves, grew disgusted and returned home. His soldiers, too, deserted him, or clamoured for higher pay. Essex, driven to desperation, endeavoured to overcome his enemies by treachery, and was guilty of two crimes whose atrocity is almost without parallel even in that age of cruelty and violence.

In 1574 he pretended to make peace with Sir Brian O'Neill, and was by him invited to a banquet. He accepted the invitation, but, in the

midst of the festivities, he ordered his host and hostess, together with the brother of the former, to be seized and held captive, while their friends and the members of their household, to the number of 200, "men, women, youths and maidens," were put to the sword. The prisoners were then conveyed to Dublin and there executed. Essex asserted that he had discovered that Sir Brian was plotting against him, and that he was only executed after a fair trial. But no proof of the alleged plot was offered, nor is any record or notice of the alleged trial anywhere to be found.

Having, as he imagined, spread terror among the Irish by this act, Essex now endeavoured to produce a similar impression on the Scots. In July 1575, Sorley Boy Mac Donnell, the Scotch leader, asked for peace, and Essex either sent or pretended to send to England to ascertain on what terms he might receive his submission. Meanwhile, however, he directed a certain Captain Norrys to land a force of 300 men on Rathlin Island. Here, in a castle of some strength, Sorley's clansmen and the chief himself had placed, for safety, those of their families and relatives who could not take part in the war—women, children, and old men, the wounded and the sick—with but a small number of soldiers to guard them. Norrys assaulted the castle, and the cowardly commander yielded it up, stipulating only that the lives of himself and his family should be spared. All the rest were massacred. Those who took refuge in the caves overhanging the sea were dragged out and hurled over the cliffs. Only a narrow strip of water divides Rathlin Island from the Antrim Coast, and from the shore the unfortunate chief could see the flames of the burning houses, and perhaps even the forms of the victims, some of whom were his own children. No wonder that he "was like to run mad with sorrow." But, to the English commander, his grief afforded merely satisfaction and perhaps amusement. Nor did the Queen view the matter otherwise. "Give the young gentleman, John Norrys, to understand that we will not be unmindful of his good service," she wrote to Essex, on receiving his account of the massacre.

From neither of these crimes did their perpetrator reap any real benefit. Sir Brian O'Neill's son took Belfast Castle, and, in revenge for his father's murder, cut up alive the English soldiers whom he captured. Sorley Boy raided the country and defeated the Carrickfergus garrison. Essex in vain attempted to find some speculator willing to buy his share in the unfortunate "plantation." Oppressed by grief and anxiety, he fell ill and died in Dublin (September, 1576). We are told that his end was most edifying.

For some years after this no attempt was made to push the Plantation policy. It had become evident that plantations in Ireland

could not be carried out by private individuals on a scale sufficiently large to give them a fair chance of success. A State plantation, however, was an enterprise which so prudent a princess as Elizabeth would only undertake should an opportunity exceptionally favourable present itself.

A Plantation of Munster Decided on : Conditions of the Plantation.—Such an opportunity appeared to be afforded by the State of the Desmond territories after the final suppression of the revolt and the death of the Earl. A Royal Commission declared that 574,628 acres were forfeit to the Crown,* and some of this land was second to none in Ireland in fertility. No expensive military force would be needed, for there was no resistance to be feared. The survivors of those who had tilled the fields and herded the cattle were scattered and disorganised, usually hiding in the woods and mountains. If any of the poor Irish folk remained, they could be made useful as hewers of wood and drawers of water for the new English colonists.

The advantages of the proposed plantation were made known in England by proclamations, and it was hoped that many young gentlemen would come forward, eager to enrich themselves by becoming proprietors of Irish estates. The terms offered certainly appeared favourable, and the conditions easy. The lots were to be of 12,000, 10,000, 8,000, 6,000 or 4,000 acres. For some years they would be rent free ; but afterwards a small head rent, in no case exceeding 3*d.* an acre, would be charged for the arable land ; mountain, bog and heath were not to be reckoned. The head-planter of each estate should farm a certain number of acres himself, but could let the rest, or, if he wished, sell it to English tenants. Both he and they must live in the English manner, and must not intermarry with the Irish. They would be required to render military service if called upon.

The Plantation does not Succeed.—Elaborate calculations were made of the rate at which the colony might be expected to increase, but these were all falsified by the event. It was found easy enough to induce a sufficient number of enterprising gentlemen to take up the lands, but a supply of English peasants willing to exchange the peace and security of their own country for the unknown perils of a "barbarous" land was not so easily forthcoming.

Frequently, too, the hostility of the natives, who, not unnaturally, entertained no friendly feelings towards these intruders ; the conditions of life and of work to which they were unaccustomed ; the disappointment of the hopes which they had entertained of becoming rich quickly and with little labour, so discouraged the English farmers that, after a short stay, they departed in disgust.

* *Of this, however, less than half appears to have been actually confiscated.*

On the other hand, there were Irish enough available; some of them were the old proprietors or their sons, eager to gain the right to return, even as tenants, and to cultivate a portion of the estates that had once been theirs. They were willing to pay, or to promise, high rents, and to accept hard conditions, if only they might occupy the lands which would otherwise remain, in most cases, untilled and vacant. It is not surprising that, given such temptations, the undertakers commonly ignored the conditions under which they had received their grants, and admitted the Irish as tenants.

This was so generally the case that the English colony, of which so rapid an increase had been expected, dwindled and diminished more and more. From the first it had not been on at all so extensive a scale as, according to the original plan, it should have been. Much of the land which at first was supposed to be forfeit by the rebellion of the Desmonds was found not to be so, as it had not in reality belonged to them. An investigation held in 1592 showed only thirty-two English head undertakers altogether and 245 English tenant families—probably about 1,000 individuals. The rest of the tenants were Irish. The O'Neill Insurrection swept away almost all remaining traces of the Munster Plantation. The few English who stayed married Irish wives, became Catholics, adopted the speech and manners of the country, and merged in the general population.

The only result, permanent except for a short interval during the O'Neill Insurrection, was that English law was introduced and administered over almost the whole of Munster. Gradually the traces of war were effaced. Again the fields were tilled. Again cattle grazed in the pasture lands. The population increased; huts and mansions were rebuilt. For a while Munster flourished and tasted the fruit of peace.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Attempted Plantation of Antrim by the Earl of Essex	1573
Massacre of Rathlin Island	1575
Plantation of the Desmond Lands begun	1585

CHAPTER XI

THE WAR OF O'NEILL AND O'DONNELL.

PART I. THE BEGINNINGS.

THE next danger that menaced the English power in the land came from a new quarter, and it was by far the most formidable that it had ever encountered since Strongbow and his Norman adventurers crossed St. George's Channel. For the first time, a National Irish champion endeavoured to organise a National Irish resistance to the power of the stranger.

Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone.—When Brian, the eldest son of Matthew O'Neill, was slain in 1562 his rights as Earl of Tyrone passed to Hugh his brother. But Hugh was then "a child of young years"—he was probably born about 1547—and, for the present, the English did not push his claim. He grew to manhood, living much in England, and high in favour at Elizabeth's court. It was hoped that he would one day be a powerful instrument for "civilising" the wild Irish of Ulster.

During the Desmond Rebellion, Hugh served in Ireland under Lord Grey. He sat in the Dublin Parliament of 1585 as Earl of Tyrone, and two years later he was put in possession of most of the Tír Owen territory. Certain restrictions were imposed on Hugh's power, but little attempt was made to enforce them. The Earl of Tyrone, for all his English title, was Prince of Tír Owen, as his ancestors had been before him.

Since 1584 Sir John Perrott had been Deputy.

Capture of Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell.—About a year previous to his departure in 1588, he had carried out a stroke of policy, much praised at the time, but in its outcome unfortunate, since it prepared for the English Government an implacable and formidable foe.

Away in Tírconnell, Hugh Dubh O'Donnell was the reigning chief. All his life he had been reckoned "loyal." He had not opposed the English Government, as represented by the Deputy and Council in Dublin, and they had not meddled in his territorial affairs. But when now it was proposed that Tírconnell should be "shired," and sheriffs sent in to it, Hugh Dubh flatly refused to receive the said sheriffs. At once it was concluded that he harboured some sort of "disloyal" designs. To employ force against a chief so powerful, and whose territories were

so far removed from the Pale, would be difficult and costly, but some security for his future good behaviour might be obtained, if an important member of his family could be got into the hands of the Government and held as pledge.

Hugh Dubh had been twice married, the second time to the daughter of James Mac Donnell of the Isles. Their eldest son, Hugh Ruadh* was now fifteen, and a lad of such promise that it seemed certain that he, rather than Donall, his half-brother, would be chosen as the future chief. His sister was married to Hugh O'Neill, to whose daughter by a former marriage he himself was betrothed or married, and this close connection with the other great Ulster chief might render him all the more formidable in the future. It was resolved to capture him, if possible.

About the Michaelmas of 1587, a ship laden with beer and wine anchored on the west side of Lough Swilly. The captain sent an invitation to young Hugh, then a guest at Donal Mac Swiney's castle near by, to come on board and taste of his wares. Hugh came with some of his friends, and they were feasted till they were merry and cheerful. Then, in the midst of their mirth, they were seized, disarmed and taken prisoners. The ship made sail for Dublin, and soon Hugh Ruadh was lodged in Dublin Castle, where for four years he remained.

Spanish Ships Wrecked on the Irish Coast.—1588 was the Armada year. The King of Spain's great fleet was foiled in its attack on England, and many of the vessels, "flying from the wind and their enemies," doubled round the north of Scotland, and went to pieces on the rocky coasts of western and northern Ireland. The majority of the crews were drowned; while, of those who came alive to land, not a few found foes more cruel than the waves awaiting them. The English authorities hanged almost all whom they could find. Though some few of the Irish chiefs showed little humanity towards the fugitives, they, for the most part, were true to their country's traditions of hospitality. The common people, too, generally sheltered the Spaniards, till an opportunity offered of sending them home.

Dissimulation of Hugh O'Neill.—Hugh O'Neill had not favoured the Spaniards, at least openly. Indeed, he professed zeal against them, but the English authorities appear to have had considerable doubt as to the sincerity of his professions. They had begun to entertain doubts even of his loyalty, and indeed with reason. He had probably long before this conceived the idea of uniting all Ireland in one great effort to shake off the yoke of the stranger, and attain actual or virtual independence.

Still, Hugh was in no haste to begin the contest. At home in

** Distinguishing names of this kind—Ruadh (red), dubh (black), buidhe yellow or fair)—were frequently used, as certain Christian names were very common.*

Tír Owen, he was drilling the men of his clan; hiring English captains to teach them the new methods which were to replace the old tribal tactics, as the muskets were to replace the bows and arrows and the spears. He succeeded well, for later we have Essex's testimony that, in the use of these arms, the rebels were better skilled than were his own soldiers. Meanwhile, to the authorities in Dublin, Hugh "played the good subject."

In 1589 Hugh Gaveloch, one of Shane's sons, informed the English authorities that he had learned in Scotland that the Earl of Tyrone was preparing to rebel, and had been seeking aid from Spain. The Earl gave the luckless accuser no time to furnish proofs of his charge. He got him into his hands, and at once caused him to be hanged. Such an act required an explanation, and Hugh had one to offer. Hugh Gaveloch, he said, had committed several murders and other acts of violence in Tír Owen, and Irish customs, still followed by many other chiefs, allowed him to put malefactors of this sort to death. When summoned to London, he repeated this explanation to the Privy Council there, and showed himself so "loyal" and so anxious to enter into all their plans that they were delighted with him, and he returned to Ireland without a stain on his character.

The officials in Ireland were less easily deceived. One, in particular, Sir Henry Bagenal, now Marshal of the Queen's forces in Ireland, especially disliked the Earl of Tyrone. He had a sister Mabel, and to her, Hugh, now a widower, "made his addresses." In 1591 he eloped with the lady and married her. Henceforth her brother became his deadly enemy.

Escape of Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell.—Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell had been over four years eating out his heart in prison in Dublin Castle. He was a man grown now, twenty years of age, and he longed for freedom and revenge. On Christmas night, 1591, "it seemed to the Son of the Virgin full time that he should escape," and he and his fellow-prisoner, Art O'Neill, son of Shane, let themselves down by a rope from a window of the Castle. Outside, a servant had been awaiting them, and they passed unobserved through the streets. Once in the open country, Hugh, Art and the servant pushed on to the mountains, toiling along in the sleet and snow, which soaked their thin garments. Art soon was so exhausted that he had to lean on the shoulders of the other two. At length both the young men were worn out, and they took shelter under a rock, while the servant hurried to Glenmalure, to ask Fiach Mac Hugh O'Byrne, the chief who ruled there, to send assistance. A rescue party was at once despatched, but when it reached the rock Art and Hugh were found lying "like sods of earth covered up with snow." Art was beyond help, but Hugh they finally succeeded in reviving, and then they bore him off to Glenmalure, where he was nursed back to health.

Hugh O'Neill was not long in hearing of his young brother-in-law's

escape. Had O'Neill been a mere Celtic chief, whose political aims went no further than the aggrandizement of his own clan, this news would have afforded him little satisfaction. For generations there had been strife and jealousy between the chiefs of Tír Owen and Tírconnell. But the present head of the Uí Niall was a politician of wider views. He saw that a united Ulster must be the first step towards the united Ireland of which he dreamt. He sent a message to Hugh Ruadh, asking him to come at once to him, and Hugh Ruadh came. They remained some days together, and when O'Donnell returned to Ballyshannon to his parents, no doubt the plan of the future insurrection had been already sketched and agreed on.

Soon after, his father having resigned the chieftaincy, the men of Tírconnell inaugurated Hugh Ruadh at Kilmacrennan with all the ancient rites (1592).

The Two Hughs Prepare for the Insurrection.—Hugh Ruadh's first care was to strengthen his position at home. He brought his tributary chiefs into due subordination, using fair words to the obedient, and raiding the lands of those who questioned his authority.

By the good offices of the Earl of Tyrone he reconciled himself with the Deputy, who "received him very kindly," when he came to Dundalk to meet him. This was a wise move on Hugh's part, for it discouraged his enemies. Since the overthrow of the Desmonds, the English, though as little loved as ever, had begun to be feared throughout Ireland, and their friendship to be regarded as a valuable asset by the rival parties in clan disputes.

As O'Donnell did in Tírconnell, so did O'Neill in Tír Owen. Old Turloch Lynnach resigned to him the title of "O'Neill," but in his communications with the English authorities he still signed "Tyrone." Ulster was now united under the two chiefs, each supreme in his own territory, while outside the boundaries of both they were of co-equal authority. It was not a good arrangement, nor one that could have permanently endured, but all through the war it worked surprisingly well.

The time had now come when an attempt should be made to draw the chiefs and nobles of the other provinces into the confederacy. Munster, as we have seen, was quiet, and, on the whole, prosperous, but elements of discontent were not wanting. Many of the large estates had remained in the hands of the English "Undertakers," and the ancient proprietors were reduced to the condition of tenants, or else wandered as outlaws in the woods.

In Connacht, as long ago as 1585, Sir John Perrott had attempted a land settlement, generally known as "the Composition of Connacht." The chiefs and the clansmen were invited to agree to an arrangement by which they should hold their lands by English tenure, paying a rent of ten shillings to the Crown for every quarter (120 acres) "bearing

horn or corn." Many were willing, and things would probably have gone well, but for the selection of Sir Richard Bingham as head of the Commission appointed to negotiate with the proprietors. He tried to coerce, by violent measures, all who even hesitated to agree to the "Composition." He raided their lands, drove off their cattle, and murdered their people, sparing neither women, children nor old men.

Soon a great part of the province was in revolt. Many chiefs and nobles, treacherously seized on some frivolous pretext, suffered death at his hands. By 1593 resistance in Connacht had been stamped out; it lay still, in the quietness of exhaustion and despair.

In Leinster, though the movements of Fiach Mac Hugh O'Byrne and of Owney O'More were being watched with some anxiety, there was no special disorder. Such was, in general, the state of Ireland when the great Insurrection was about to begin.

Beginning of the Insurrection.—An accidental spark set the fire materials alight. Hugh Maguire, reigning chief of Fermanagh, had been exasperated by the outrages inflicted on his people by a certain Captain Willis and his band of disorderly followers, who had come into his territory in a supposed official capacity, and he had driven the intruders out. In 1593 a campaign was organised against him, in which, very reluctantly, Hugh O'Neill took part. In 1594 the Deputy again invaded Fermanagh, and planted a garrison in Enniskillen, which was at once besieged by Maguire and Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell. Towards the end of the year a force was sent to relieve it. Cormac O'Neill, the Earl of Tyrone's brother, came with 300 men to the assistance of the besiegers, and he and Maguire defeated the English at a ford on the river Erne. The battle became known as that of "the Ford of the Biscuits" ("Ꝺꞇ nꞇ mƀꞃioꞅꞅꞇꞇ"), because of the great stores of provisions intended for the Enniskillen garrison which were captured by the victors. Enniskillen was at once surrendered.

Although it was strongly suspected that Hugh O'Neill had been a party to his brother's action in assisting Maguire, this could not be proved. With characteristic boldness Hugh went down to Dublin and confronted his accusers at the Council Board. Again his wonderful powers of persuasion—his enemies would give it a harder name—were successfully exerted; the Council permitted him to depart.

Once back safely in Tír Owen, O'Neill realised that nothing was to be gained by further delay. Early in 1595 he finally threw off the mask, and sent his brother Art to besiege the English garrison of Portmore on the Blackwater. The Tyrone Insurrection, "the Nine Years' War," as it has been called, had begun.

This revolt was not, like former ones, confined practically to one part of Ireland. Chiefs and Anglo-Irish nobles from each of the four

provinces joined O'Neill and O'Donnell; though of the latter the two most important, the Earl of Kildare and the Earl of Ormond, adhered throughout to the English. Several, both of the chiefs and of the Anglo-Irish, changed sides more than once during the war. The conception of the struggle as a national one, in which the whole future of Ireland was involved, seems to have been scarcely at all present in the minds of most of them, and probably was understood fully by none but O'Neill himself.

The two leaders saw plainly that Ireland, disunited as she was, could never, by her own unaided efforts, expel the stranger; that foreign help was absolutely necessary. Moreover, without a strong central power to establish a government afterwards, even success would be of little ultimate advantage. The Ruler of Spain was marked out by his very title of "Most Catholic King," as, next to the Pope, the great champion of Catholicity, and to him O'Neill and O'Donnell addressed a joint letter in September 1595, asking his assistance to deliver Ireland from the yoke of the heretic. On many subsequent occasions they wrote to Philip II; after his death to his son, Philip III, and to the Pope (Clement VIII). The war they represented as a religious one, undertaken in defence of the Faith. This, if not the whole truth, cannot be said to be false. Undoubtedly the religious interest counted for much, both with O'Neill and O'Donnell themselves and with their adherents. In negotiations with the English authorities, religious toleration was the first and most strongly insisted on of the Irish demands.

In the letters sent to Philip, both those of the leaders and those of the lesser chiefs, he was requested to take over the rule of Ireland, or it was assumed that he would do so. Whether a real government by Spain was contemplated or a mere suzerainty, in which the Spanish monarch would play the part assigned in ancient Irish polity to the Ard Rí, is not apparent.

The replies received from Philip were gracious and encouraging; but the efficient assistance, the strong military force, for which O'Neill and O'Donnell asked, was delayed from year to year, though always declared to be in course of preparation. The Irish leaders strove in vain, by entreaties and by warnings that the favourable moment was passing, to hasten the slow and deliberate movements of the Court of Madrid.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Hugh O'Neill put in possession of the Tír Owen lands	1587
Abduction of Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell	1587
(*Destruction of the Spanish Armada*)	1588
Escape of Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell	1591
The O'Neill Insurrection begins	1594

CHAPTER XII

THE WAR OF O'NEILL AND O'DONNELL

PART II. THE IRISH SUCCESSES.

Hugh O'Neill comes into the Field: The Battle of Yellow Ford.— In May (1595) Hugh O'Neill himself came into the field, his brother Art having previously captured Portmore. He laid siege to Monaghan, but Bagenal marched to its relief, and he was forced to withdraw. The Deputy Russell, with Sir John Norris, invaded North Ulster, and pressed on to Armagh, O'Neill retreating before them. The army then turned south, and the Deputy went back to Dublin, leaving Norris in command. O'Neill defeated him at Clontibret, on the river Erne, near Monaghan. The English were forced to retreat, and Monaghan soon after surrendered. The Irish victory was followed by a great extension of the revolt. Almost the whole of the Connacht chiefs now threw in their lot with the National party.

In the winter hostilities grew less active. The English authorities proposed negotiations, and the Irish agreed. Probably there was little sincerity on either side. In January 1596, O'Neill and O'Donnell, with some of their allies, met the English Commissioners in a field near Dundalk. They demanded complete religious liberty; that no sheriff or other English official should come into Tír Owen or Tírconnell, or into the lands of any of the chiefs who had joined them; and that no garrisons should be planted in Ulster, except at Carrickfergus and Newry. These terms were refused; the demand for religious freedom being specially objected to as most insolent.

The negotiations dragged on month after month, each side meanwhile continuing its preparations. The Deputy was increasing his army, and seeing to its equipment and drill; the chiefs were extending their alliances and trying to hasten the coming of the foreign aid.

In 1597 a new Deputy, Lord Borough, was appointed. In Connacht the cruel and treacherous Bingham was succeeded as President by Sir Conyers Clifford, whose mild and conciliatory rule won over many who had previously sided with the Irish chiefs.

In August 1597, Borough prepared for a great campaign against the Ulster rebels. They were to be assailed from three directions.

Clifford, having marched up from Connacht, should cross the river Erne and encounter O'Donnell at Ballyshannon. Young Barnewell, Lord Trimleston's son, should lead another army northward through the midland counties into Tír Owen, while the Deputy himself should proceed with a third force, by a more easterly route, to Armagh.

The failure of this elaborate scheme was complete. All three armies met with disaster. O'Donnell defended Ballyshannon successfully, and the English were forced to retreat with heavy loss across the Erne. Young Barnewell was assailed south of Mullingar by Captain Richard Tyrrel, an Irish commander of English race, and his army almost annihilated. The Deputy encountered O'Neill at Drumfliuch on the Blackwater and suffered a complete defeat.

Renewed negotiations, as might have been expected, led to nothing. In 1598 hostilities were resumed.

The fort of Portmore on the Blackwater was considered by the English authorities a military post of the greatest importance, and the command of the garrison had been given to Captain Williams, a tried and gallant soldier. O'Neill's attempt to take it by assault having failed, he tried a blockade and reduced the garrison to the utmost straits, but Williams would not surrender.

Marshal Bagenal prepared to march to the relief of Portmore, leaving Ormond, who was now Deputy, to defend Leinster. Of the Marshal's force of 5,000 men a good many were Irish mercenaries.

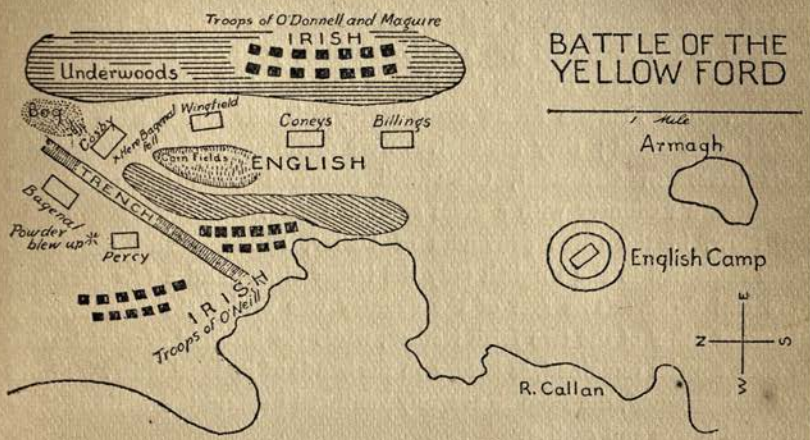
In early August, Bagenal started on his march northward, and he reached Armagh without encountering any opposition. The Irish decided to fall back on the Blackwater and to hold the line of the river. Under O'Neill were his own clansmen and the levies of his tributary chiefs, each led by its own lord. O'Donnell brought 2,000 of his Tírconnell men, and Mac William Burke of Sligo some 2,000 Connacht mercenaries. Besides these, a Macdonnell of the Isles had come with a troop of Scots to help his Irish kinsman. The Irish army was probably rather larger than that of its opponents, but, as regards arms, it was much inferior. The English soldiers were protected by armour, and provided with firearms. A relatively small number of the Irish were similarly equipped. Most of them fought in their linen tunics, using spears, javelins and axes. Moreover, they had no artillery, while the English had brought with them several cannon.

On the morning of August 14th, the two armies met at a place on the Blackwater called Béal an Átha Buide (the mouth of the Yellow Ford), a couple of miles distant from Armagh.

O'Neill had strengthened his position by every means in his power. He had caused a deep trench to be dug in front of his lines, and had posted,

in advance, bodies of light-armed troops to assail the enemy on the flanks. When the English charged, many, of the cavalry especially, fell into the trench, which was concealed with brambles, so that the legs of the horses were broken. Besides this, the fire of the skirmishers confused them, and the line was to a great extent broken before they reached the Irish.

The second regiment was commanded by Bagenal himself, and he led his men gallantly. They pressed the Irish so hard that they drove them across the trench, their long-range muskets doing great execution. The Irish then changed their tactics, and, closing on the English on each



flank, forced their wings in on the centre, so that they were too crowded together to use their firearms. Just then Bagenal fell dead, his brain pierced by a bullet. The fall of their leader spread a panic amongst his men, and Colonel Cosby, coming up with his regiment, found them retreating across the trench.

Cosby opened fire on the Irish with his cannon, but the bursting of one of these caused some loss of life and still more disarrangement of the English ranks, and Cosby's men also retreated in confusion, hotly pursued by the Irish. In the rear a smart battle had been meanwhile in progress. O'Donnell, Maguire and the Scots had come round and assailed the fifth and sixth English regiments, which began to give way. In this division there fought Maelmuire O'Reilly, called "the Handsome," who now styled himself "the Queen's O'Reilly." He made desperate attempts to retrieve the fortunes of the day, but, when at last he was slain, all resistance ceased and the English, abandoning the field, fled towards Armagh, having sustained the greatest defeat that had befallen them since first the Normans set foot on Ireland. Portmore at once

surrendered. The Irish suffered the garrison to depart in safety, with only the loss of their arms and ammunition. When the news of Yellow Ford reached Elizabeth, her wrath was unbounded, and she vented it by pouring a flood of blame and reproach on the Irish officials, collectively and individually, ascribing this and all previous disasters to their mismanagement.

It had always been the case in Ireland that any considerable success gained by either party in any internal war or revolt was immediately followed by a great accession to the number of adherents to the side of the victors. This happened in the present instance. In Munster there was an almost general revolt, not only of the Celtic chiefs and landowners, but also of the Anglo-Irish. The Geraldines, younger branches of the Desmond family; the Burkes, the Roches and some of the Butlers, joined O'Neill. The Planters found scant mercy. Their lands were raided; their houses burnt; they themselves were fortunate if they escaped with their lives. In Connacht, O'Donnell returned from his raiding of Clanrickard's country with a great spoil of cattle.

Now, in the three provinces of Ulster, Munster and Connacht, there remained to the English only the larger cities, and a few garrisons here and there. The rest of the country was under the overlordship of one or other of the two Irish leaders, while the internal administration of each district remained, as before, in the hands of its local chief. Timid and disheartened, the English scarcely ventured beyond the walls of their fortified towns and castles.

Essex sent to Ireland : His Failure There.—Elizabeth, however, was not a ruler likely to allow a country the possession of which she knew, in the then condition of Continental affairs, to be of almost vital importance to the very existence of England, to slip thus easily from her grasp. She resolved to send across the Channel such a force as would not only, she felt sure, speedily crush the rebels, but would extend her authority over the whole island, and make her in reality "Queen of Ireland." In her selection of a leader for the expedition she allowed herself to be swayed rather by feeling than by reason. Her choice fell on Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, a handsome man of thirty-two, having many superficial advantages, but whose success in military affairs had not, so far, been remarkable. He was the son of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, whose attempt at a Plantation in Ulster had ended so unfortunately, and since Leicester's death in 1588 he had been the Queen's chief favourite. The title of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, more honourable than that of Deputy, was now conferred on him. The army placed under Essex's command was, with the exception of that which followed Richard II in 1394, the

largest that had ever crossed from England to Ireland. It numbered 16,000 infantry and 1,300 cavalry, all well armed and equipped. If the troops already in the country be added, we may estimate that the Lord Lieutenant had at his command a force of at least 21,000 or 22,000 men.

Towards the middle of April 1599, Essex landed in Dublin and at once proceeded to ignore the instructions which he had received before leaving England. Rightly judging that if the leader of the rebellion were once crushed, the whole coalition against her would fall to pieces almost of itself, Elizabeth had ordered Essex to at once attack "the Arch-traitor Tyrone." In Dublin, however, the Lord Lieutenant met many persons, some of them high officials, who had either themselves been dispossessed by the rebels of great estates in Munster, or were related to those who had so lost them. These men, "aiming rather at their private interests than the public good," persuaded Essex to turn south.

He marched through the midland counties to Limerick and Waterford, then back through Wexford and Wicklow. A series of disasters marked his way. Near Maryborough his rearguard was shattered by Owney O'More at the head of 400 men. The pass where the encounter took place was afterwards known, from the many English helmet plumes that strewed the ground, as "the Pass of the Plumes" (Beaſina na Cleitrde).

In Co. Limerick the Burkes and the O'Connors inflicted defeats on the forces of the Lord Lieutenant and his allies.

Still more disastrous on the morale of the army than these reverses was the almost continual skirmishing; a species of warfare to which the English soldiers were unaccustomed, and for which their heavy armour and equipments rendered them unfit. It was with a force "weary, sick and incredibly diminished in numbers" that the Lord Lieutenant returned to Dublin in June.

Elizabeth was both disappointed and enraged at the poor results achieved by the splendid army from which she had hoped so much. She brushed aside Essex's attempts at explanation, and reproached him for his disobedience in a tone to which the haughty favourite had been little accustomed from his hitherto indulgent Sovereign. She so far relented, however, as to send him, at his request, a reinforcement of 2,000 men. Yet, even after the arrival of these additional troops, Essex lingered in Dublin, allowing his forces to waste away by illness and desertion.

For two months there was virtually a pause in the military operations; then, early in August (1599), Essex ordered Sir Conyers Clifford, who,

since his raids in the previous year, had remained mostly in and about Ballymote, to advance across the hills, called in English the Curlews (Coirrshliabh), into Sligo, and, having raised the siege of Collooney Castle, where O'Connor Sligo was being hard pressed by the Irish, to proceed into Fermanagh.

The Battle of the Curlew Hills.—Clifford assembled his men at Boyle. Besides the English troops, there were bands of Irish under O'Connor Don, Richard Burke Baron of Dunkellin, and Maelmuire Mac Swiney; in all about 3,000 men.

O'Donnell, whose force numbered some 2,000, decided to await the enemy at a mountain pass, which was narrow at the entrance, but broadened out further on.

On the morning of August 15th the English marched up from Boyle. The journey was long, and it was already afternoon when the weary and hungry soldiers reached the pass, which they had been assured was unguarded.

Meanwhile, O'Donnell had made his arrangements at leisure. At the entrance of the pass Hugh Ruadh had posted some light troops behind a barricade of felled trees, with instructions to make only a slight resistance, and then, by a feigned retreat, to lure the enemy on to where the main army was drawn up. The English fell into the trap, and, pursuing the kerns, came upon the Irish soldiers fresh and ready to receive them. Almost immediately they fell into confusion, which was increased when O'Rorke came up with an additional force to the help of the Irish. Taken thus by surprise, weary, and faint for want of food, Clifford's men nevertheless fought gallantly for over an hour, their general setting them an example of almost reckless valour. When, at length, he saw that the day was lost, he resolved not to survive defeat. Breaking from Mac Swiney, who tried to restrain him, he rushed back into the thick of the fight, and "he was stroke through the body with a pyke and he died." The English now retreated; their loss is stated to have been about 1,400, and included many officers of high rank. The victors went over the field, slaying and beheading the English wounded. Clifford's head was brought to O'Donnell, but his body was sent to the Constable of Boyle for honourable burial.

This victory of the Irish was, of course, followed by great accessions to their party; O'Connor Sligo, having yielded his castle, joined O'Donnell; O'Connor Don and Theobald Burke did likewise.

Essex's Conference with O'Neill.—When the news of the defeat of the Curlews reached Essex, he felt that it was incumbent on him to make some move, and at the end of August he started on his long-delayed invasion of Ulster, but with an army reduced to less than a third of its

original strength. O'Neill marched south to meet him and the two armies encamped, facing each other, on the opposite sides of the river Lagan.

The Lord Lieutenant seems to have decided that his forces were insufficient to attack the Ulster chieftain. When O'Neill suggested a conference he at once agreed.

It was at the Ford of Annagh Clint that the two leaders met. Essex spoke from the bank, while O'Neill spurred his horse into the middle of the stream and there halted. What passed at their first interview we do not know, since no witnesses were present. To their second meeting each general brought eight of the chief men of his army, and, on this occasion, O'Neill formally stated the terms on which he would, he declared, conclude a peace. They were substantially the same as those which he had demanded at the beginning of the war; the chief being liberty of conscience and freedom from the interference of the English Government in the internal administration of Irish territories. Essex promised to forward these demands to the Queen, and meanwhile there was to be a truce, at first for six weeks, but renewable.

Elizabeth, as the Irish leader had no doubt anticipated, absolutely refused to entertain these "insolent proposals," and severely blamed Essex for having listened to them. The ex-favourite must have felt that his only chance of reinstating himself with his royal mistress lay in an immediate interview, at which his actual presence might perhaps rekindle her former affection. At the end of September he left Ireland, hastily and without permission. The story of his ill-reception by Elizabeth, his mad attempt at revolt, and his execution in 1601, belongs to English History.

O'Neill Appeals to the Irish Towns: His Progress through the Southern Counties.—So far, the Irish leaders had found adherents almost exclusively amongst the country or rural population. Up to this period, the Irish towns had played a comparatively small part in the national life. Their inhabitants were largely of Anglo-Irish race, and even the Celts who dwelt within them were to a great extent cut off from the influences which acted on their brethren, and freed from the ties which bound these to their chiefs. In religion alone were they united, for the Reformed Doctrines had won little more support amongst the townfolk than they had elsewhere. If Ireland was to oppose a united front to the enemy, the support of the towns was necessary, and this support O'Neill now endeavoured to win. It was on the ground of their common Faith that he appealed to them in the manifesto which he issued in November 1599, "To the Catholics of the Towns of Ireland." He told them that he was in arms in defence of Catholicity, and he begged them to range themselves on his side. The appeal met with no response.

The townspeople cherished the hope that their unswerving loyalty to the English connection would be rewarded by the granting to them of liberty of conscience, when the war had been brought to a triumphant conclusion. This hope was encouraged by the prudence of the Government, in directing that the recusancy laws—never very strictly carried out—should be left in complete abeyance for the present.

In January 1600, O'Neill, having given the notice which had been agreed on, terminated the truce, and war was renewed.

The northern leader, in order to display his power and thereby to win new adherents to his cause, now planned a sort of royal progress through the south of Leinster and through Munster. He started at the head of some 3,000 men, and proceeded through Westmeath, Ely O'Carroll and Tipperary. Loftus and Carew, the Lord Justices, conscious of their weakness, made no attempt to interfere with him, and he raided unopposed the lands of those who had adhered to the English party. Near Cashel he was joined by James Fitzthomas, on whom he had previously conferred the Desmond title, and whom the English mocked with the nickname of the Sugaun or Straw-rope Earl.*

The march was continued through Co. Limerick and Co. Cork. A few miles from Cork City, O'Neill pitched his camp at a place called Inniscarra, and there came to him many of the southern chiefs: O'Donohoes, O'Mahonys, O'Sullivans and others; as also Florence or Fineen Mac Carthy. O'Neill, "understanding that this was the wish of the clan," inaugurated Fineen as Mac Carthy Mór.

In March, O'Neill, hearing that the new Deputy, Mountjoy, was preparing to take the field against him, struck his camp and marched his men back to Ulster.

This circuit marks the zenith of the two Hughs' power. From this point their fortunes began to decline.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Battle of Yellow Ford	1598
(*End of the Wars of Religion in France*)	1598
Campaign of Essex in Ireland	1599
Battle of the Curlew Hills	1599
Progress of O'Neill through Munster	1600
Lord Mountjoy comes to Ireland as Deputy	1600

* *He was son of Thomas Ruadh Fitzgerald, half-brother of the Earl slain in* 1583.

CHAPTER XIII

THE WAR OF O'NEILL AND O'DONNELL

PART III. THE IRISH FAILURES

Policy of Mountjoy, the New Deputy : Its Success.—Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was the new Deputy selected by Elizabeth to accomplish the task in which Essex had failed so signally. He was a man of considerable military experience, and had certain statesmanlike qualities. While absolutely unscrupulous in the means which he used to attain an end, he never indulged in useless cruelty nor in spiteful annoyance, calculated to irritate but not to weaken an enemy.

When the Lord Deputy landed in Dublin (February 1600), the English power was, except in a few of the larger towns, and in some small districts here and there over the country, practically extinct. Still, the league against England was by no means as strong as it appeared. True National feeling was scarcely at all to be found among the allies who had joined one or other of the two Ulster chiefs. Many were ready, as the event showed, to go over to the English side at the least provocation or on the least temptation. Mountjoy's ready understanding of these facts, and his skill in availing himself of them, constitute one of the chief secrets of his success.

Avoiding Essex's mistake, Mountjoy concentrated his attention on Ulster. He ordered Sir Henry Dowcra to take a considerable force by sea from Carrickfergus, and to endeavour to land on the shores of Lough Foyle, while he himself invaded Ulster from the south (May 1600). The plan was successful. Mountjoy, in spite of the efforts of the Irish to oppose him, marched his forces as far as Armagh. Then, as he received intelligence that Dowcra was safely established in a fortified camp at Culmore, he drew back to Dublin. Later in the year, when the harvest was ripe, he sallied out again, raiding the Leinster counties, tearing up and burning the crops, so that famine and desolation followed in his track. By this method many Irish leaders were terrified into submission.

In the north, Dowcra advanced from Culmore and took possession of Derry. Hugh O'Donnell sat down to besiege it, but his patience was soon exhausted. He went off on raiding expeditions, leaving Niall Garff

O'Donnell, his cousin, to take command of the siege operations in his absence. So far, Niall Garff had been faithful to the Irish party, but now, when "the English proffered him the kingship and chieftaincy of the territory if they were victorious, and they promised him many jewels and great wealth," he listened to them, and passed over to Dowcra, bringing with him his three brothers and about a hundred men.* The first service that Niall Garff rendered to his new masters was to hand over to them O'Donnell's Castle of Lifford, which they at once garrisoned. Amongst the English there was no longer any lack of provisions, their Irish allies carried off great spoils of cattle from the country round and kept them well supplied. Dowcra built a fort some eight miles from Derry, and placed in it a strong garrison. In south Ulster, Conn Ruadh Maguire had been won over and had deserted the National party.

In Munster, too, the confederacy was being rapidly broken up. All the craft and cruelty of Sir George Carew, the President, were brought into play against it. On the one hand, he held out hopes of favours and dignities to those who submitted; on the other, he executed ruthless vengeance on those who held out, destroying their crops and cattle, burning the houses and slaying the peasants. One by one the chiefs and nobles "came in." The few fortresses which did not surrender were besieged and taken. Soon scarcely one was left in the whole province which had not either received an English garrison or been dismantled and rendered useless.

Three important enemies remained for Carew to deal with: James Fitzthomas Fitzgerald (The "Sugaun," Earl of Desmond), Florence Mac Carthy, and John Fitzthomas, the brother of James. The President's first attempts against them proved unsuccessful. By offering to Dermot O'Connor a bribe of £1,000, he induced him to capture the Earl, but Pierce Lacy and Dermot Moyle Mac Carthy gathered together a large force and rescued him (June, 1600). Two months later (August, 1600), Carew, as he himself relates in a letter to Cecil the English Minister, hired one John Nugent to murder John Fitzthomas. A servant named Coppinger intervened and struck up Nugent's pistol. The would-be assassin was seized and hanged. Next year the President was more fortunate. The Earl was finally captured by the treachery of his brother-in-law, "the White Knight." His life was spared, but the remaining eight years of it were spent as a prisoner in the Tower. In that gloomy fortress, Florence Mac Carthy, arrested in violation of a safe conduct, joined him within a few weeks. He, too, never regained his liberty, but

* *As the grandson of an elder brother of Hugh Ruadh's father, Niall had, if primogeniture had been observed, a superior right to the chieftaincy.*

death was long in claiming him. He was still alive in 1637. By the autumn of 1601, the insurrection was practically over in Munster.

In Ulster the two Irish leaders had been weakened by further defections. O'Doherty of Inishowen had died, and, as he was an uriacht of O'Donnell, the latter, apparently with the consent of the clan, had named Phelim, his brother, to succeed him; Cahir, his son, being but twelve years old. This choice was resented by the Macdevitts, the fosterers of young Cahir. They took the lad into the English camp, and Sir Henry Dowcra set him up as a rival O'Doherty. Other chiefs, notably Maguire and O'Hanlon, also deserted the Irish cause.

Niall Garff now occupied with a strong garrison the monastery of Donegal, which he had seized during the absence of Hugh Ruadh. O'Donnell had, on his return, blockaded the monastery. Niall's men were almost starved, but he would not yield the fortress.

While his colleague was thus employed in the north-west, the activities of Mountjoy kept O'Neill fully employed in Tír Owen. Twice, in September of 1600 and again in the following June, the Deputy invaded Ulster, cutting down woods and destroying crops as usual. He forced the strong Moyry Pass near Dundalk, and to prevent its recapture, garrisoned the fortress which Sir John Norris had built. He reached Armagh, which O'Neill was compelled to abandon, and occupied it. There were now (September 1601) English garrisons in Lecale, Carrickfergus, Portmore, Mountnorris, Armagh and Newry. Besides this, Sir Henry Dowcra had a large force in north Ulster, and several allies amongst the neighbouring chiefs. The last stronghold of the Irish was being captured bit by bit. If foreign aid did not come speedily and effectively, the National cause was doomed.

Arrival of the Spaniards at Kinsale.—The slow-moving Spanish monarch had, however, moved at last. Philip III's ships were on the sea, their sails set for Ireland. Even as arranged by the King, the fleet was but a small one, scarcely half what the Irish leaders had asked and hoped for. But before ever they left port, sickness had thinned the numbers of the soldiers, and when at sea they had encountered such rough weather that several of the vessels, including those carrying most of the artillery, were obliged to return to Spain to refit. Altogether, little more than 3,000 Spaniards reached Kinsale at the end of September, 1601. This force was totally inadequate for important military operations. That their general, Don Juan D'Aquila, seems, judging from his subsequent conduct, to have possessed neither courage nor ability was an added misfortune for the Irish.

The Spaniards disembarked (October 2nd) and took possession of the town of Kinsale, the townsmen opening their gates.

The army with which Mountjoy and Carew prepared to oppose the Spaniards was, at least, twelve thousand strong; it included contingents sent by the towns, and others by their Irish and Anglo-Irish allies. Of these, the most powerful were the Earl of Thomond (O'Brien), and the Earl of Clanrickard (Burke). About the middle of October, Mountjoy pitched his camp on a hill called the Spittle, north of Kinsale, and began the siege.

The town of Kinsale was reckoned at this time a strong fortress, and one the capture of which by assault would be difficult. Nor did there seem much hope of reducing it by famine, since the Spanish commander boasted that his supplies were adequate for eighteen months.

Had the force sent by Philip landed, even at this late period, on the shores of Tír Owen or Tírconnell, where the power of the two Hughs, though weakened, was still vigorous, or had it reached Munster a year or two earlier, before the insurrection in that province had been crushed, it might, in spite of the inadequacy of its numbers, have done much for the Irish cause. Now it had come at the wrong time and to the wrong place.

The two castles which defended Kinsale Harbour Mountjoy soon captured. With a view of encouraging future surrenders, the lives of the soldiers who had defended them were spared.

March of O'Donnell and O'Neill from Ulster.—The news of the Spaniards' arrival had been speedily conveyed to the Ulster chieftains. Their disappointment at the smallness of the succour so long waited for, and at the ill selection of a landing place, must have been extreme. They knew, however, that this was their last chance, and they prepared to march southwards in all haste. Hugh Ruadh called together the sub-chiefs who still adhered to him, and, when all were assembled with their forces at Ballymote, he started on his long journey, at the head of about three thousand men. It was November, and the task before O'Donnell, of marching troops for a distance amounting to more than two-thirds of the length of Ireland at such a season, was no easy one. However, the clansmen were hardy, inured to brave all conditions of weather and to travel long distances on foot. They pushed on over the Curlew Hills into Roscommon, and proceeded through Co. Galway to Shannon Harbour, where they were ferried over the great river. They went on south, through the King's Co, and on to the barony of Ikerrin in Tipperary. Here, at Drumsaileach, near Roscrea, they halted awhile to await O'Neill.

Mountjoy sent Carew to intercept O'Donnell. The President encamped on the plains of Cashel, so as to prevent the Irish army from

marching south. From the east St. Lawrence was approaching at the head of a powerful force raised in the Pale. Hugh Ruadh must, it seemed, either retreat back to Ulster or turn westward; but to the west the Slieve Felim Mountains, sodden with the autumn and winter rains, barred the way. The situation of the Irish chief appeared desperate, but at this moment the hand of Providence, as it seemed, intervened to help him. There came a frost "the like whereof hath been seldom seen in Ireland." Hugh Ruadh broke up his camp, and pushed across the frozen swamps and mountain bog land, travelling in one day thirty-two Irish miles without rest (November 23rd), and reaching Croom in Co. Limerick that night. "It was the greatest march with baggage that hath been heard of," says Carew. Carew, baffled in his purpose, returned to Kinsale, and O'Donnell went westward, and then south to the territory of Muskerry, Co. Cork, picking up some allies on the way.

Of O'Neill's march from the north we have little exact information. On the Bandon he joined O'Donnell. His forces were probably rather more numerous than those of Hugh Ruadh.

Early in December, a small additional force of Spaniards, about 200 strong, landed at Castlehaven. The neighbouring chiefs, O'Sullivan Beare, O'Connor Kerry, O'Driscoll, and others, joined the new comers, and admitted Spanish garrisons into their castles.

Levison, the English Admiral, attacked the Spanish ships, and did some damage to them, but receiving a warm reception from the Spaniards and their Irish allies, he returned to Kinsale, having lost 500 men.

The Battle of Kinsale.—On December 21st the entire Irish army marched up and settled themselves to blockade the English. The besiegers were now in their turn besieged, and were cut off from the interior of the country, whence their supplies of fresh food had been drawn. Under these circumstances, it could not be long till men and horses began to suffer from starvation and disease. The Irish had, therefore, only to remain quiet and allow the army of their enemies to melt away of its own accord. This was the course which O'Neill advised, but, unfortunately, some of the younger and more impetuous spirits allowed themselves to be moved by the urgent message which D'Aquila had sent, begging for a speedy attack, which he promised to support by a sally from the town. When a Council of War was held, the majority of the chiefs, including O'Donnell, voted for immediate action. It was decided to attempt a surprise attack on the English during the night of December 23rd.

In some way or other, the English became acquainted with the design, and when the Irish vanguard, which had been delayed on its march by the ignorance or treachery of the guides, came in

sight of Mountjoy's camp, they found the soldiers under arms and ready to receive them.

It was now broad daylight and O'Neill, seeing that the enterprise had miscarried, tried to retreat. In executing this manœuvre, his troops fell into some confusion, and Mountjoy's infantry profited by the opportunity to attack them. The Irish were forced back on their own rearguard, which was under the command of O'Donnell. A general panic ensued. The Irish, scarcely making an attempt at resistance, turned and fled. How many fell is uncertain; the English loss was certainly very small. D'Aquila attempted a sally, but his men were easily beaten back into the town. The Battle of Kinsale was hopelessly lost.

After retreating a few miles only, the Irish halted and their leaders held a Council. Those who wished to return and renew the fight were overruled, and O'Donnell decided to go to Spain to ask for further aid. It was hoped that Don Juan D'Aquila would hold out till this arrived.

A few days after the defeat of Kinsale, therefore, Hugh Ruadh, with a little band of followers, embarked at Castlehaven and saw the shores of his native land for the last time. After his departure, Rory his brother, and Hugh O'Neill led the Irish troops back to the north.

Philip III received the noble fugitive with the honours due to a prince, and promised to send a new and more powerful expedition to Ireland. Months, however, passed, and nothing was done. Hugh wore his heart out in the land of exile. In September (1602) he died, almost certainly from poison, administered by an English agent named Blake. His romantic career; his high and chivalrous character, and his early death—he was scarcely twenty-nine—have endeared the memory of Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell to generations of young Irishmen, but, as compared with Hugh O'Neill, he appears to have lacked both statesmanlike qualities and breadth of National outlook.

The Spaniards leave Ireland.—D'Aquila did not justify the hopes which the Irish had entertained of his protracted resistance. He was sick of the country and the people, and desired nothing but to see the last of both. The disasters of the campaign he attributed to the treachery and cowardice of the Irish. Almost immediately he began negotiations with Mountjoy, who, eager "to see his heels towards Ireland," treated him with the utmost consideration and politeness. The conditions were soon arranged. D'Aquila handed over to the Deputy not only the town of Kinsale, but also the various castles which had been entrusted to his care by the chiefs, their owners. In February he and his men set sail, taking with them their arms, supplies and money.

For more than a year the war dragged on, but, unless speedy succours came from abroad to the Irish, its end was a foregone conclusion.

Siege and Capture of Dunboy Castle : Retreat of O'Sullivan Beare.—O'Sullivan Beare, indignant at the treachery of D'Aquila in delivering over to the English his ancestral castle of Dunboy, succeeded in recovering it by a stratagem, and put into it a small garrison of Irish troops. In June, Carew, with a force of over 3,000, laid siege to Dunboy. The little garrison resisted bravely, but after ten days the castle, battered by red-hot shots from the English cannon, was crumbling to pieces around them. Still they fought on, retreating first to the great hall, which had remained intact, and, when driven from there, to the basement, where they made their last stand. When at last resistance was at an end, Mac Geoghegan, the Commander, mortally wounded, tried to crawl with a torch in his hand towards a barrel of powder, hoping to ignite it, so that the remains of the castle might be blown into the air, and victor and vanquished perish together. He was slain, however, before he could accomplish his purpose. The few Irish soldiers who had survived were executed ; of the garrison of 143 not one escaped death.

O'Sullivan had still some troops remaining, and they held out for a while, but when winter came on the condition of the homeless fugitives became desperate. The chief resolved to attempt to lead them out of Munster, to at least a temporary refuge in the still but partially conquered north. On the last day of December, 1602, they started from Glengarriff—a band of some thousand persons, of whom less than half were fighting men. For a fortnight they journeyed on, amidst the snow and rain, fighting almost daily battles against the English, the Anglo-Irish, and even their own countrymen, who, with surprising inhumanity, attacked them. Desperation gave the wretched fugitives courage, and always they broke through their opponents. The Shannon they crossed in canoes made of the skins of their slaughtered horses. Numbers perished from cold, fatigue and hunger. Numbers also, too exhausted to go further, dropped out and found hiding places where they could. On the fourteenth day, the few who had endured to the end, thirty-five in all, including the chief himself, reached O'Rorke's castle at Leitrim. O'Sullivan and his family afterwards escaped to Spain.

End of the War.—During the spring and summer of 1602, Mountjoy had pushed his campaign in the north, and one by one the Ulster chiefs, even Hugh Ruadh's two brothers, Rory and Caffir O'Donnell, submitted and sued for pardon. O'Neill, however, with a few hundred faithful followers, still stood out, away in the remote northern parts of Tír Owen. To end the war speedily was Mountjoy's great object. The Queen was evidently dying ; there would be all the uncertainty of a new reign

to face. Still, Elizabeth, even now, had not lost her old fire; to grant terms to "the Arch-traitor" she was most reluctant. Mountjoy, however, pointed out that no other course seemed possible. Without favourable terms, O'Neill would certainly not "come in," for he could hold out, "as a wood kern," almost indefinitely in the forests and mountains. The Queen, convinced by these reasons, at length authorised the Deputy to open negotiations.

A meeting was arranged at Mellifont (Co. Louth). Mountjoy arrived first, and, while he awaited O'Neill, there came to him, at midnight, a herald with news of great importance; Elizabeth lay dead in her palace at Richmond. He took care, when O'Neill appeared, to conceal this intelligence from him; feeling sure that he, entertaining hopes of obtaining better terms from the new Sovereign, would decline, for the present, to treat at all. It was, therefore, as Elizabeth's representative that Mountjoy received the Irish leader's submission, on the 29th March, 1603. Kneeling before the Deputy, O'Neill sued for pardon of his past offences, and promised to be loyal and to renounce all dependence on any foreign power. He would not exercise any authority outside his own lands, and would assist her Majesty's officials whenever required. Mountjoy, on his side, promised pardon in the Queen's name, and the restoration of Hugh's title of Earl of Tyrone and of almost all his lands.* Regarding religious toleration, nothing was said in the public articles of submission, but we have ample evidence that an undertaking was given that it should be accorded.

After a few days spent at Mellifont, O'Neill rode with Mountjoy to Dublin. Only when he arrived there did he learn that the Queen was dead. He is said to have shed tears of rage on discovering how he had been tricked.

In the following June, James, the new English sovereign, received Hugh O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell with much honour at his court. He confirmed O'Neill's title, and bestowed that of Earl of Tírconnell on O'Donnell. In August the two Earls returned to Ireland.

The great insurrection was over, and now, after nearly four and a half centuries, the English Conquest of Ireland was real and complete.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Battle of Kinsale	1601
Death of Hugh Ruadh O'Donnell	1602
Submission of O'Neill	1603
(*Death of Queen Elizabeth. James I succeeds her*) .	1603

* *All the clan lands of Tír Owen are here regarded as the property of the chief. The same had been done regarding the lands of Tírconnell, when Rory O'Donnell submitted.*

THE ARMY OF THE KINGE OF
Spayne Commanded by Don John de Aguila.
besieged in the towne of Kinsale by the forces of
her victorious and Sacred Matie, under the Conduct
of Charles Lord Mountioy, her Maties lieutenant
generall of her Kingdome of Ireland.
The Siedge began the 17th daye of October 1601 and
ended the 9th of Januarye following.
KINSALE
Camden Flu.

THE SIEGE OF KINSALE

From Pacata Hibernia

BOOK IV

FROM THE COMPLETION OF THE CONQUEST TO THE TREATY OF LIMERICK (A.D. 1603–1691)

CHAPTER I

THE FLIGHT OF THE EARLS

Policy of Mountjoy and of Chichester.—The nine years' war which he had waged against the power of England had won for Hugh O'Neill a great reputation, not only throughout the British Isles, but also on the Continent of Europe. Henry IV of France, no mean judge of military ability, counted him as ranking third amongst the famous soldiers of his age. Even in defeat, he was certainly the most important man in Ireland, and this Mountjoy realised. "On my Lord Tyrone all the tranquillity of this Kingdom doth depend," he declared.

O'Neill was now advanced in life, and was too sagacious and clear-sighted not to understand that, at least in his day, the chance of attaining Irish independence by another revolt would probably come no more, and that, for him, nothing remained but to settle down to the status of a nobleman under the English Crown.

As long as the Deputyship remained to Mountjoy, things went on smoothly enough; for that wise official adopted a conciliatory attitude. When Donal O'Cahain, who had passed over to the English side towards the close of the war, refused to pay to O'Neill, his over-chief, his accustomed dues, Mountjoy supported O'Neill, and silenced remonstrances by the stern ultimatum, "O'Cahain must and shall be under my Lord Tyrone." O'Neill, on his side, seemed perfectly willing to abide by the bargain made at Mellifont, and, when sheriffs were sent into Tír Owen, he received them with civility.

Unfortunately for the tranquillity of Ireland, Mountjoy was replaced in 1604 by Sir Arthur Chichester, an official of very different temper.

He started by a series of proclamations, forbidding, amongst other things, the carrying or use of arms by the native Irish. Worse still,

he began to put the religious laws in force in districts in Ulster where nothing of the kind had up to this been attempted. O'Neill and O'Donnell remonstrated in vain. In spite of the anger which he must certainly have felt, O'Neill refrained from giving expression to his feelings; but Rory O'Donnell and some of the other chiefs appear to have acted with less prudence. Some of their remarks were, of course, reported to Chichester by one or other of the army of Government spies who continually surrounded them.

In 1605 a conspiracy known as "the Gunpowder Plot" had been discovered in England. Those implicated were a number of Catholic gentlemen. Chichester was convinced that some of the Irish were participators in the plot, and when he failed to discover any evidence of this, he still believed that a conspiracy of some kind was being hatched in Ireland. Niall Garff came forward with a story, which he had heard, he said, from a certain Mary Maguire, but even Chichester realised that it was not possible to found a charge of conspiracy upon it.

Donal O'Cahain thought this a favourable opportunity to bring his wrongs forward again, and he laid the matter before the Irish Council (April 1607). O'Neill came to Dublin to defend his claim to dues from O'Cahain's territory. A special Commission was appointed to investigate the question, but they could arrive at no final decision, and Sir John Davies, the Attorney-General, suggested that, in the following autumn, the two litigants should go to London and lay the case before the King.

The Flight of the Earls.—Only a few weeks after this (May 1607), an anonymous letter, purporting to give an account of a plot, which was being hatched to seize Dublin Castle and murder the Lord Deputy, was dropped outside the Council Chamber. The writer proved to be Christopher St. Lawrence, Baron Howth, who, on being interrogated by the Deputy, named Rory O'Donnell, Cuconnacht Maguire and several others as amongst the conspirators, but confessed that he had no evidence against Tyrone. Howth's story entirely lacked corroboration, so that neither Chichester nor the English Privy Council, when it was placed before them, appear to have had much belief in it.

The affair of the anonymous letter was not long in coming to the ears of those whom Howth sought to incriminate, and they became very much concerned for their own safety. That any of them were guilty of a conspiracy to renew the rebellion has never been proved, and is in itself unlikely; but they were too well aware of the history of the dealings of English officials with Irish chiefs to assume that innocence alone would of necessity protect them. Cuconnacht Maguire at once fled to Belgium, and thence wrote urgent letters, begging O'Neill and O'Donnell to follow his example. O'Neill long hesitated; he loved his country well, and had

no mind to eat in his old age the bitter bread of exile. Still, to end his life on the scaffold or in the Tower would be an even more miserable fate. A number of slights, to which the aged chief had lately been subjected, increased his distrust of the Government, and, when he heard that a ship sent by Maguire awaited him in Lough Swilly, he resolved to avail himself of the offered opportunity of flight. Rory O'Donnell, and many other friends and kinsmen, agreed to share his fortunes. Early in September, O'Neill betook himself to Mellifont, the scene of his submission to Mountjoy more than four years before. There he stayed a while with his friend, Sir Garrett Moore, and, when leaving, "with abundant grief, said farewell to every child and servant in the house." Then he turned northward, and on September 14th, 1607, the fugitives, about a hundred persons in all, set sail from Lough Swilly. With O'Neill went his wife (Catherine Magennis), his three sons and three nephews; while Rory O'Donnell was accompanied by his infant son (his wife remained behind), Caffir his brother, and the latter's wife and children, and Nuala, their sister, who had been married to Niall Garff, but had left him when he deserted the National cause. As far as we know, not one of those exiles ever saw again the Green Isle, for whose cause many of them had suffered so much.

Fate of the Irish Exiles.—After a voyage of twenty-one days, they landed in France, but did not make a long stay. They journeyed on to Belgium, and at last to Rome. The Pope (Paul V) received them with the utmost state and ceremony, and they entered the city in fifteen carriages, most of which were drawn by six horses. Pensions were assigned them, and at religious ceremonies they took a prominent place. Everything which the Pontiff could do was done to honour those whom he regarded as champions of the Catholic faith.

A couple of months after the departure of the Earls and their companions from Ireland (November 1607), a proclamation was issued by King James, and widely distributed by his authority. In it the fugitives were described as "contemptible creatures," and monsters of ingratitude, who had no hereditary right to the lands which they claimed, and merely desired to resist lawful authority. "Let not foreign princes be deceived," it went on, "into believing their statements that they were driven from their country by religious persecution; they never suffered any shadow of molestation for matters concerning religion." To this document O'Neill and O'Donnell replied by two Declarations, setting forth their grievances against the English Government. They stated that, within their own estates even, the celebration of Mass had been forbidden, and an order made to banish all clergymen who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy. Further, they had been deprived of

portions of their lands, their tenants had been maintained against them, and the soldiers of the garrisons permitted to plunder their people. James, whether he disdained to take any further notice of his fugitive subjects, or whether he found it impossible to refute their statements, made no answer to the Declarations.

In Rome death was soon busy amongst the little band of Irish exiles. In 1608, Rory and Caffir O'Donnell died within three months of each other, and in 1609 Hugh O'Neill's eldest son followed them. The old chief himself lingered on till 1616, buoyed up almost to the last with the hope that mercifully seems to accompany an exile such as his, that some favourable combination of events might enable him to return to his native land and lay his bones amongst those of his ancestors. For some time previous to his death he was blind. On July 20th, 1616, he died, and with pomp and ceremony his body was laid to rest, beside those of Hugh his son, and of the two O'Donnells, in the Church of St. Peter in Montorio, on the Janiculum Hill outside Rome.

Hugh O'Neill was, whether we consider him as a soldier, a statesman or a patriot, undoubtedly a great man, and of Irishmen one of the greatest. Cautious and reserved, he seems to have taken few even partially, and perhaps no one completely into his confidence, but to have calculated and planned alone. Self-controlled and far-seeing, he appears to have weighed the probable consequences of his every action beforehand, and scarcely ever to have been swayed, even in the slightest degree, by anger or envy, personal vanity or private hate. Though, when he deemed it advantageous for the furthering of his cause, he never hesitated to resort to double-dealing and deceit, yet no darker stain, as of cruelty to the weak and helpless in war time, of assassination or of violation of a word pledged to friend or foe, tarnishes his memory.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Hugh O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell leave Ireland	1607
Death of Rory and of Caffir O'Donnell	1608
Death of Hugh O'Neill	1616

CHAPTER II

THE PLANTATION OF ULSTER

THE news of the flight of O'Neill and O'Donnell caused, throughout the greater part of Ulster, the utmost consternation. Abandoned like sheep without their shepherds, the clansmen of Tír Owen and Tírconnell knew not what fate might befall them. The English Government, fearing lest, in their despair, they might resort to desperate courses, endeavoured to allay their anxiety. A Proclamation was issued by the King, in which he declared that he would take into his own hands the possessions of the fugitive earls, and would protect the rights of all those who had held estates under them. At this very time a scheme for an extensive Plantation had been laid before James by Chichester.

Insurrection of Sir Cahir O'Doherty.—In 1608, a singularly rash and ill-advised insurrection gave an excuse for extending still further the projected confiscations. Its leader was the young Sir Cahir O'Doherty, chief of Inishowen. He quarrelled on some private matter with Sir George Paulet, Governor of Derry, and, in the course of the dispute, Paulet struck him in the face. Vowing vengeance, Sir Cahir withdrew. Niall Garff was afterwards said to have encouraged the misguided youth to his ruin, and young O'Hanlon and some others certainly promised assistance. By a dishonourable stratagem, he obtained possession of the fort of Culmore on the Bann, and marching thence, surprised Derry, where Paulet was slain. These successes were due, however, merely to the unprepared state of the garrisons, and when the Lord Deputy, apprised of what had occurred, sent to the north a force of three thousand men, O'Doherty was unable to make any stand against them. He himself was slain in a skirmish, and his head was set on a pole over one of the gates of Dublin. Niall Garff and Donall O'Cahain were arrested for their alleged share in the insurrection, and both ended their days as prisoners in the Tower.

Scheme for the Plantation of Ulster.—Meanwhile, a Commission had been appointed to consider the question of the proposed Ulster Plantation. As was to be expected, they found that the lands of six counties—Tyrone, Armagh, Coleraine (Derry), Donegal, Fermanagh

and Cavan—were justly forfeit to the Crown. This great area was not, however, to be entirely cleared of its Irish inhabitants. According to a report made in 1611, the amount of land confiscated was 503,458 acres But, as only land considered arable was reckoned, and as frauds and false descriptions were frequent, it is quite impossible to say what acreage this really represented.

The error which had been made in the Munster Plantation, of giving to individuals huge estates, which they could neither cultivate themselves nor find a sufficiency of suitable tenants to occupy, was here to be avoided. The land was divided into lots of 2,000, 1,500 and 1,000 acres, and these lots were to be assigned to be occupied to persons of three classes. The Undertakers, on whom most of the largest lots were bestowed, were ordinary colonists, either English or Scotch. They were not permitted to take Irish tenants. The Servitors were those who had held office in Ireland under the Government, and they might, if they choose, let portion of their lands to the Irish, but if they did so, the rent which they themselves were to pay to the Crown would be increased from £5 6*s*. 8*d*. per 1,000 acres to £8. On the other hand, persons of the third class, the Natives, must not receive as tenants anyone but their own countrymen. Estates were also made over to the University of Dublin, founded by Queen Elizabeth in 1593. As a rule only small estates were given to the Irish, and the total that they received was scarcely one-tenth of the whole. They were required to pay a much larger rent than either the Undertakers or the Servitors, £10 13*s*. per 1,000 acres.

A special offer of the land to be confiscated in the Co. of Coleraine (Derry) was made by Chichester to the London City Guilds, and was accepted by them. They formed themselves, for the purposes of the Plantation, into an association, which was to be called "the Irish Company," and to which, in its corporate capacity, the towns of Derry and Coleraine were assigned. The rest of the land was divided into twelve parts, each of which was to be "planted" by a special Guild. No tenants, save English or Scotch, were to be admitted on any of the "Company's" lands.

The Plantation Carried Out: Its Results.—When the news of the intended confiscations came to the ears of the Irish whose lands lay within the counties to be planted, it was to them "as a sentence of death." The fiat, however, had gone forth against them; no justice, much less mercy, was accorded them. In vain they employed lawyers to plead their cause before the Royal Commission; the decisions were almost always against them. It mattered little that, in order to justify many of the confiscations, the most absurd pleas had to be resorted to. The claim of the Crown to the lands, based on the rebellion of Shane and

later of Hugh O'Neill and of Rory O'Donnell, could not extend to the possessions of the sub-chiefs, nor to those of freeholders who had not joined in the insurrections. All these pleas were, however, brushed aside by Davys, the Attorney-General. By the March of 1609 the scheme was ready. Soon the settlers came to take possession of their new estates. Some of them were, as subsequently appeared, very undesirable persons; insolvent debtors, defaulters or ex-convicts. The Rev. Ambrose Stewart, a contemporary, gives a most unflattering account of them; saying that those who came from England and Scotland were "generally the scum of both countries," whose "carriage made them to be abhorred at home." Not all the colonists, fortunately, were of this kind. Many, of the Scotch especially, were sober and industrious farmers, who, finding themselves amongst a people of kindred race, customs and tongue—for a large number were Gaelic speakers—speedily settled down, and introduced a valuable element into the life of the northern Province.

Of the expelled Irish, many left the country and took military service on the Continent. Others fled to the woods and became rapparees and outlaws, "tories," as the English authorities called them. These, when opportunity offered, raided the possessions of the English and Scotch planters, whom they saw established on the lands which had once been their own or their kinsmen's heritage.

From this and other causes, many of the colonists found the new land, from which they had hoped so much, no very desirable place of residence. Within a short time, large numbers returned to their native country. In 1619, it was found that, within seven years, some estates had changed hands three or four times. As had happened in Munster, the Irish found their way back as tenants, offering high rents and accepting hard conditions. In 1624, the London Companies had 4,000 Irish tenants on their estates; according to the terms of their charter, they should not have had a single one.

Of a lower class than the tenant farmers were the Irish labourers, and it was evident from the first that all of these could not be expelled. It was arranged that a quarter of the labourers on each estate should be allowed to remain, on condition that they taught their children English and brought them up as Protestants. This regulation was, however, not enforced. The planters showed themselves quite indifferent as to the creed professed or the language spoken by those who ploughed their fields and reaped their corn. Instead of the children of the labourers learning English, the children of the newcomers learned Irish, and what changes of religion took place were generally in the same direction.

The colony, far from increasing, rather dwindled. In 1622, there

were estimated to be but 8,000 colonist families in all Ulster. Under these circumstances, the number of soldiers which it was expected that the colonists would furnish for the service of the Irish Government was naturally not forthcoming.

The Ulster Plantation produced amongst the native Irish a burning sense of injustice, and a desire for revenge. It was probably one of the chief causes of the great Insurrection of 1641.

During the reign of James I, and in the early years of that of his successor, Charles I, many minor Plantations were made in Ireland. About 300 or 400 old proprietors were deprived of their lands in Co. Wexford, and a good many in Longford. Small portions of Leitrim, King's Co., Queen's Co., Cork and Wicklow were also planted. These Plantations followed the same course as the Ulster one. In regard to the substitution of English for Irish land tenure, and to the introduction of improved methods of agriculture, they were not without effect.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Doherty	1608
Scheme for an Ulster Plantation drawn up	1608

CHAPTER III

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1613

Constitution of the Parliament.—Since 1585 no Parliament had sat in Ireland: now it appeared expedient that one should be summoned; not only because the King was in urgent need of money, but also in order to legalise the confiscation of the Ulster lands by the attainder of their former possessors. So far, Irish Parliaments had been representative only of a part, and that by no means a large part, of the country; the districts namely which were really under the authority of the English Crown, and sometimes of some of the southern towns. Now members would be returned from each of the counties and boroughs in the four provinces. The Catholics were almost everywhere in a great majority. To counteract their influence, forty new boroughs were created, of which nineteen were in the newly-planted lands of Ulster, while all were carefully selected as likely to return Protestant representatives. It was hoped that, by this means, a majority would always be secured for the Reformers, who were deemed to be the Government party.

Concerning the manner in which the elections were conducted, we have little positive information. The final result was that 99 Catholics and 126 Protestants were returned as Members of the Commons. In the House of Lords there were 20 Spiritual Peers (all, of course, bishops of the Reformed Church), and 30 temporal lords, of whom 14 were new creations.

In spite of all its imperfections, this was probably the most representative Parliament that has ever sat in Ireland.

Dispute Regarding the Speakership.—On the 18th of May, 1613, the Session was opened by a solemn religious function. Chichester headed the procession, which passed in state from the Castle to St. Patrick's Cathedral. At the door of the Church, the Catholic members stopped, and waited outside, while the rest entered and attended the service.

Thus, from the first, a note of discord was struck. But when the Houses assembled in their respective Chambers at the Castle, it became still more marked. To both sides it was of the utmost importance that a Speaker favourable to them should be appointed, but, considering the constitution of the House, it could scarcely be doubted that the Catholic

candidate, Sir John Everard, would be defeated. In order to decrease the anticipated majority of their opponents, the Catholic members began to protest against certain irregularities, which would, as they asserted, invalidate the elections in several of the new boroughs, and so deprive those returned of the right of voting. The House, however, refused to consider this question, and proceeded with the choice of the Speaker. The Catholics, taking advantage of the temporary withdrawal of their opponents from the Chamber, proceeded to elect Sir John Everard, and to place him in the Speaker's chair. The Protestants, on their return, elected their candidate, Sir John Davys, and, as Everard refused to leave the chair, he was forcibly removed, and Davys installed in his place. The supporters of Everard withdrew from the assembly as a protest. In the Lords' House the Catholic peers did likewise, and it became necessary to prorogue the Parliament.

Both sides now sent petitions and subsequently deputations to the King, to give him each its own version of what had happened, and to state its grievances. From James, the Catholics received little satisfaction. He was extremely indignant that they should appear to criticise his action, in regard to the creation of the forty new boroughs. He furthermore rebuked them for their acknowledgment of foreign jurisdiction in religious matters. A Royal Commission was, however, appointed to inquire into the matter of the disputed election returns, and, as a result of its decision, thirteen seats were declared vacant.

Legislation of the Parliament.—In October, 1614, the Parliament reassembled, and the Members now seemed disposed to work together amicably. The Catholic party was even anxious to gain the favour of the Government by adopting a deferential and submissive attitude. When a Bill for the attainder of Tyrone, Tírconnell and the rest of the fugitive chiefs was introduced, no voice was raised in their defence, although, in point of fact, nothing save that they had quitted the country without obtaining permission to do so from the King or the Lord Deputy, had been proved against them. The passage of this Bill without protest through the Irish Houses gave great satisfaction to the Government. It was expected that foreign princes, who might think of taking up the cause of the exiles, would be discouraged by what appeared a proof that they would be likely to meet, in their native country, with little or no support. As almost a necessary corollary to the Bill of Attainder, an Act was passed confirming the title of the King to the confiscated Ulster lands. The pecuniary distress of the Government, or it might be more correct to say of James himself, was relieved by a subsidy of £20,000; the first regular Parliamentary subsidy that had ever been obtained from Ireland.

The King condescended to thank the Irish Parliament for its liberality, and declared that he would henceforth safeguard the interests of his Irish subjects with especial care. Notwithstanding this profession of good will, when the Catholics asked for some concessions—the remittance of the Sunday fines, and the restoration to their professional status of some lawyers who had been forbidden to practise in the courts because they refused to take the Oath of Supremacy—their requests were not granted.

In November, 1614, the Parliament ended its second Session, but in the following April it met again and sat till October.

At the end of October (1615), James dissolved it. Like all the Stuarts, he had no love for parliaments and, having obtained from this one all the money and legislation that he desired, he was anxious to get rid of it as soon as possible. No fresh Parliament met in Ireland till the reign of his successor was well advanced.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOVERNMENT AND THE CHURCHES

The Catholics Hope Much from King James.—The news of the death of Elizabeth was welcomed with satisfaction by the Catholics of the Irish towns, and by those of the rural districts in and round the Pale. The clansmen elsewhere had not yet come to consider themselves as subjects of the Crown. Although, during the O'Neill wars, the exercise of the Catholic religion had, from motives of policy, been little interfered with, yet none of the persecuting laws had been repealed, and they might at any time be brought again into force, at the mere caprice of an official; so that there was a general feeling of insecurity as long as the old Queen lived. From James much was hoped. Though he had himself been educated in the Reformed Doctrines, his mother, Mary Stuart, had been all her life the great champion of the Catholic cause. He had for some years been intriguing with Hugh O'Neill, and promising him assistance, the nature and extent of which were not known. He had on various occasions alluded with considerable pride to his own supposed descent from the ancient Kings of Ireland. These things being so, he would not, it was argued, refuse, at least, the free and public exercise of the religion which had been his mother's to the people from whose royal race his ancestors had sprung.

Acting on this assumption, the priests and people of Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Kilkenny and several other towns and cities proceeded to take possession of, throw open and reconsecrate, the churches which had once been theirs. Masses were celebrated with all the pomp of pre-Reformation times; bells were rung, sermons preached, and there were processions through the streets. In the midst of all this, there came, like a thunderbolt, the stern order of Mountjoy to stop these proceedings at once, and following closely, the Lord Deputy himself at the head of an army marched into Munster to see that his commands were obeyed. Remonstrances were brushed aside, and the town authorities were informed that stern punishment would follow the least attempt at resistance. There was no course open but to submit.

Though Mountjoy's actions so far were in general, if not in detail, dictated by the King, and though James was fully determined to uphold the ascendancy of the Reformed Religion, which, as the State Church,

he regarded as an essential part of the Government itself, he was still by no means inclined to persecute the Catholics, or to interfere with the private and unobtrusive exercise of their religion. To the representations of the Irish officials who, headed by Sir John Davys the Attorney-General and Loftus the Archbishop of Dublin, kept urging him to severity, he turned for some time a deaf ear.

The Hopes of the Catholics are not Realised : Laws against them are Made, but are not Strictly Enforced.—Various causes, however, notably the Catholic reaction of the Continent of Europe, conspired to alter James' views. In July, 1605, he issued a Proclamation directing the strict enforcement of the Sunday fines (see *Chapter IX*, *Book IV*), and the banishment of all Catholic clergy, both secular and regular.

From the very first, although there were isolated instances of extreme severity exercised towards priests, and some were even, we hear, put to death, it seems to have been recognised that to carry out this general decree of banishment would be impossible ; nay, that even to attempt it would be most imprudent, and might result in a serious revolt. Of this the English Privy Council was so convinced, that we find them intimating to the authorities in Ireland that, although priests, if discovered, should certainly be shipped out of the country, it would be as well not to take much trouble to look for them. Brouncker, President of Connacht, appears to have feared that his exertions against the " Jesuits, seminaries and massing priests " would not be regarded with favour, nor indeed were they ; the King himself expressed the opinion that his zeal was " excessive."

The number of priests in Ireland at the time of the Royal Proclamation was large, and it does not appear to have greatly diminished afterwards. We hear that Mass was said, the sacraments administered as before. The towns were full of priests, and " a man may as familiarly salute a Popish priest in even the streets of Dublin as a preacher." Some convents of regulars continued to exist. Lyons, the Protestant Bishop of Cork, speaks of two in his diocese, one of which Lord Barry protects.

In November, 1610, James ordered the Deputy to republish the decree of banishment against the priests, but very soon after this comes an exhortation that the law is to be executed with moderation, and that priests are not to be proceeded against merely for saying Mass. In 1612, there was an outburst of severity, and Cornelius O'Deveney, Bishop of Down and Connor, and a priest named Patrick O'Loughran, were executed ; while a reward of £500 was unsuccessfully offered for the apprehension of Eugene Matthews, the Archbishop of Dublin. Yet, at about the same time, there was, we are assured, in almost every parish throughout the country, a priest who was regularly maintained by the

people. To the enforcing of the part of the Royal Proclamation which concerned the laity, and required their attendance at the Reformed services on Sunday, much more attention was devoted by the authorities. By the statute of 1560, the only penalty that could be inflicted on those who failed to attend church was a fine of a shilling for every absence without valid excuse. This, even when swelled by costs to ten shillings, as it sometimes was, could not force compliance from people in fairly good circumstances, and it was such persons precisely whose obedience the Government specially desired to obtain, in the belief that their example would be followed by those of inferior social station. In November, 1606, Chichester issued an individual summons to certain prominent Dublin citizens, ordering them to attend the Reformed Church on the following Sunday. As they did not comply, they were summoned before the arbitrary tribunal, known as "the Court of Castle Chamber," and heavily fined.

Similar courses were adopted on many other occasions. Sir John Davys went on a regular progress round Munster to endeavour to enforce the Government decree, but he met with little success. Waterford signalised itself by stubborn resistance; of 162 persons to whom summons to betake themselves to their parish churches "the next and all succeeding Sundays" were issued, but one complied. In Cashel, it appeared that the children of the Protestant Archbishop, Meiler McGrath, were all "recusants," and went to Mass. Though, at first, as we have seen, the measures taken met with little success, some result was finally achieved. In Wexford, we hear, many have conformed; 500 citizens have gone to Church in Cork (1607) and 200 in Drogheda, including 10 aldermen. In Youghal, 600 attended the Reformed Services. There is, however, a good deal of difficulty in inducing magistrates to carry out the law, or juries to find verdicts against recusants. For refusing to do this, juries were sometimes punished by fines or imprisonment. The Oath of Supremacy was supposed to be required from all who held public office or sought a University degree, as well as from wards, who, on attaining their majority, desired their property to be delivered up to them by their guardians ("suing out their livery" the process was called), but it was not consistently enforced. Some mayors were deprived of their position, and some would-be graduates denied their degrees, for a refusal of the Oath; but, on the other hand, to many well known to be Catholics it was never tendered.

On the whole, we may conclude from the extant evidence that, though against individual clerics the persecuting laws were sometimes brought into play with savage cruelty, and though individual members of the laity were interfered with in various ways, and subjected to fines,

and even imprisonment, at no period during this reign was the persecution general over the whole country, nor was any attempt made to enforce steadily and consistently the terms of the 1605 Proclamation. In the period from 1614 to 1622 the laxity increased. James had conceived the idea of bringing about the marriage of his only surviving son Charles with a Spanish princess, and this made it imperative to give as little cause for complaint as possible to her co-religionists in Ireland. An absolute repeal of the anti-Catholic laws would not have been tolerated by English public opinion, nor probably desired by the English King, but they could be quietly allowed to drop into abeyance, and this was what was generally done. The Sunday fines continued indeed to be fitfully exacted here and there; they had come to be regarded as merely a sort of tax; but this was all. A report made to the Government declares that there are 1,150 (? secular) priests in Ireland, and seven "Mass-houses" in Dublin, but we may be sure that this list is far from complete. There were Catholic barristers practising in the Courts, and there were Catholic Justices of the Peace.

State of the Reformed Church.—At the time of James I's accession, the state of the Irish Reformed Church, never since Henry VIII's day satisfactory, was, owing to the wars and unrest of the last years of Elizabeth's reign, more unsatisfactory than ever. The King was most anxious to establish order and uniformity, and to correct abuses. Several times he appointed Royal Commissions, to investigate and suggest remedies for the neglect and corruption which nearly everywhere prevailed, but the Commissions could do little beyond making known the extent of the evil. The alienation of the Church lands by the bishops, which had been complained of in the previous reign, continued, and often a prelate, on taking possession of a See, discovered that so much of the land had been disposed of by his predecessors, that little or nothing remained for him to live on. The inferior clergy were in still worse case. The incomes of many of the so-called "livings" were so minute that not even the most frugal housekeeping could make them suffice for the furnishing of the barest necessities; thus it became necessary for the clergyman to hold several of these offices, and to officiate, or undertake to officiate, in several parishes, in order to be able at all to support himself. The best paid livings, as also the best of the episcopal and archiepiscopal Sees, very frequently went to Englishmen or Scotchmen. In the bestowal of ecclesiastical patronage there was much nepotism. The Commission of 1607 reports that the family of Meiler McGrath, the Archbishop of Cashel, hold amongst them over 70 livings. The Bishop of Down and Connor has made his brother, who was a tailor, an archdeacon. Protestant livings were, it would seem, sometimes held by Catholic

priests, or at least by those who still clung to the old forms and celebrated Mass; sometimes too by Catholic laymen.

In most, at least of the country parishes, the number of persons willing to avail themselves of the services of the Protestant incumbent was small. This was the case even in Ulster, where the Scotch planters had usually brought with them their own Ministers, and, being inclined to the Presbyterian discipline, looked with little favour on the Established Episcopalian Church. It could scarcely be expected that any great number of learned or zealous men would be found willing to accept positions of which the conditions were so unpleasant, the stipends so miserable and the opportunities for useful work so few. Accordingly, it is not surprising to find, in the reports of the Commissions, frequent complaints of the negligence and ignorance of the clergy; some, it is stated, were actually unable to read. The condition of the churches was no more satisfactory than was the status and the character of those who were expected to minister in them. According to the report made by Archbishop Ussher in 1622, there were, in the diocese of Meath alone, 90 churches absolutely ruined; 60 ruinous, and 50 in indifferent repair, out of a total of 243.

Up to the reign of James, there had been, in spite of the efforts of many of Elizabeth's Deputies, very little uniformity in the liturgy of the Irish Reformed Church, and its doctrines had never been regularly and officially defined. In 1613, the King established a regular Convocation, to deal with matters regarding ecclesiastical discipline and in general all matters connected with the Church. After discussion, 104 articles of faith, according generally with the English Articles of Lambeth (passed in 1598), were agreed on.

Catholic Education.—Of the grievances from which the Irish Catholic laity suffered, they appear to have felt none more acutely than the difficulty, under the existing laws, of obtaining a liberal education for their sons. During the reign of Elizabeth, this had also been complained of, but now that the English authority had extended itself over the whole island, the state of the case had become worse. Investigations were made, and schoolmasters who had not conformed to the State religion were ordered to close their schools, however efficient these might be. It is certain that, in this as in other matters, evasions were often practised with success. The great schools which had long existed in many of the principal towns, as Waterford, Limerick, Galway and Kilkenny, continued to flourish. To what extent they were "reformed" it is often difficult to say; certainly, amongst the men trained in them during the later sixteenth and the earlier seventeenth centuries, were found many steadfast champions of Catholicity. In these schools the classical

languages, and especially Latin, were the chief subjects of instruction, but, in several, Irish, the native tongue, was also cultivated.

The custom of sending Irish youths to the Continent for education had already begun in the reign of Elizabeth. It was partially with a view of checking this practice that Dublin University (consisting of one college only, "Trinity College") was founded by Elizabeth in 1593. It was, at first, liberally subscribed to by Catholics, but, as it soon appeared that the Reformed doctrines were to be taught, and attendance at the Reformed services was made compulsory on the students, it did not achieve its object.

The Irish gentry represented to the Pope the difficulties of their case. They must either send their sons to the heretic university, or leave them without higher education altogether. In consequence of this, the Sovereign Pontiffs encouraged, and sometimes themselves assisted in, the foundation of colleges for the education of Irish youths in the different countries of Europe. The first, and one of the most important, was the Royal College of Salamanca, founded by Philip II. Others followed in rapid succession, at Lisbon, Louvain, Antwerp, Rome and elsewhere. They were all of a university type, and the students were rarely admitted before the age of fifteen or sixteen. Regarding the education of Catholic girls during this period, we have little information.

Already, in the reign of Henry VIII (1537), an Act had been passed for the establishment of Primary Schools in every parish in Ireland, and another Act, thirty-three years later, ordered that a free Grammar School be opened in the chief town of each diocese. The object in both cases was, of course, the spreading of the Reformation and of the English language amongst the children. Of the new Grammar Schools, however, we hear little, and of the Primary Schools scarcely anything, till a period much later than that with which we are now dealing. In 1612, King James, by a special decree, assigned certain portions of the confiscated lands of Ulster for the foundation and endowment of Royal Free Schools in various parts of the province.

The students of Trinity College, Dublin, were almost exclusively the sons of those who had adopted the Reformed faith, except in the case of Government wards, who were placed there by the guardians assigned them, to be "maintained and educated in the English religion and habits."

In the more remote districts, some of the old Celtic schools, where poetry and history were taught, and where the Irish manuscripts, which the English authorities sought to destroy, were diligently copied, still struggled on. In them were trained poets and seanachies, and men versed in all the old native learning for which Ireland had once been so famous, but which her new rulers, and many of her own unworthy sons, now despised.

CHAPTER V

THE VICEROYALTY OF FALKLAND. THE EARLY YEARS OF CHARLES I's REIGN (A.D. 1622–1633)

THE closing years of the reign of James were marked by some advance in prosperity and in population throughout Ireland as a whole. Irish trade and commerce increased, and tracts long desolate began again to be populated. "The country," it was said, "was full of youth."

In March, 1625, James died, and was succeeded by Charles, his son.

Negotiations for "the Graces."—The change of rulers was not followed by any alteration in the Irish administration; Lord Falkland, Deputy since 1622, was continued in office. Almost from the first, Charles found himself involved in disputes with his English Parliament, which refused to grant him adequate supplies. He was, in consequence, in sore straits for money. It was thought that, in return for such relaxations in the recusancy laws as would secure them in the continuance, as of right, of the toleration which they now enjoyed merely as a favour, some pecuniary assistance might be obtained from the Irish Catholics. Negotiations with certain of the Catholic nobility for obtaining money by the sale of "Graces" to their co-religionists, were begun. Dropped for a time, they were renewed in 1628.

In November (1628), the Catholics despatched agents to London, who were admitted to Charles' presence, and conducted their negotiations with him personally. The remission of the Sunday fines was refused, probably because they were a source of revenue, but two other important "Graces," as well as several minor ones, were promised. The first substituted for the Supremacy Oaths a simple Oath of Allegiance to the Sovereign. This oath and no other was to be tendered to the holders of offices; to members of corporations; to wards desirous of suing out their livery; to barristers; to those seeking university degrees, etc., etc. The second conceded that a continuous undisturbed occupation of any land for sixty years might be pleaded as a bar to any Crown claim to such land. This latter "Grace" was desired, because the attempted revival by the Crown of certain claims, some of which were based on grants centuries old, and which in many cases had never attained to any

reality by actual possession, had created a general feeling of insecurity amongst the Irish land-owners. In return for these concessions, the Irish agents undertook to raise amongst their co-religionists the sum of £120,000 for the King. Charles promised that an Irish Parliament should at once be summoned to confirm what had been agreed on.

The writs for this Parliament were in fact issued, but, owing to a technical error, they were cancelled, and no fresh ones were sent out. Notwithstanding this, the Catholics paid over the sum of £5,000, and were rewarded by the further relaxation of the recusancy laws. The indulgence was, however, unofficial, and that its continuance could not be counted on soon appeared.

In England the people viewed the open toleration of Popery in Ireland with alarm. The question was raised in the House of Commons, and, in April 1629, the Lord Deputy was directed to issue a Proclamation, directing that all Catholic convents, monasteries and schools should be closed, and no priests should be permitted to officiate in public. A good deal of spasmodic persecution followed, several religious houses were confiscated, and several priests imprisoned. But still the orders contained in the Proclamation were not generally obeyed.

Recall of Falkland: Administration of Loftus and Boyle.—In the August of this year (1629), Falkland finally left Ireland. He had asserted, and endeavoured by fabricated evidence to prove, the existence of a plot against the Government, whose leaders were, as he declared, Sir Phelim Mac Hugh O'Byrne a large Wicklow landowner and his six sons. Falkland had already attempted to overreach the O'Byrnes in a certain transaction concerning land, but had not succeeded, and this accusation was his revenge, as well as a method, should it prove successful, of reaping profit for himself. The O'Byrnes, brought before a jury consisting largely of men who coveted their estates, were of course convicted, their lands were confiscated, and they themselves imprisoned. Certain members of the Irish Privy Council, actuated, not by love of justice or by pity for the Deputy's victims, but rather by dislike of the Deputy himself, brought the transaction under the notice of the King, and induced him, in spite of Falkland's remonstrances, to institute a Commission of inquiry. The revelations which followed so completely shattered Falkland's reputation that it became necessary to recall him. The O'Byrnes had gained little, except their liberty. No compensation was given them, and their lands were not restored. Later, they were permitted to buy back a part of their estates for the sum of £15,000.

After the departure of Falkland, the Government was administered by Lord Loftus and Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, as Lord Justices.

The two Lord Justices, who agreed in nothing else, agreed cordially

in the zeal with which they endeavoured to execute the decrees against the Catholics. They dispersed several religious communities, and suppressed many institutions. A notable act perpetrated by them was the destruction of the cave on an island in Lough Derg, known as "St. Patrick's Purgatory." This, as a place of pilgrimage, had been famous for centuries, not only throughout Ireland, but also in the countries of Continental Europe.

The Catholics, not unnaturally, considered this renewal of persecution as a direct violation of the engagements into which Charles had entered with their agents in London, and on the faith of which they had already contributed a portion of the promised £120,000. They now intimated that, until the "Graces" were confirmed by a Parliament, they would pay no more. To this the King replied in a very unconciliatory tone, and the general feeling of exasperation had reached a high pitch, when Sir Thomas Wentworth, who had been appointed Deputy in the previous year, landed in Ireland in the July of 1633.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*The Thirty Years' War begins in Germany*)	1618
(*Death of James I. Charles I succeeds him*)	1625
Negotiations for the "Graces" begin	1628
Wentworth comes to Ireland as Deputy	1633

CHAPTER VI

THE VICEROYALTY OF WENTWORTH (A.D. 1633–1640)

Policy of Wentworth.—Sir Thomas Wentworth, previous to his arrival in Ireland, had been a somewhat prominent figure in English politics. At his first entrance into public life he had sided with the Parliament in its disputes with Charles, but afterwards had suddenly changed, from motives very difficult to understand. Henceforth, for good or ill, in adversity as in prosperity, he was the King's man. It was for the King, and solely with an eye to what he conceived to be his interest, that he intended now to govern Ireland. That a struggle between the King and his English Parliament was inevitable he foresaw, and in this struggle Ireland, if so handled as to become at once prosperous and submissive, might become a powerful auxiliary on the Royalist side—a source from which recruits and revenue might be drawn.

The best and least invidious way by which a revenue could be raised was evidently by the grant of an Irish Parliament. Therefore, having with some difficulty obtained Charles' consent, Wentworth summoned a Parliament, to meet in Dublin, in July 1634. The balancing of the two parties, so that neither might obtain a great preponderance in the Commons, and so be able to override his own authority, was a task requiring very judicious management, and much of this management took the form of interference, open or concealed, with the elections. When Parliament assembled, the members of the Lower House were treated by Wentworth to a harangue, in which the most extreme principles regarding the absolute power of the Crown were laid down, not as things arguable, but as axiomatic truths. They were urged to vote a liberal supply to the King, who had been graciously pleased, out of respect for an old-established usage, to seek the money of which he had need by the way of Parliamentary grant, whereas he might, without any such form, have taken what he required.

The meekness with which this discourse was received was more remarkable than creditable. Scarcely a voice was raised in remonstrance. When the Deputy further instructed the Commons that grants were first to be made, and concessions talked of afterwards, the subservient assembly obeyed his orders and voted subsidies to the amount of £24,000. Parliament was then prorogued.

In the interval before it reassembled in November, Wentworth and the King came to an understanding as to what should be done regarding the "Graces." It was decided that the more important of them should be absolutely refused. Of this refusal the Deputy should bear the blame. Whether he agreed to do this at the request of the King, or whether the idea originated with himself is uncertain, but assuredly Charles showed no reluctance to expose his servant to the storm of unpopularity, which he knew would be the portion of whoever was believed to have been instrumental in destroying the dearest hopes of the Irish Catholics.

When Parliament met, Wentworth, as was his wont, assumed a bullying tone. He declared that the proposed concessions were so monstrous and unreasonable that he had not even informed the King that they had been demanded. As to the "pretended engagements" of his Majesty, he would advise him that he was not bound in honour or in conscience to fulfil them. This was too much to be patiently endured. A good many Protestants sided with the Catholics, and so secured for the cause of the latter a majority in the House. To mark their indignation, the opposition proceeded to ensure the rejection, one after another, of every Bill presented by the Government. The Deputy threatened and punished right and left. His exertions proved effectual, the rebellious spirit was quelled, the obstinate resisters were outnumbered, and the desired bills were safely steered through the two Houses. When this was accomplished, the Parliament was at once prorogued (December, 1634). Two short sessions of no great importance were held the following year, and then, at the special direction of the King, Wentworth ordered a dissolution (April, 1635).

The Reorganisation of the Army: Trade Policy.—It has been already mentioned that one of the ways in which the Lord Deputy had hoped to render Ireland useful to the English Crown was by supplying Charles with a body of efficient troops, who would be wholly under his control, and could be used, if necessary, to crush the pretensions of the English Parliamentary party. At the time of his arrival in Ireland the army was in a most unsatisfactory state. Almost from the beginning of the preceding reign, the complaints contained in the correspondence of the Irish authorities, of the quality, discipline, and treatment of the troops had been almost incessant. Wentworth at once took the matter in hand. His grasp of detail was marvellous, his industry untiring, and within a short time, he had brought about a surprising improvement. He himself declares that, of the £90,000 of arrears which he found, all had, in 1636, been paid. The soldiers, who before had been constantly robbing the people, now did not dare to take a chicken without paying for it. He had in reserve £4,000' worth of arms and horses. The

2,000 foot and 600 horse were so well drilled that they could act as officers to a force of 20,000. In all this there may have been a certain amount of boastful exaggeration, but everything shows that the statements made were substantially true. The seas surrounding Ireland were infested at this time with pirates. The insecurity which resulted was, of course, most detrimental to trade, and that Irish trade should flourish Wentworth was most anxious; for only from a prosperous Ireland could revenue be obtained for the King's needs. He equipped cruisers to protect the trading ships, and, as he paid well and regularly, was able to secure the services of efficient captains and seamen. Pirates, when captured, received exemplary punishment. Considerable improvements were effected. We find that the Customs, which yielded only £25,000 in 1633, amounted, in 1636, to £57,000. After Wentworth's departure, things rapidly fell back to their old state.

The prosperity of Ireland was, however, to be sought—such was the Deputy's view—not for her own sake, but that she might minister to the prosperity of England and the power of the English Crown. Therefore, any branch of Irish industry which seemed to threaten to rival or interfere with a similar industry in England must be at once repressed. It was for this reason that Wentworth sought to effect the ruin of the Irish woollen trade. He declared that from it two dangers were to be feared. The cheaper rate of labour in Ireland might enable Irish woollens to be offered at a price which would undersell, in the English markets, the native products; while an Ireland able to supply her own needs, as regards clothing and household stuffs, might become so independent as to be formidable. The trade was, however, an old one, and widely spread over the country. Centuries before this, Irish serges and other woollen stuffs had been famous, not only in England, but on the Continent. To repress it would take time, and this time was not accorded to Wentworth. When, in 1640, his viceroyalty came to an abrupt end, he had been able to effect little against the woollen industry; only his written words remain to reveal to posterity his hostile intentions. On the other hand, he had done a good deal to foster another branch of manufacture, that of linen, which he favoured as peculiarly suitable for Ireland, and not constituting a danger to England, where there seemed no prospect of developing it. This, too, was a long-established Irish industry. Irish linens were exported in great quantities, and sold in England, in the Netherlands and elsewhere. Owing to discouragement, the trade had now diminished, and the quality of the linen produced had also apparently deteriorated. Still, Wentworth found, as he declares, that the people were "apt to spin," and that the women were "naturally expert" at the art. He brought improved flax from Holland, bearing himself part

of the expense from his private resources, and invited over to Ireland Flemish and French weavers to instruct the people in improved methods.

Wentworth and the Churches.—In Church government, as in civil, Wentworth's main object was order and what he regarded as due subordination to authority. The Catholics he did not greatly persecute, though, in order to extort money, he threatened on several occasions to enforce against them the strict letter of the recusancy laws. His chief objection to the "Graces" was probably that, had they been passed, they would have seriously interfered with this welcome source of supply. He appears, on the whole, to have disliked the Catholics, who acknowledged at least a spiritual superior, even if a foreign one, less than he disliked the Protestant Dissenters, whom he considered as rebels against all authority.

The Established Church the Deputy regarded as a State Department, to be strictly controlled by the Government, but at the same time to be maintained in such a position of dignity and honour as would command the respect of the people. Anything likely to conflict with this aim, such as absenteeism or neglect of their duties on the part of the clergy; the alienation of episcopal lands; carelessness regarding the conduct of church ceremonies or the condition of the churches themselves, met with severe rebuke, and at times sharp punishment, at his hands. Like his friend Laud, then Archbishop of Canterbury, he desired general uniformity. In order to attain it, he summoned a meeting of Convocation, and directed it to supersede the "Confession of Faith," passed in 1615, and to substitute the English Articles of 1562 (*see Chap. IV*). When the bishops and clergy hesitated to comply with this order, he called certain of them before him, and so violently rated and threatened them that in terror they submitted, as did the whole body of Convocation subsequently, so that the desired Articles were passed (1634).

In order to maintain what he conceived to be proper discipline amongst the clergy, he erected, on his own authority, and therefore illegally, a Court of High Commission to deal with ecclesiastical offences.

The Connacht Plantation Scheme.—In spite of all Wentworth's efforts, the Irish revenue was far from yielding the sums which he desired, and he began to consider other methods for obtaining from the country money for the royal Treasury.

A new Plantation appeared to him about the most feasible expedient to which he could resort, and Connacht the most suitable part of Ireland for such a Plantation.

The compact made by Sir John Perrott with the chief Connacht land-owners in 1585 has already been mentioned (*Book IV, Chap. XIII*). Most of the land-owners had agreed to the conditions, and the rent had

been paid, though doubtless not very regularly. Unfortunately, whether by accident or design, the legal formalities had not all been complied with. In 1616, this point was raised, and James I undertook, in return for a "gift" of £3,000 from the Connacht gentry concerned, to have the omission supplied. He received the money, but again there was a mistake; the Court of Chancery did not enrol the grants. In 1620, and again in 1625, mention is made casually of a project for planting Connacht, but nothing was done till Wentworth's day.

Only by going back several centuries could a pretext for the intended spoliation be found. In the thirteenth century, Henry III had granted about three-fourths of the province of Connacht to Richard De Burgo. The lands were then ruled by native chiefs and no more than a portion of them ever came under the actual control of either De Burgo or his successor, Walter, Earl of Ulster. In 1333, William, the third Earl, was murdered, and left as his sole heir an infant daughter, Elizabeth, who afterwards married Lionel of Clarence, third son of Edward III. Their descendants succeeded to the English throne (1461), and the Connacht lands were therefore regarded as merged in the Crown possessions. In point of fact, however, Elizabeth De Burgo had never actually held any of these territories, for, after her father's death, they had been seized by junior De Burgos and others. Neither during her lifetime nor afterwards was any attempt made to recover the Connacht lands of the De Burgos, though occasional allusions are made in State papers, and once in an Act of Parliament (1523), to the Crown claim. The claim, as has been explained, could only extend to a part of the province, and the 1585 "Composition" and James I's agreement in 1616 to confirm it, would seem to show that the English monarchs themselves had ceased to regard it as valid. In addition to this, the "Grace" promised by Charles I, that a continuous occupation of land for 60 years might be cited as barring any Crown claim, should, in honour at least, have been considered as disposing of this one, resurrected after a slumber of over three centuries.

None of these considerations had any weight with Wentworth. He resolved to brush them aside, and to procure the confiscation, nominally at least, of all the lands of the entire province of Connacht. His Majesty could afterwards restore to the ejected proprietors whatever proportion of their estates he thought fit. In order to ensure a proper zeal on the part of the Judges who were to try the cases, he arranged with them, in advance, that they should receive four shillings in each pound of the profits derived in the first year from the projected Plantation. He himself made a journey through the Connacht counties, to see that juries suitable for his purpose had been returned in each.

In Roscommon, where the Commission opened its proceedings, he harangued the jurors at some length. His Majesty's title to the land was plain, he told them, and he did not require them to find for him, since without their finding he could take the lands. If they found against him, it would really be best for him; for he, so the Deputy implied, would then seize and retain all the estates, whereas otherwise he intended to give back probably the greater part. Cowed by this language, and by private threats, the Roscommon jury decided in the way that Wentworth desired, and those of Mayo and Sligo followed their example.

In Galway, however, things turned out otherwise. The influence of the Burkes, who were extensive landowners, was there very strong. Several dependants of the Earl of Clanrickard, the head of the southern branch of the family, were on the jury. All but two jurors "obstinately and perversely" refused to find for the King. Swift punishment followed their audacity. D'Arcy the sheriff was fined £1,000 and thrown into prison, where he died. The jurors were fined the same amount and also imprisoned. Terrified at these measures, the Clare jury meekly submitted to Wentworth's demands. All was now (1636) ready for the Plantation, but the Plantation did not take place. It is difficult to explain this, especially as Wentworth held office for four years more. It may be that he decided, on reflection, that the lands of Connacht, poor and unfertile and inhabited by a numerous and warlike population, were scarcely worth the expenditure of blood and of money which it would cost to acquire them, and also were little likely, when acquired, to attract English farmers to settle on them.

The Closing Years of Strafford's Administration: The New Army.—In 1639, Wentworth was created Earl of Strafford, and exchanged the title of Lord Deputy for the more honourable one of Lord Lieutenant. In Ireland he was not particularly unpopular with the masses of the population; nor was there any reason why he should be. His repression of the disorders amongst the soldiers and his protection of trade had been positive benefits, while his acts of injustice and tyranny had not affected them. By the members of the Privy Council, however, and the higher officials generally, he was detested. With several of them he had had special quarrels, while all resented his arrogance and his outbursts of ill-temper. In many cases of dispute he had certainly been in the right; as when he put an end to the Earl of Cork's robbery of Church property, and revealed the embezzlements of Lord Wilmot. But this did not excuse him in the eyes of the delinquents and their friends. It was these men who finally contributed to his ruin. Like many others, he suffered as much for some of his good deeds as for any of his bad ones.

In 1640, Strafford summoned a Parliament, which showed itself as

subservient as he could desire, and voted large subsidies to the King. To the sums thus collected Strafford added £20,000 of his own. Most of this money he applied to the uses of the new army which he had got together. Charles was exceedingly anxious to obtain the help of the Irish troops, as the situation in England was growing ever more menacing. They now numbered 8,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry, and were admirably drilled and equipped.

Most of the soldiers recently recruited were Catholics, and the fact that they had "armed the Irish Papists" added immensely to the unpopularity of both Strafford and his Royal Master in England. In the spring of 1640 the troops were ready to start.

At this juncture (April, 1640) Strafford was summoned to London, and, in his absence, all the arrangements made in connection with the new army went to pieces. Means for transporting the soldiers to England could not be found; there was no money to pay or feed them, so they took again to the old practice of plundering the civil population. Finally, it was decided to dissolve them. Many enlisted in Continental armies, but numbers stayed at home, and in the Irish civil wars proved most useful to the Confederates, by furnishing a trained nucleus for their regiments, and by helping to drill the new recruits.

The Fall of Strafford is an episode in English History, and, except in so far as the Irish officials aided to bring it about, does not much concern us here. The English House of Commons decided to proceed against him, and soon after his arrival in London he was lodged in the Tower. His enemies in Ireland rejoiced exceedingly, and when, in June, the Parliament met for another Session, it at once drew up articles to help the case against him at his coming trial. These articles included illegal taxation, the refusal of the "Graces," the establishment of the Court of High Commission, the intimidation of the Connacht juries and many other matters.

The English Commons cared little for Irish grievances, but any stone was good enough to throw at their enemy, and they availed themselves willingly of this one. They passed a Bill of Attainder against Strafford through the two Houses. The King, who had shortly before given the Earl his royal word that he would not permit him to be injured in "life, honour or fortune," was mean and cowardly enough to consent to the Bill. Strafford was executed on Tower Hill on May 12th, 1641.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Wentworth holds a Parliament. The "Graces" refused	1634
The Connacht Plantation Scheme	1635
Wentworth (Strafford) leaves Ireland	1640

CHAPTER VII

THE INSURRECTION OF 1641

AFTER the fall of Strafford the Irish Government was administered by two Lord Justices, Parsons and Borlase. Both were supposed to be Puritanical in their sympathies, and soon they made themselves most unpopular. Both opposed the concessions to the Catholics, which Charles, anxious for the support of the latter, seemed now willing to grant.

Unrest in Ireland: An Insurrection Planned.—The whole country was in a state of dangerous unrest. Numbers of disbanded soldiers wandered about, without employment or means of support. The Connacht landowners knew not when the decrees which the late Viceroy had obtained against them might be put in force. Those of the other provinces felt that, when such remote Crown claims had been admitted, no Irish proprietor anywhere was secure of his estate. The generation which remembered the Ulster Plantation was yet by no means extinct; plenty of old men and women remained to tell to their grandchildren the tales of their sufferings in those evil days; to kindle in their minds the desire of vengeance, and the hope of wresting the fields which their ancestors had tilled from the hands of the stranger. Over in England the anti-Catholic feeling was growing. Seven priests had been executed in London, merely for saying Mass. In Parliament there were frequent complaints of the lenity shown to Irish Papists. To the Irish the example of the Scotch Presbyterians, who had frustrated, by a successful rebellion, Charles' attempt to force them into conformity with the English Church, was a direct encouragement to attempt something similar, for which moreover the growing troubles in England itself appeared to afford an excellent opportunity.

Gradually the project of revolt took shape. In Ireland, its chief promoters were Rory O'More, one of the O'Mores of Leix; Sir Phelim O'Neill, a member of a junior branch of the O'Neills; Lord Maguire; Col. Hugh Óg Mac Mahon; Col. Plunkett; Sir Con Magennis, and a few others of less note.

None of these appear to have been men of much ability, though

O'More had evidently great brilliancy and personal fascination. They were, however, in constant communication with an Irish exile in Spain, a trained soldier and born leader, who promised, when the time was ripe, to come to take command of their army. This was Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill, nephew of the great Hugh, who, owing to the incompetency of his cousin John, had come, by a certain instinctive tanistry, to be regarded as the head of the house of O'Neill. Eoghan was now over 50 years of age. He had left Ireland as a boy, and later had entered the Spanish service. His military reputation was already high, when he immensely enhanced it by his defence of Arras against the French in 1640. He had watched the course of events in his native country with the deepest interest, and had, by means of agents, kept himself in close touch with the promoters of the intended insurrection. In the Spanish army, at this time, there was also another Irishman, whose importance depended rather on his family than on his personal merit, Colonel Thomas Preston, uncle of Lord Gormanstown.

The Insurrection of 1641.—The conspiracy of 1641, as well as the insurrection and civil war that followed it, suffered from the first from the great diversity of aims of those who took part in it. Many sought no more than a free Parliament, complete toleration for the Catholic religion, a rescinding of the land confiscations and fixity of tenure in future. Others looked to the more or less complete overthrow of the English power in Ireland, or at least to the reducing of it to a mere, almost nominal, suzerainty. Numbers merely desired to take revenge for the oppression of their religion, and the many other injustices which they had suffered. The seizure of Dublin Castle was to be the first move, and immediately afterwards there were to be risings in various parts of the country. The secret was revealed by what might be called an accident. On October 22nd, 1641, a man named Owen Connolly sought an interview with the Lord Justice Parsons, and revealed to him the whole plot, or at least its outline. He had been told of it, he declared, by Colonel Hugh Óg Mac Mahon, with whom he had been drinking. Mac Mahon and Lord Maguire were at once arrested, the Castle garrison strengthened, all strangers ordered to depart from the city, and the gates shut. Thus, the plan of the rising was frustrated as far as Dublin was concerned, but it broke out elsewhere, according to the arrangement which had been made by the leaders.

The outbreak found the Irish Government absolutely unprepared. The army was inadequate, ill-disciplined and scattered; the soldiers discontented, clamouring constantly for food, clothing and pay. The Lord Justices kept writing frantically to England for assistance. The authorities across the Channel had, however, their own domestic problems

to consider and could do little. In truth, the condition of affairs was not encouraging for the English officials. Sir Phelim O'Neill had overrun Ulster with very little opposition, and, with the exception of a few towns and the parts of the north-east inhabited by the Scotch, the whole province was in his hands. In the other provinces there had been important risings, and every day brought news of the defection to the rebel ranks of some extensive landowner and his followers. The Protestant Planters were everywhere expelled, and even those of lower rank, tenants and townsfolk, were in a great many instances robbed of their possessions and ill-treated. What number actually perished, either murdered by the rebels or in consequence of the treatment which they received, is a question which has been often debated, and on which no certain decision can be arrived at. The first reports, widely circulated and generally believed, gave the figures as 300,000, 200,000, 150,000 or 100,000. These were, however, gross exaggerations. There were not, in point of fact, 300,000 Protestants at that time in Ireland, and it cannot be denied that so many survived that the subsequent history of the war does not reveal any serious diminution in their numbers. The best authorities, after careful investigation of the extant evidence, have arrived at a total of about 4,000 actually slain—otherwise, of course, than in battle—and perhaps 7,000 or 8,000 who lost their lives by cold and hunger. They consider that, straining all points, these figures are the highest that can possibly be maintained.

This record, deplorable as it is, must not be regarded as convicting the Catholics of bigotry and intolerance. From any desire to persecute persons of other creeds for their religious beliefs the Catholics of Ireland have always been singularly free. On the other hand, nothing seems to so rouse a desire for revenge in the breast of the Irishman as the seizure and alienation of the land which he regards as his own, especially if that land had been possessed by generations of his ancestors. It was from agrarian motives of this kind that the murders mostly originated. The victims of 1641, with few exceptions, suffered not as Protestants, but as Planters, or the kin of Planters. Almost all the acts of violence against life and property of which we hear took place in the first months of the insurrection. As soon as it was organised and controlled by responsible leaders, they practically ceased—on the Irish side.

The assertion was made by the insurgents in their proclamations that they had not risen against the authority of the King, but merely to obtain redress of their grievances. This was, of course, ignored by the Irish authorities, and cannot, indeed, be said to have deserved much attention.

The Anglo-Irish Lords Join the Insurgents.—Although they had many grievances, being, almost without exception, Catholics, the Lords

of the Pale, and most of the Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry elsewhere, at first hesitated to join the revolt. On their treatment by the Government authorities their future action would, to a great extent, depend. The Lord Justices, by so wording their first Proclamation as to make it appear that they considered the conspiracy as one of the "Irish Papists" in general; by receiving with marked coldness the professions of loyalty of some of the Palesmen, and by denying to several the arms which were absolutely necessary for the defence of their homes and families, certainly showed little discretion; but their position was, without doubt, a difficult one. They were aware that these men had little reason to feel attachment to the English Government; that the relatives of many of them were in actual rebellion, and they knew not whom to trust.

The determining factors which induced so many of the Anglo-Irish to throw in their lot with the insurgents were probably: first, the ruthless murders and destruction of property of which the Government troops were guilty; secondly, the constant insults to their religion, and threats of persecution of it, uttered in the English Parliament and elsewhere; thirdly, the inclusion of the estates of many of them in the list made by the English authorities of the land to be confiscated after the repression of the rebellion (February, 1642).

In December, 1642, seven of the Pale Lords met by appointment five delegates from the insurgents, headed by Rory O'More, on the hill of Crofty near Drogheda. O'More stated the grievances which had induced them to rebel. He protested that they were not disloyal to the King, and begged the Palesmen to join with them in the cause of their country and their religion. A few days after, there was another meeting, this time at Tara, and there the Pale Lords entered into a regular league with the Ulster leaders; a league of which the efficiency was, from the beginning, weakened by the different standpoints and the different aims of those who composed it.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Beginning of the Insurrection	1641
The Anglo-Irish Lords join the Insurgents	1642
(*Beginning of the Civil War in England*)	1642

CHAPTER VIII

THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY.—PART I

Success of the Insurrection: The Confederation of Kilkenny Draws Up a Scheme of Government.—The period of Irish History on which we are now entering is one extremely difficult to treat within narrow limits. It is, as has been well said by Carlyle, both confused and confusing. "There are Parties on the back of Parties, at war with the world and with each other. There are Catholics of the Pale, demanding freedom of religion. . . . There are old Irish Catholics, under the Pope's nuncio . . . and Owen Roe O'Neill, demanding, not religious freedom alone, but what we now call 'Repeal of the Union.' Then there are Ormond Royalists of the Episcopalian and mixed creeds, strong for King without Covenant; Ulster and other Presbyterians, strong for King and Covenant; lastly, Michael Jones and the Commonwealth of England, who want neither King nor Covenant." In order to convey a clear idea of the course of events, it will be necessary to confine ourselves to the relation only of those which exercised important influence and modified the situation as a whole.

The insurgents, by the summer of 1642, held almost the whole of Ireland, except a few of the largest towns. The only counties not in their hands were Dublin, Louth, Down, Antrim, part of Cork and Derry, and a very small portion of Meath. A message had been sent to Eoghan Ruadh to come over as soon as possible, and to bring with him money, supplies and arms. Meanwhile, however, it was necessary to organise the insurrection and to establish some sort of government in Ireland.

A meeting of the clergy and laity, to some extent representative, was held in Kilkenny in May, and there was drawn up the outline of the Constitution which governed the greater part of the country for some seven or eight stormy years. It was agreed that a general assembly, to which representatives from all counties and boroughs, as well as the Temporal and (Catholic) Spiritual Lords, should be summoned, should take place in October in the same city. What had been done should be submitted to this assembly for their approval or alteration.

The first meeting of the General Assembly of the Confederation of Kilkenny, as it came afterwards to be called, took place on October 24th, 1642. The outward appearance of a Parliament was purposely avoided, lest the Confederates might be charged with usurping the prerogative of the King. The three orders sat together under the presidency of a "Prolocutor."

A Supreme Council of the Confederated Catholics of Ireland was elected, consisting of twenty-five members. Before this Council all matters of importance, civil or military, were to be brought. Under the Supreme Council were Provincial Councils, to which each county in the province should send representatives, and under these, County Councils. This complicated machinery was eminently unsuited for war-time, when promptitude of action is ever of the greatest importance and a strong administration in the hands of few is required. So, during the war, we constantly find golden opportunities lost, defeats brought about and even victories rendered useless, by the delays, vacillations, jealousies and absurd formalities of the Supreme Council. Still worse were the arrangements for the army. There was to be a general for each Province, but no commander-in-chief. Obviously, all the troops should have been placed under Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill, who was by this time in Ireland, but he was merely made Commander of the Ulster army, while Preston was entrusted with that of Leinster. As O'Neill and Preston already disliked each other intensely, they were little likely to act in harmony.

Of harmony there was, in the Council itself or outside it, very little from the first. The difference between the standpoint and the aims of the old Irish and of the Anglo-Irish was too radical to be bridged over or forgotten. The general arrangements made during the first session were indications of the preponderance of the Anglo-Irish element in the Council. The Oath of Association included a solemn declaration of allegiance to King Charles; his head appeared on the coins, and the Confederates' Seal bore the motto "Pro Deo, pro Rege et Patria, Hibernia Unanimis" (Ireland is united for God, King and Country). Many of the enactments show much enlightenment. Laws against members of any religious creed were repealed, and there was to be complete toleration for all. The episcopal lands were, however, to be restored to the Catholic hierarchy.

The Confederates Open Negotiations with the King.—James, Marquis (subsequently Duke) of Ormond was now commander of the King's forces in Ireland; next year (1643), he was appointed Lord Lieutenant. His character has been variously judged, according to the political and religious standpoint of his critics, but it seems to be

generally allowed that he was genuinely attached to the Royalist cause. For the "Papist rebels" he had the utmost contempt, and he did not hold himself bound by any laws of honour when dealing with them.

Meanwhile, in August 1642, the war between Charles and his Parliament had begun. The King's greatest need was trained soldiers. Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill had brought with him from Spain, besides a good supply of arms, some 200 veterans, and, with the help of these, he had begun to drill and train the Irish levies, in such wise that they promised soon to be shaped into a valuable and efficient force. Charles was anxious to make some arrangement by means of which a part, at any rate, of these troops might be available for his service. The Confederates, at least the Palesmen, were only too anxious to treat. They had already addressed an humble Petition to the King, setting forth their grievances, but of this no notice had been taken. Now, however, early in the year 1643, Charles appointed Ormond and the Earl of Clanrickard to inquire into these matters, and in fact, though not at first in name, to enter into negotiations with the insurgents.

The Parliamentary party in England was naturally enough very much averse to this move. It was, so they considered, an unworthy truckling with rebellion, and, worse still, it might result in substantial aids being supplied to the King.

Already, in the preceding year (March, 1642), the Parliament had caused a considerable Scottish army under General Munroe to be sent to Ulster, where it had joined with the English troops which still remained in the Province, and had been very successful in the north-east counties. Almost everywhere they, as well as the Government troops in the other provinces, had behaved to their enemies with terrible cruelty. Lord Lisle, Sir Charles Coote and afterwards his son of the same name, and Lord Inchiquin, long remembered in Ireland under the name of "Murrogh the Burner," were especially notorious for their atrocious deeds. They, in most cases, put to death, not only the garrisons of captured fortresses or of those which had surrendered, but also very frequently non-combatants, women and even children, if any were found. Massacres of unarmed peasantry even were not unusual.

As before stated, the Irish party, after the first few months, cannot be charged with any such savagery. Captured garrisons were frequently suffered to depart where they would; prisoners often remained for long periods in the hands of the Confederate troops and were finally released uninjured. Eoghan Ruadh punished with great severity any attempt of his soldiers to plunder or ill-use the civil population, and he treated his captives with the utmost consideration and courtesy. When the English Parliament issued a decree (1644) that no quarter should in

future be given to any Irishman "taken in hostilities" against it, the Confederate Council did not retort, as it might well have done, by a similar decree against the Parliamentarian soldiers.

A meeting was arranged to take place at Trim between the negotiators authorised by the King and representatives of the Confederates. Hostilities were not, however, suspended. Not only generals who, like Munroe and Coote, were now acting under the orders, not of the King, but of the Parliaments of Scotland or of England, but such Royalist Commanders as Ormond and Lisle, continued the campaign in various parts of the country. Lisle defeated Preston near New Ross, but the latter captured the important Castle of Ballinakill in Queen's Co. In Ulster, O'Neill, conscious that his men were not yet sufficiently trained, avoided important engagements as far as he could. Owing, however, to the importunities of his own soldiers, who clamoured to be led to victory and threatened mutiny if refused, he was induced to join battle at Clones with an English army led by Sir William and Sir Robert Stewart. The result was defeat for the Irish. As the summer advanced, however, the Ulster army improved rapidly in organisation and efficiency. When, in August, Eoghan obeyed the order of the Supreme Council to march southward for the defence of the Pale, he had under him a well-trained force of nearly 3,000 men. On his way he was joined by contingents sent by the O'Farrells and the O'Reillys. At Portlester (Co. Meath), he was attacked by Lord Moore and Colonel Monk, at the head of superior forces, and completely routed them.

A Cessation Agreed On.—Meanwhile the negotiations were being carried on between Ormond and the Confederates. The former had been directed by the King to agree to a cessation of hostilities for a year, during which arrangements for a permanent peace might be made. The old Irish, like the Parliamentarians, though, of course, for widely different reasons, disapproved of the proposed cessation, and indeed held that an attempt to treat with any English party at this juncture was a mistake. If they continued to press their conquests, they would be in a position to force good terms from whichever side should be victorious in England; whereas the cessation would give their enemies time to sow dissensions amongst them; moreover, the loss of 10,000 men whom they were to send to the King's aid would seriously diminish their military power, and consequently their chances of a successful resistance, should the negotiations end unsatisfactorily, or the terms granted them not be observed. The Anglo-Irish party, however, were the stronger in the Supreme Council and also apparently in the General Assembly. At Jigginstown, near Naas, the agreement for the year's cessation was signed

(September 15th, 1643). Each side was to retain the lands, towns and fortresses then actually in its hands. All prisoners were to be released. The Confederates were to send delegates to the King, to lay before him their grievances and their suggestions for the remedy of them.

Munroe, who had now ranged himself definitely with the English Parliamentarians, took no notice of the cessation. He not only continued his hostilities against the Irish, but even attacked the English Royalist commander, Colonel Chichester, and drove him out of Belfast Castle. In the south, Lord Inchiquin also joined the party of the Parliament. Even by some of the Royalists the cessation appears not to have been always well observed.

In the March of 1644, Commissioners from the Confederates betook themselves to Oxford, as had been arranged, to discuss terms with the King. At the same time, the Irish Protestant party despatched agents to lay their views before his Majesty. The chief demands of the Catholics were complete religious toleration and liberty and the repeal of Poynings' Act; so that the Irish Parliament might be free and independent. When this list was shown to the agents of the Protestants, they at once declared the demands to be such as should not for a moment be entertained. There was no middle course; it was evident that one or other party in Ireland the King must certainly offend. In other respects, also, Charles was in a most difficult position with regard to Irish affairs. Any concession to the Irish Catholics would certainly make him most unpopular in his own country. Yet without such concessions, he could not hope for the military aid from the Confederates, of which he stood so urgently in need.

In order to give time for the decision of the many difficult questions which had arisen, the cessation was several times extended. Meanwhile, in England, the King's cause grew ever more desperate.

Charles, although sincerely attached to his own religion, cannot be considered, having regard to the standards of his time, as a bigot. He certainly would have preferred not to accord religious liberty to the Catholics; but if, by granting toleration, a great advantage might accrue to himself, as in this case, no conscientious scruple prevented him from according it. The real obstacle was his fear of the results of such concessions on public opinion in England. To obviate this difficulty, he resorted to a method, eminently characteristic of a man who loved crooked ways, but had not ability enough to discern when and how far, on each occasion, the use of crooked ways was advisable.

The Glamorgan Treaty.—In December, 1644, the King intimated to Ormond that the Earl of Glamorgan was coming to Ireland, "to further the peace there." Glamorgan was probably selected for this

Map showing the quarters in Leinster, Connaught, and Munster assigned respectively to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland and to the King's Protestant subjects by the secession of September, 1643.

Protestant quarters marked thus ~~~. They comprise all Dublin and Louth, part of Kildare, Meath, and Cork, and certain garrisons in Waterford. In Ulster no special quarters are assigned to either side; each should hold what was in its hands at the time of the secession. The Protestants then held all Antrim and Down and part of Derry.

mission as likely, being a zealous Catholic, to be specially acceptable to the Confederates. He crossed to Ireland the following July and, on landing, at once proceeded to Kilkenny, where he exhibited privately to the Council an authorisation from King Charles, given under his signet, to negotiate and conclude a treaty. This authorisation was most explicit. "We do by these," so it ran, "authorise you to treat and conclude with the Confederate Roman Catholics in our Kingdom of Ireland. If upon necessity, anything be to be condescended unto wherein our Lord Lieutenant (Ormond) cannot so well be seen, as not fit for us at this present publically to own, we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant with all possible secrecy. And for whatsoever you shall engage yourself, we promise, on the word of a King and a Christian, to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you."

This was considered, not unnaturally, as conferring on Glamorgan the most ample powers, and on August 25th (1645), he concluded with the Confederates a treaty on the following basis: "Free and public" exercise of the Catholic religion should be permitted throughout Ireland. All statutes against the Catholics should be repealed. All churches held by the Catholics since October 1641, should be retained by them. In return for all this, the Confederates should send 10,000 men to the King's assistance. Whether, according to the words of the document on which his authority was based, Glamorgan was justified in absolutely concealing the whole of this transaction from Ormond, is doubtful; but at any rate he did so, and for several months the Lord Lieutenant remained in ignorance of it.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
The Confederation of Kilkenny established	1642
Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill comes to Ireland	1642
(*Louis XIV becomes King of France*)	1643
The Glamorgan Treaty	1645

CHAPTER IX

THE CONFEDERATION OF KILKENNY.—PART II

The Papal Nuncio.—The conflict in Ireland had naturally excited much interest at Rome, and Pope Urban VIII had already employed an agent amongst the Catholics. Urban's successor, Innocent X, resolving on a further step, arranged to send a regular accredited nuncio to the Confederates, and he selected for the mission John Baptist Rinuccini, Archbishop of Fermo. The Nuncio was both a skilled diplomatist and an excellent judge of men and of political situations. On his way to Ireland he stayed a while in Paris and obtained from Cardinal Mazarin, who now ruled France for the child-King, Louis XIV, a sum of 25,000 crowns for the Confederates. He landed at Kenmare (October 21st, 1645), and proceeded at once to Kilkenny, where he was received with the greatest honour.

About the same time that the Nuncio arrived in Ireland, an accident revealed the secret of the Glamorgan Treaty to Ormond and the English generally. In an attack made on the Parliamentarians in Sligo, Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, who was with the Royalist general Taaffe, was killed and, on his baggage being examined, a copy of the treaty was found in it. Ormond at once had Glamorgan arrested, and wrote to the King an account of the whole affair. Charles disclaimed Glamorgan's proceedings, saying he had never intended him to act without Ormond's knowledge and advice. He insinuated that the warrant under which the Earl claimed to act was surreptitiously obtained or a forgery. Charles' disclaimer was not believed by either the English or the Irish. Indeed, though the former part of his statement may have been true, the latter was almost certainly false. Glamorgan was, after a few months' imprisonment, released.

Rinuccini had been instructed by the Pope to abstain from meddling in politics, and to confine himself to endeavouring to obtain complete toleration, at least, and the withdrawal of all civil disabilities, for the Irish Catholics. To any idea of shaking off their allegiance to the King, should the Irish conceive such, he was to lend no countenance. Before

he had been long in Ireland, however, the Nuncio had come to understand that to separate religious from political questions was impossible, and that he must either stand aside altogether, or plunge boldly into the sea of turmoil.

On learning the terms of the peace which the Supreme Council proposed to make with the English Royalist party, he at once declared the articles relating to religion to be unsatisfactory, and, therefore, condemned the peace as a whole. Negotiations had for some time been in progress between Henrietta Maria, Charles' exiled queen, and the Pope, regarding a peace. This agreement, generally known as "the Queen's Peace," Rinuccini regarded as much more satisfactory, and he wished the Council to consider it. He must, however, have been well aware that the terms offered would never be agreed to by the English people, and that the Queen had no power to enforce their performance. Most probably he desired in reality the breaking off of all negotiations with any of the English parties, and the resumption of the war with whole-heartedness and spirit on the part of the Confederates. This, too, was the desire of the old Irish party, with whom the Nuncio was now fully in accord.

The Ormond Peace.—Unfortunately, the majority of the members of the Supreme Council had listened to the deceitful words of Ormond and were playing into his hands. On March 28th, 1646, the peace was signed, without the knowledge of Rinuccini.

The "Ormond Peace," as it is generally called, comprised 30 Articles, of which the most important were: (1) That only an Oath of Allegiance, and not the Oath of Supremacy, should be required from Catholics. (2) That Catholics should have the right of holding all offices. (3) That Acts against Catholics, passed since August 1641, should be annulled. (4) That there should be an Act of Oblivion for all offences committed during the Rebellion, except in the case of persons guilty of murder or other serious crimes. (5) That land titles should be confirmed, and the Plantation schemes regarding Connacht, Tipperary, etc., abandoned. (6) That a Parliament should be summoned to pass the Clauses of the Peace, and that there should be no power to alter the Acts of this Parliament in England. (7) That 10,000 men should be raised for the King's service, and others for the defence of Ireland itself.

It will be seen that the Articles of the Peace, while they, if observed, would redress the chief grievances of which the Catholics had complained from almost the beginning of James I's reign, fell considerably short of guaranteeing the complete religious freedom promised them by the Glamorgan Treaty. Also, it should not be forgotten that Charles was now defeated and helpless, so that there was little prospect that he would be able

to carry out the undertakings given in his name. Moreover, the sending of the 10,000 troops, which would have been so helpful to his cause a year or so previously, had now been delayed till they could not reach him, since all the English ports were in the hands of the Parliament, and would have been of little use if they had done so. If the Anglo-Irish party believed that the triumph of the Royalist cause would contribute to the ends they had in view, they should not have postponed their aid till this cause was hopelessly ruined, and the King reduced to such a pass that he was powerless to repay their assistance, even had he desired to do so.

At the beginning of the cessation, Eoghan Ruadh had, in obedience to the orders of the Council, marched his troops back from Meath to Ulster and had established himself at Charlemont (Co. Armagh). There was another army under Preston, composed mainly of Leinster men.

The Battle of Benburb.—Now, when the peace had been concluded, it was thought that some military enterprise should be attempted against the Parliamentarians, and especially against Munroe, who had made preparations to march southward and invade Leinster. He hoped to effect a junction at Glasslough (Co. Monaghan) with his brother George's forces, and subsequently with those of Sir Robert Stewart. This junction O'Neill resolved to prevent. He marched his troops from Cavan, pitched his tents at Benburb on the Blackwater, and there awaited the enemy. Munroe hurried south from Armagh, and early in the morning of June 5th (1646), the two armies were face to face on the same side of the river. O'Neill had selected his position with care. His centre was posted on and about the little bushy hill of Knocknacloy; his right wing was protected by a bog; his left by the river Oona, which just there joins the Blackwater. His forces amounted to some 5,500 men, and probably exceeded by a little those of Munroe; they were also of better quality. But he had no artillery, with which the English and Scotch troops of his opponents were well provided.

O'Neill disposed his infantry in two lines with a free space between them. They were armed partly with muskets and partly with very long pikes. The cavalry were posted on the wings. Munroe also arranged his infantry in two lines: the Oona being on his right and the Blackwater at his rear, but his left wing was unsheltered. An attack made on the Irish front by Lord Ards was repulsed by the cavalry led by Henry Ruadh, O'Neill's son. Lord Blaney's artillery succeeded no better, and Eoghan's captains pressed him to order his main body to charge. But he restrained their impatience, and began slowly to mass his best troops on his right wing, and to press on the unprotected British left. To oppose him, Munroe was obliged to order a change of front, and in

executing this manœuvre his ranks fell into confusion. Still refusing to give the much-desired word, O'Neill continued to force the enemy back into the angle formed by the Oona and the Blackwater. The evening was closing in, when at last the General raised his hat and bade the officers around him pass the word to charge. A ringing cheer answered him, and the Irish bore down on their foes. The British resisted bravely, but it was not for long. Soon they turned in flight, and the greatest Irish victory since that of Béal an Átha Buide (Yellow Ford) was won. All the British standards, tents and baggage fell into O'Neill's hands, as well as many prisoners, whom he treated with all courtesy. Over 2,000 of Munroe's men lay dead on the field; Eoghan Ruadh had lost scarcely 200 slain and wounded.

In the south, too, success crowned the arms of the Confederates. In July a force under Lord Muskerry captured the important Castle of Bunratty near Limerick, and in it good stores of arms and ammunition.

Had this tide of victory been taken in the flood, and the campaign been vigorously prosecuted, great results might have been hoped for, but alas! this was not done. Dissensions and jealousies were as rife as ever in the Supreme Council. O'Neill was ordered to march his army southward, and, obeying, lost most of the fruits of Benburb.

Rinuccini and O'Neill Oppose the Ormond Peace.—At the end of July, the Ormond Peace, which till then had been kept secret, was publicly proclaimed at Kilkenny. Great was the indignation of the Nuncio to find how he had been, as he considered, deceived, and a peace, to which he had in the name of the Pope so vehemently objected, concluded without his consent or even knowledge. He summoned a meeting of the clergy at Waterford, and urged them to formally reject the treaty. Their consent was readily obtained, and armed with this, Rinuccini issued a decree of condemnation. In several of the southern cities the population adopted his views, and drove out those who endeavoured to proclaim the Peace.

So far Eoghan Ruadh, although disapproving of many of the acts of the Supreme Council, had obeyed its decrees. Now, however, he ranged himself with the Nuncio, and acting on a letter received from him, began to march his army towards Kilkenny. Preston, for once, was of the same mind as the Ulster general, and announced his adherence to Rinuccini's side.

Rinuccini and O'Neill, on reaching Kilkenny, threw into prison those members of the Supreme Council who had shown themselves most prominent in promoting the Ormond Peace, and with the rest formed a sort of Provisional Government. The vigorous prosecution of the war was at once resolved on, and the first object to be sought was

the capture of Dublin. For this enterprise O'Neill and Preston were to unite their armies. Eoghan Ruadh marched rapidly by way of Maryborough, capturing many towns and fortresses on his way. Preston's progress, on the contrary, was slow. In truth, his heart was not in the enterprise, and he longed to resume negotiations with Ormond. At Lucan, where they encamped, dissensions broke out between the two Generals, whom the Nuncio vainly strove to reconcile. At length, when it appeared that Preston was in actual communication, through the medium of the Marquis of Clanrickard, with Ormond, O'Neill, feeling that under the circumstances an effective siege of Dublin was impossible, broke up camp, and marched his forces back towards Kilkenny.

Ormond Surrenders Dublin to the Parliamentarians.—In January 1647, the General Assembly of the Confederates met at Kilkenny, and Rinuccini succeeded in inducing it to reject the Ormond Peace by a crushing majority. It soon, however, appeared that of some peace they were most desirous, and in the Spring attempts were made to induce Ormond to cede Dublin to the Confederates. A sufficient force would then be available to hold it against the Parliamentarians. It was evident that, in case a determined attack were made by Jones, the Puritan Commander, the Royalist troops, if unaided, could not succeed in doing this. Ormond, however, although certainly devoted to the cause of the King, could not, it appeared, bring himself to purchase such a doubtful advantage for the Royalists, at the price of procuring a very certain one for the Popish rebels, whom he detested. In the midst of the negotiations, he settled the question by handing over the city to the Parliamentarians (July 28th, 1647), and retiring himself to France.

Dissensions and Jealousies amongst the Confederates : Military Disasters.—The departure of Ormond, if it did not improve, certainly simplified the state of parties in Ireland. The Royalists for the time disappear, and there remain only the Confederates; still, however, divided into the two sections of the Anglo-Irish and the Old Irish, and the Parliamentarians. The ascendancy of the Nuncio's party in the Supreme Council did not long endure. The Anglo-Irish soon regained their former preponderating influence, and the result appeared in the conduct of the military operations during the campaign of 1647. Moved by jealousy, the Council gave small opportunity of distinction to Eoghan Ruadh and his forces, whom they kept in inaction on the borders of Connacht. O'Neill was the one man who could have saved the situation for the Confederate and Catholic cause. But the Council crippled his movements and denied him needful supplies, while, at the same time, they placed a splendid and well-equipped army at the disposal of Preston.

Preston had, during his military career, earned the reputation of being generally unfortunate.

He did not now belie it. At Dungan's Hill, near Trim, he was completely defeated by the Parliamentary General, Jones, losing 5,000 men and all his guns and baggage (August 6th, 1647). Hastily summoned from Boyle to repair, as far as possible, this disaster, O'Neill marched up his troops, encamped near Trim, and by skilful manœuvring prevented the enemy from reaping the full fruits of victory by an attack on Kilkenny. So far from being grateful to their deliverer, the majority of the Supreme Council were, Rinuccini declares, merely angry that the Kingdom should thus owe its safety to the Ulster general.

In Munster, Inchiquin had captured Cahir and Cashel. The latter was defended with the utmost courage. When at last it was taken, not without considerable loss to the Parliamentarians, there was an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children. Those who had taken refuge in the Cathedral were massacred there (September). A few months after (November), Lord Taaffe was defeated by Inchiquin at Knockanoss (Co. Cork) with a loss of about 2,000 men.

All Munster, except a few towns, was now in the power of the Parliamentarians. At a meeting of the General Assembly (November 1647), it was resolved to seek aid from the Catholic Continental Sovereigns, and ambassadors were sent to Spain, France and Rome, but with little result.

The winter and spring months were occupied in confused and confusing intrigues and negotiations. Inchiquin intimated a desire to desert the Parliamentarians, and the Council listened favourably to his overtures.

O'Neill breaks with the Council: The Second Ormond Peace: Rinuccini leaves Ireland.—O'Neill had endured, almost since his coming to Ireland, the continual neglect and ingratitude of the Council. He was now at the end of his patience. When a messenger came to his camp to inform him of his removal from the command of the Ulster armies, he publicly burned the letters. This meant, of course, that he had openly broken with the Confederation, or rather with the party that now ruled what remained of it. He had a fine army of tried soldiers, all devoted to him; he occupied a strong position in the very centre of Ireland, and had much support elsewhere. He would not be easily crushed.

Meanwhile, the peace between the Council and Inchiquin had been definitely concluded, and Rinuccini issued, with the approval of several of the Irish bishops, a decree of excommunication against all those who had signed this agreement. In consequence of the Nuncio's action,

many of Preston's soldiers deserted him and transferred their services to O'Neill, saying that they would not serve under an excommunicated general. The Council further declared Eoghan Ruadh and some of his chief adherents public enemies, rebels and traitors, and began to collect an army to oppose them.

Ormond had carefully watched the course of events, and he judged that the time had now come when he could, with advantage, return to Ireland and endeavour to resuscitate the Royalist party there. He landed at Cork on October 29th (1648), and was so well received that the Nuncio at once decided that all hope of building up an effectual party to oppose him was at an end. He resolved, therefore, to leave Ireland, but waited till the new "Ormond Peace" was actually concluded. This was done on January 17th, 1649, and on February 23rd, Rinuccini sailed from Galway for France.

Ormond's conditions of peace did not greatly differ from those agreed on in 1646. Almost immediately after their conclusion he proceeded to dissolve the Confederation. To this high-handed proceeding the Council meekly submitted. Charles I was now dead; on the 30th of January, 1649, he had laid his head on the block at Whitehall, and Ormond was acting in the name of his exiled son, now Charles II.

Death of Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill.—During these months O'Neill had been holding his own well. He knew, however, that he could not long remain in isolation, but must make terms with one or other of the parties. Both the Royalists—for the former Confederationists may now be justly described by this name—and the Parliamentarians, knowing his value, were eager to treat with him. Eoghan, on reflection, preferred to trust anyone rather than the perfidious Ormond, and he entered into negotiations with General Monk. Cromwell, however, would have no dealings with Irish Papists, and the Parliament, at his instigation, ordered Monk to cease all communications.

A short time previous to this (August 20th, 1649), Ormond had made an attack on Dublin, which was still held for the Parliament by General Jones. The Royalist forces were badly managed, and Jones won a complete victory, capturing great quantities of ammunition and stores. Ormond now renewed his efforts to come to terms with O'Neill, and Eoghan, because no other resource remained to him, signed a peace on conditions which included liberty of public worship for the Catholics (October 1649), and prepared to march to support his new ally.

It was too late, however, the Irish general's life work was done. At the time of the conclusion of the treaty he was already very ill. He rapidly became worse, and on November 6th, 1649, he died at Cloughoughter Castle (Co. Cavan). The assertion was current in his own day

and has been repeated in ours that he had been poisoned. No reliable evidence, however, exists to show that his death was other than natural. He was probably between 60 and 65 years of age; possibly indeed older.

Less than three months before this, another great soldier had crossed the Channel and landed at Ringsend near Dublin. At last, after a conflict of over seven years, the cause of the Catholic Irish, which looked so hopeful in 1642, had come to final ruin. Cromwell was in Ireland, and Eoghan Ruadh was dead.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Royalist Defeats at Marston Moor and at Naseby*), 1644 and	1645
The Nuncio Rinuccini comes to Ireland . . .	1645
The First Ormond Peace Signed	1646
The Battle of Benburb	1646
Ormond Surrenders Dublin	1647
(*Treaty of Westphalia. The Thirty Years' War Ends*) .	1648
The Second Ormond Peace Signed	1648
Rinuccini leaves Ireland	1649
(*Execution of Charles I*)	1649
Death of Eoghan Ruadh O'Neill	1649

CHAPTER X

CROMWELL IN IRELAND

Cromwell Lands in Ireland: Siege and Capture of Drogheda.—In March, 1649, Oliver Cromwell was appointed by the English Parliament Commander-General for Ireland, and in July he left London in State to take up his office. He landed in Ireland in August, and marched at once to Dublin. He desired to put down as quickly as possible all resistance, and to proceed with the scheme of Confiscation and Plantation which the Parliament had already outlined. He had no scruple as to methods, no pity or sympathy for the Irish people. His forces amounted to over 20,000 tried and well-equipped troops, and the artillery was the best and heaviest then in use.

The enemy who were to oppose him were made up of the parties who had fought in Ireland for the past eight years: Ormondists, Old Irish, Anglo-Irish, and lastly Scotch Presbyterians, a section of whom had been so horrified at the trial and execution of Charles I that they had gone over to the Royalists. All these were disorganised, disheartened, suspicious of each other, weary of conflict and intrigues.

Ormond, the Royalist General, had garrisoned most of the larger towns which still held for the King's cause, and against one of the strongest of them, Drogheda, Cromwell now directed his efforts. The garrison consisted of about 2,600 soldiers, English and Irish. Sir Arthur Aston, the Commander, was an experienced officer; he would certainly make a good defence. Of ammunition and food, however, he had very small supplies, and in vain, during the interval before the siege began, did he write letter after letter to Ormond, begging for at least a few barrels of powder to be sent to him. Early in September, Cromwell marched up from Dublin, and sitting down before Drogheda ordered it to surrender to the Parliament. Aston, of course, refused, and on the 9th the assault began. A few hundred shots from Cromwell's great guns sufficed to make two considerable breaches in the walls, and by the evening of the 10th, most of the town was in the hands of the besiegers. No mercy was shown, save in a few isolated instances. Old people, women and children were massacred. Many who had taken refuge in the vaults of St. Peter's

Church were sought out and murdered, in spite of their tears and entreaties. Sir Arthur Aston was one of the first to fall.

Other Towns are Captured or Surrender on Terms.—From Drogheda, Cromwell moved on to Wexford (October 1st). There were traitors in the garrison there. Cromwell, who probably knew the state of affairs, induced the deluded inhabitants to send Commissioners to treat with him. During the progress of the sham negotiations, a certain Captain Stafford opened the gates of the Castle and admitted the enemy. After this the town itself was easily taken by assault (October 11th). The tradition that some hundreds of women and children were put to death in the market-place, as they crowded round the stone cross there, though not exactly contemporary, is so old as to be probably at least founded on fact.

New Ross held out only two days, but Cromwell lingered in the neighbourhood for a month. His troops were suffering greatly from sickness, and his effective strength was so much reduced that he was obliged to abandon the siege of Waterford, which he had begun, and to go into winter quarters.

During the winter months, the Munster garrisons planted by Ormond one after another revolted, and deserted the King's cause for that of the Parliament. Cork had begun in October, and Youghal, Kinsale, Mallow, Bandon, Cappoquin, Baltimore, Castlehaven, Fethard, Cashel, Cahir and others followed. By the Spring there only remained to the King, outside of Ulster, Waterford, Limerick, Clonmel, Athlone, Galway and Kilkenny.

In the north also, the Parliamentary arms and negotiations were gaining success; Dundalk had surrendered to Cromwell himself soon after the fall of Drogheda. Colonel Venables obtained the submission of Carlingford, Newry, Lisburn, and Belfast. Later, other garrisons yielded. Carrickfergus, however, and a few other places held out. George Munroe was driven out of Down and Antrim by Sir Charles Coote.

In March (1650) Kilkenny yielded on conditions, and Cromwell prepared for what he hoped and expected would be the final campaign of the war, his next objective being Clonmel.

Meanwhile, Lord Broghill had gained some successes over Inchiquin in Co. Limerick. He now turned south, and at Macroom (Co. Cork) defeated David Roche, slaughtering a large proportion of his little army (April 10th). Amongst the prisoners captured was Boetius Egan, Bishop of Ross. The Castle of Carrigadrohid still held out, and Broghill ordered the Bishop to address the garrison, and exhort them to surrender, promising him that, if he succeeded in inducing them to do this, his own life should be spared. The Bishop, being led up to within

speaking distance, did indeed address the soldiers, but it was to encourage them to hold out, and to stand firmly by the cause of their country and their faith. Such heroism failed to touch the savage Broghill. The Bishop, after being tortured by the soldiers, was hanged from a tree by the reins of his own horse.

Gallant Defence of Clonmel.—Cromwell now advanced to Clonmel, and, after summoning it to surrender, began the siege (April 29th). The garrison was some 1,500 strong, and commanded by Hugh Dubh O'Neill, a nephew of Eoghan Ruadh. The siege dragged on after a fashion very exasperating to Cromwell, whose presence was urgently required in England. Moreover, his losses in men were heavy, as the defenders made frequent sallies. At length a breach in the wall was effected, and on May 9th a general assault was ordered. O'Neill had, however, prepared for this. He set citizens and soldiers, men and women to work, and using mud, stones, timber, and whatever came to their hand, "they made a long lane, a man's height and about eighty yards' length on both sides up from the breach, and he caused to be placed engines on each side of the lane, and his guns at the end of it." Into this death-trap the Cromwellian soldiers rushed, when they had overcome the feint of resistance made to their advance by a small body of troops stationed at the breach. Soon the lane was crowded with men, too closely jammed together to use their weapons. Then, from either side, O'Neill's soldiers attacked them with guns and pikes, or threw down great beams of timber on the struggling crowd. From the front the two cannons opened fire with deadly effect. They could not retreat, for those behind kept pressing on. In less than an hour over 1,000 men were slain. The remnant of the infantry retreated, and Cromwell ordered a cavalry assault. This lasted longer, but ended in equal disaster and even greater loss. All the towns in Ireland which Cromwell had taken had together cost him less than had this failure before Clonmel. As it seemed futile to attempt another attack, the Puritan General resolved to merely blockade the town. O'Neill had, however, gained only a barren triumph. To hold out was impossible; neither food nor ammunition remained. Anxious to preserve the lives and liberties of his men, he secretly marched them out of the town in the night, and made his way towards Waterford (May 18th). Next day the Mayor sent to Cromwell's camp and offered to surrender, if the lives and property of the citizens were spared. Of O'Neill and his men nothing was said, and Cromwell may have believed that the Mayor intended to treacherously abandon them to his mercy. Only when the terms were agreed on, did he discover the true state of affairs. Great was his anger on finding how he had been tricked, but to his credit be it said, he observed the conditions of the capitulation.

End of the War.—This was Cromwell's last military action in the war. On May 28th he sailed from Youghal, and at Bristol was enthusiastically received by the crowds, who had already learned how he had crushed and slaughtered the Irish Papist rebels. In the country he had left his deeds were naturally regarded differently; but they were longer remembered. To the English ploughman or artizan, the great Purtian General is now no more than a name, if indeed that; while still, in our own day, the Irish peasant can utter no deeper imprecation than to invoke "the curse of Cromwell" on his adversary.

For over two years more the war in Ireland dragged on. After Eoghan Ruadh's death, the Ulster army had chosen Heber Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, to succeed him in the command. Mac Mahon, though courageous and patriotic, was destitute of that prudence which was peculiarly necessary for a leader to whom was confided the last considerable army that the Irish could put in the field. The other commanders urged him to avoid a pitched battle with Coote and Venables, the Parliamentary generals; "Delay is often braver than wild courage," said Henry Ruadh O'Neill. But Mac Mahon would not listen, and he ordered an attack. The Ulster army suffered a complete defeat next day (June 21st, 1650) at Scariffhollis, near Letterkenny (Co. Donegal). About 3,000 men were slain. After the battle, Bishop Mac Mahon and Henry O'Neill, who had been captured, were put to death.

After Cromwell's departure, Major General Ireton had taken chief command of the Parliamentary forces in Ireland. Waterford was surrendered, on conditions, after a siege of a couple of weeks, and Limerick, Athlone, and Galway were now the only places of importance remaining in Royalist or Irish hands. Ireton laid siege to Limerick, where Hugh Dubh O'Neill was in command (June 1650). He did not make very rapid progress, however, and was obliged to retire into winter quarters without having achieved much. Meanwhile Lord Dillon surrendered Athlone.

In May (1651), the siege of Limerick was renewed with vigour. All through the summer it continued, but at last the gallant defenders felt that no more could be done. Negotiations were opened, and on October 27th (1651), articles were signed, giving quarter to all soldiers and civilians, with certain named exceptions. Hugh Dubh O'Neill was one of those specially excluded from mercy, but some of the Parliamentarian officers seem to have admired his gallantry, and his life was spared. He retired to Spain, and was still living at the time of Charles II's Restoration (1660). Within a fortnight of the fall of Limerick, Ireton died there of the plague, and Lieutenant-General Ludlow succeeded to his office of Commander of the Forces.

Galway, where Preston was in command, had been besieged since July 1651, but it did not surrender till April 1652, and then on terms very similar to those granted to Limerick. Preston had, previous to this, fled to France.

In May a peace was made at Kilkenny between Commissioners of the Parliament and the Earl of Westmeath, Commander of the Royalist forces in Leinster. This may be considered as the end of the war, though a few remote places held out even into the early months of the year 1653.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Cromwell takes Drogheda	1649
Battle of Scariffhollis	1650
Surrender of Limerick	1651
End of the War	1652

LIBRARY OF THE BOMBAY BRANCH OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

CHAPTER XI

THE CROMWELLIAN SETTLEMENT. IRELAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH

Scheme of Land Confiscation.—After her long struggle Ireland was absolutely exhausted. Of her population of 1½ millions, over 600,000 had perished by the sword or by famine. Few cattle remained of the once great herds, few sheep of the splendid flocks. The famishing people, especially the old and feeble, died in great numbers. Of the soldiers of the defeated armies, many went abroad and enlisted in Continental services. Numbers of young people, boys and girls, were seized by order of the Government, and shipped off to the West Indies or to the English colonies in North America, where they were sold as slaves. It was judged, the country being in this condition, that an opportunity exceptionally favourable was afforded for attempting a Plantation on a very large scale, and in fact settling the Irish question once and for all, so that it might never again arise to trouble the English Government.

When, in 1641, a greatly exaggerated account of the Irish rebellion and massacre had reached England, a number of private gentlemen had banded themselves together and offered to advance money to the Parliament for the raising, equipment and maintenance of a special army to subdue the rebels. Of the Irish lands to be confiscated afterwards, each of them should receive a share, in proportion to the amount which he had contributed to the undertaking. Thus, a subscription of £200 would secure the subscriber 1,000 Irish acres in Ulster; while the same amount of Munster land would cost £450.

By the time that the war was over, there was another and more extensive class to take a share of the spoils. An army of more than 30,000 men, who had served in the Irish campaigns, and to whom arrears of pay were due, remained for the Parliament to settle with. It appeared to Cromwell and the other Parliamentary leaders that, if the soldiers were paid in land rather than in coin, and settled on the confiscated estates as Planters, much would be gained. Instead of dangerous vagabonds they would have useful farmers, who would be the founders of sober, industrious Protestant families, and whose sons would be ready to take the field, should the Popish rebels again attempt a disturbance.

The pay due to soldiers amounted to about 1½ millions sterling; while the value of the subscriptions of the "Gentlemen Adventurers" was some £360,000. The quantity of Irish land to be confiscated would necessarily be large, and the scheme, as originally planned, was a vast one. The Irish inhabitants of the other three provinces were to be driven across the Shannon into Connacht, and assigned there a few acres of poor land. Meanwhile, the rich plains of Munster, Leinster and Ulster should be divided amongst the adventurers and soldiers. Only land set down as "arable" was to be counted; bogs, mountains and the like were to be assigned, without extra payment, to those on whose estates they bordered. A very small rent, a few pence only per acre, was reserved to the Crown.

In order to facilitate the distribution of the land, Sir William Petty, an English physician of scientific tastes, was employed to prepare a survey. The greater part of the work, known, because the results were taken down and illustrated by maps, as "the Down Survey," is still extant.

Arrangements Regarding the Irish Inhabitants.—The Act for the settling of Ireland, which passed the English Parliament in August 1652, divided the inhabitants of Ireland into classes, according to the degree to which they were, or were supposed to be, implicated in the lately suppressed rebellion. First came a list of 105 persons, including most of the surviving leaders, who were condemned by name to death. The number executed under this clause was small. Most of those who had taken a prominent part in the actual fighting, on either the Confederate or the Royalist side, had escaped abroad, or had surrendered and obtained pardons. The less prominent persons received minor punishments. Those who had served against the Parliament, but in a lower grade, were suffered to remain in Ireland. Their estates would be confiscated, but they should receive others equal in extent to one-third of what they had lost. As regards these classes no distinction in the matter of religion was made. Many of those condemned by name to death, as Ormond and Inchiquin, were Protestants. The most sweeping clause of the Act was that which followed. All Catholics who had resided in Ireland during the period of the Rebellion and Civil War (1641–1650), and who could not prove that they had borne "constant good affection" to the Parliament, were to forfeit a third of their estates absolutely, and for the other two-thirds should receive compensation in land wherever the Parliament might direct.

A Catholic, in order to escape forfeiture, was required to show that he actually had given assistance to the Parliamentary forces or authorities. Even to have lived in "rebel quarters," that is to say in a district held by the Confederates or the Royalists, was held to be a bar to "innocency."

Now practically every part of Ireland had been, at some period of the war, so held, and the inhabitants had, of necessity, remained, because they had nowhere else to go, and submitted to the authority of the "rebels," because they had no force to oppose it, should they have desired to do so. Thus it happened that to prove "innocency" or "good affection to the Parliament" was, in the vast majority of cases, impossible.

In September, 1653, all Irish Catholics not adjudged "innocent," and whose property exceeded the annual value of £10, were ordered to remove across the Shannon into Connacht and Clare, and not, on their peril, to be found east of that river after the first day of May 1654. The poor who were suffered to remain must learn English and bring up their children as Protestants.

When this decree, terrible almost as a sentence of death, was made known, a wail of despair arose from the destined victims. Remonstrances and protests of innocence, prayers for at least delay, followed. Very seldom were these petitions listened to. Now and then there was a respite of perhaps a couple of months, for a man to gather in his crops or for an invalid to recover or to die, but, as a rule, the slightest grace was refused.

A Commission was appointed to inquire into the cases of those who had been deemed transplantable, to decide to what class they belonged, and consequently to what number of acres in Connacht they could lay claim. When they had crossed the Shannon another Commission was to assign them the land on which they should settle. Connacht was, owing to the poor quality of the land there, rather sparsely peopled, and, especially as it would be regarded as of small importance whether or not the portion assigned to a transplanted family was sufficiently large to afford subsistence, it was expected that there would be sufficient space to accommodate in some sort all the miserable exiles who, according to the often quoted phrase, were to choose between it and—Hell.

The same measure that was given to the rural population was meted out also to the townsfolk; to all, that is, who were Papists. They were to be cleared out, and English Protestants invited to take their places. In spite of the offer of very favourable terms, English buyers did not appear, or appeared in very small numbers, while the banishment of the Catholic traders was ruinous to the towns themselves; in so far, that is, as it was carried out; for neither these nor many other decrees were very extensively or very strictly obeyed.

As might have been expected, many of the Irish, especially of the younger men, rather than go to Connacht preferred to leave Ireland altogether. Great numbers joined the Spanish army. Others fled to the woods and became tories. Others again, feeble and despairing, wandered about the lands that had once been theirs. These, when

captured, were sent as slaves to the West Indies, or, in some instances, hanged.

The Planters are Settled on the Land.—As soon as the Irish Papist landowners had been, to some extent, got rid of, that is to say in the Summer of 1653, the great work of settling the adventurers and soldiers on the lands which had been cleared was begun.

Already, indeed sometimes many months before this, numbers of the soldiers had sold the shares assigned them, sometimes for a few pints of beer or a couple of shillings. The purchasers were often the officers of the regiments, who thus, by buying up many shares, accumulated for themselves great estates at a nominal cost.

When the companies were marched down to the districts assigned them, and the lands portioned out to the individual soldiers, these were often discontented, even at first, and more discontented afterwards when they had made trial of the conditions under which they were henceforth to live. There was no good beer, they said, nor good cheese to be had, and there was no one to marry. To marry the Irish Catholic girls they were forbidden, unless these would change their religion, which they rarely were willing to do. In the end a good many abandoned their lands and returned to their own country.

In the assignments there were frequent mistakes, and still more frequent frauds. Men contrived, by bribing officials, to have excellent lands scheduled as "barren," and added to their shares. Some adventurers managed to obtain lands yielding an annual income of several thousand pounds for an original subscription of as many hundreds. Under the Restoration, the Irish Attorney-General, Domville, gave it as his opinion that the soldiers and adventurers had got into their hands, one way or another, nearly a million and a quarter acres more than was justly due to them.

Sufferings of the Irish.—It will readily be understood that official carelessness and official blunders were not likely to be less flagrant when only the transplanted Irish were concerned. Many of the exiles died of want while waiting for the judgment of the Commissioner on their cases. Others discovered, when they desired to take possession of the Connacht lands assigned them, that these had already been granted to others. People of the highest rank were reduced to utter destitution. Viscount Ikerin wandered about "a miserable object of pity." "Viscount Roche's daughter died for want of requisite accommodation."

Extent of the Settlement.—To ascertain the amount of land actually confiscated under the Cromwellian Settlement Scheme and the number of persons actually transplanted, is rendered extremely difficult by the evasions, frauds and mistakes already alluded to, as well as by the fact that many decrees were made which were never carried out. The latest

authorities consider that some 11,000,000 acres—somewhat more than half the acreage of Ireland—was confiscated, including the Connacht lands "set out" to the transplanted. Of this, however, much was subsequently occupied by Irish tenants.

The transplanted are said to have numbered about 50,000 persons; whilst those banished, sent to the plantations, or who left the country of their own accord, were about 40,000. This then accounted for 90,000 out of a population of something over three quarters of a million. These figures can, however, be considered only as rough approximations.

It had been originally intended that, of the Catholics unable to fulfil the almost impossible conditions required for proving their "constant good affection" to the Parliament, only those whose valuation was under £10 yearly should escape transportation; while, in a large district on the east coast—that bounded by the Boyne, the Barrow and the sea—no Irish whatever should be allowed to remain, nor should any be suffered to reside in the towns. Subsequently it was found necessary to considerably relax these regulations. The planters in the reserved districts complained that they could get no labourers to till their lands. The town-dwellers implored that the Catholic traders might not be disturbed.

Results of the Cromwellian Settlement.—The story of the Munster and of the Ulster Plantations was repeated. The English who remained, especially the soldiers, ignored the prohibition against intermarrying with the native Irish. They took to themselves Irish Catholic wives, and their children, following the mothers, became Irish in habit, tongue and creed. Some of the sons and daughters of Oliver's soldiers, we hear, could not speak a word of English. How great a failure the Settlement had been, as regards the anglicization of Ireland or the spreading within its shores of the Reformed Doctrines, is clearly shown by the results of the Census of Ireland taken by order of the Parliament in 1659. The figures for 27 of the 32 counties are extant, and show the following results: The relative proportions of Irish to English was in Leinster 13 to 2; in Ulster 5 to 2; in Munster 10 to 1; while, of 87,352 inhabitants of Connacht, only 7,672 were English. In this connection the term "English" may be taken as equivalent to "Protestants," and "Irish" to "Catholics." It is not, however, probable that this census was either very accurate or very complete.

In one respect, however, that of transferring the bulk of the landed property of Ireland from the native or Anglo-Irish proprietors to the Planters, the Cromwellian Settlement was, from the point of view of its originators, a decided success. Even after the Acts of Charles II had restored many of the former proprietors, the Irish held of the land of the country probably no more than, at most, one-eighth, while before the Civil War they had held about half. The Irish Papists remained indeed

almost as numerous as ever, but they had fallen from their high estate, and had become, if not actually the servants, the inferiors in social condition and in wealth of the strangers, who now held the fertile corn fields and pastures which had once been theirs.

Ireland under the Commonwealth.—During the six years of Commonwealth rule that followed the Cromwellian Settlement, Ireland had but little history. The religious rites of the Catholic Church were forbidden, and all priests were ordered to leave the country. Catholics were excluded from offices of trust, and could not administer justice,

keep school, or become barristers or solicitors. Still, while the sufferings of the clergy, forced to take refuge in woods and swamps, were often very severe, there was not much positive persecution of the laity.

The kidnapping of Catholic children for the Plantations in America and the West Indies still continued, and was only checked when some children of English Planters were seized, and their parents made strong representations to the authorities. There were constant complaints of the over-taxation of Ireland, and of the trade restrictions; constant petitions of individuals who regarded themselves as unjustly treated in the land settlement, and constant letters of officials on the unsatisfactory behaviour of the colonists, their non-observance of the prohibition to take Irish tenants, their absenteeism, their failure to pay their rents.

Still, on the whole, Ireland, during these years, recovered to a considerable extent from the terrible consequences of the Civil War. Population increased; cattle and farm produce began again to be exported and some attempts were made to revive industries.

In 1653, Cromwell selected six persons, all prominent members of his own party, to attend the Parliament at Westminster as representatives of Ireland. There was not even the pretence of an election. In 1654, the same process was practically repeated, though there seems to have been some sort of sham election, but the number of Irish members was now to be thirty. Two, three, or more of the old constituencies were, in most cases, amalgamated, and either one or two members assigned to them jointly. These men sat also in the Parliament of 1656, and, in addition, six others were summoned to Cromwell's "Second House," a sort of sham House of Lords. In 1659, they attended the last Parliament of the Commonwealth. Although, as far as Ireland was concerned at least, these were not true Parliaments in any sense, they may perhaps be regarded as the first attempts at a Legislative Union between Ireland and England.

The Restoration.—On September 3rd, 1658, Oliver Cromwell died, and in the following May the army forced Richard, his incapable son, to resign the Protectorship.

All over England there was a strong Royalist feeling, and it was evident that the exiled King, Charles II, would soon be restored. In Ireland, Coote and Broghill had begun to communicate with Ormond and with Charles himself. Finally, they threw off the mask; seized Dublin Castle, and sent Sir Hardress Waller, the Parliamentary leader, a prisoner to England. Most of the garrison towns joined the Royalist Party, and a Convention Parliament was summoned, which met in Dublin in February, 1660. The restoration of the King was at once agreed on, and large sums of money voted to him and to his brothers. In May, Charles II was solemnly proclaimed in Dublin without any opposition.

CHAPTER XII

IRELAND UNDER CHARLES II

The Declaration of Breda : Difficulty of Carrying Out its Provisions in Ireland.—In the Declaration issued from Breda before his return to England, Charles had promised that, with certain exceptions—those, as it afterwards appeared, of the regicides who had signed Charles I's death-warrant—none of his subjects, " of what degree of guilt soever," should find, that " any crime whatsoever " committed against either his father or himself should " ever rise in judgment or be brought in question against any of them, to the least endangerment of them, either in their lives, liberties or estates." This he guaranteed, " upon the word of a King solemnly given." To carry this out literally, as regards the disposal of the Irish land which had been confiscated under the Cromwellian Settlement, appeared impossible. The Planters who held it had received it in return for money subscribed or military service rendered to the rebel English Parliament. If deprived of it, they would obviously be made to suffer for acts done in aid of a rebellion against the King. On the other hand, the Irish proprietors had been dispossessed of these same lands for a rebellion also, but which might be held to be one either against the Parliament or against the King. In the one case, they, from the Royalist point of view, merited rather reward than punishment; in the other, the confiscation of their property, if maintained, would violate the undertaking given in the Declaration. But if the old proprietors were to have their lands restored, the Planters must lose them. Faith must thus, it appeared, be broken with one side or the other. It soon appeared which party was to suffer.

The partisans of the late Government, and especially the army, were still strong and in power. Charles dared not run the risk of offending them. On the other hand, the old Royalists in Ireland, and the remains of the Confederate parties, were weak and depressed. They might safely be ignored.

Charles himself was not unwilling to do justice to the Irish, but he was too selfish to run the smallest risk of having " to go again on his travels " for any person or any cause.

Arrangements Regarding the Irish Lands.—In November (1660) a " Declaration regarding the Settlement of Ireland " was issued by the King. He began by acknowledging the great services rendered to him by Irish officers and soldiers during his exile. He then went on to set forth the difficulty of reconciling the different interests in Ireland, and to mention the readiness which the army had displayed to help in his Restoration. Finally, he concluded by the announcement that, though in strict justice the soldiers and adventurers had no title to the lands which they held, yet he would yield to mercy and suffer them to retain them. The second part of the Declaration outlined the arrangements to be made.

It was in accordance with the terms of this document that the " Act for the Settlement of Ireland," which was put before the Irish Parliament in May 1661, was passed. The Preamble was intended to convey the impression that, the Catholic Irish having rebelled against Charles I, certain of his loyal Protestant subjects had subdued them, and, during the " absence " of his present Majesty, deprived them, as a punishment for their rebellion, of their estates. Having done this, they at once proceeded to recall the King, and place themselves and the people whom they had conquered under his authority. According to this " amazing piece of historical fiction," as it has been aptly styled, the adventurers and soldiers had, the one contributed their money, the other hazarded their lives to reduce the Papist rebels to obedience to the Crown. If this were so, it would follow that they should not be deprived of the rewards which they had so well merited.

In the arrangements regarding the disposal of the lands which followed, great consideration was shown to the adventurers and soldiers, who were confirmed in the grants made them under the Cromwellian Settlement. In case, however, that the owner whom they had dispossessed was adjudged to be an " innocent " person, one that is who had taken no part whatever in the Irish rebellion, had not lived in " rebel quarters," or communicated with rebels, the Cromwellian planter should at once yield up the land to him, but should be fully " reprised " elsewhere, receiving an equal number of acres. Certain nominees of the King, a list of whose names is given, were also to be restored ; in some cases immediately, in others only after land for " reprisals " had been found for the ejected planter. In the case of the " Ensign men," those who had followed the King's fortunes abroad, and in that of " Article men," who had accepted terms of peace during the Civil War, the condition of the previous reprisal of the man in possession was to be rigidly enforced. In actual fact the ancient proprietor was, by such a proviso, in the vast majority of cases prevented from ever

regaining his property at all. Thus, only some "nominees" and "innocents" were really likely to derive benefit from the Act, except where the estate of an "article man" or "ensign man" still remained unassigned in the hands of the authorities.

To carry out the provisions of the Act fairly and honestly it would be needful, as Ormond remarked, to discover a new Ireland. The land available for the purpose was, first, some portions which had been confiscated, but not yet granted to anyone; secondly, a certain amount which could be resumed by disallowing the "Doubling Ordinance" of 1643, by which an adventurer who added twenty-five per cent. to his original subscription became entitled to a double number of acres; thirdly, the regicides' estates; and lastly, whatever, on investigation, should prove to have been fraudulently acquired by the Planters, over and above their just due. All this, however, would not nearly suffice to reprise the ejected Cromwellians, if any considerable number of the old proprietors were to be reinstated. To make the Act workable at all, the only method to pursue was to make reinstatement as difficult as possible, by throwing obstacles which few could surmount in the way of the Irish claimants. This in effect was done without scruple.

Injustice Done to the Irish Landowners.—A Commission of seven was appointed to try the cases concerning the confiscated lands. Of the 820 old proprietors whose claims were considered in the seven months during which the Commission sat, the great majority succeeded in proving their "innocency." The Parliament grew alarmed, and it was decided that, after August 21st, 1663, no more cases should be heard. The number of cases which remained uninvestigated when the Commission terminated its sittings was certainly some thousands. Some of the unheard claimants succeeded subsequently in having their titles to the lands which they had taken in Connacht confirmed; but many had taken no such lands and were wholly destitute. Of the amount of land actually restored we have no complete evidence. On this point authorities differ very widely. Many of the orders for restoration were evaded; some old proprietors, who had failed to obtain such an order, succeeded in buying out the Cromwellian occupant at a cheap rate.

In 1664 an Act of Explanation, intended to make more land available for "reprisals," was passed by the Irish Parliament. By it the adventurers and soldiers were obliged to part with one-third of the lands assigned them under the Cromwellian Settlement. Those who benefited by this were, however, chiefly certain named persons of influence.

When the treatment meted out to the Irish is considered, it is but fair to remember that the old Celtic party, and some of the Anglo-Irish,

had joined the Confederation and taken part in the Civil War to further their own cause rather than that of the King. Still, amongst the latter, there were numbers of sincere and ardent Royalists, while the offences of even the worst of the former against the House of Stuart were incomparably less than those of the Cromwellians. Yet it was to the latter that Charles II elected to show mercy "at the expense, not only of delinquents of lesser guilt, but also of that of hundreds whose devotion had merited from him the greatest rewards he had power to bestow."

State of Ireland during the Reign of Charles II.—Although the reign opened with disappointed hopes and cruel deception for large numbers of the King's Irish subjects, yet its course of twenty-five years was not altogether unprosperous for the country in general. The Act of 1667, which forbade the export of Irish cattle to England, certainly caused widespread distress, but the wool-trade flourished and woollen cloth was sent in great quantities to England and abroad.

Sir William Petty's "Political Anatomy of Ireland" gives us much information regarding the state of the country about 1672. He estimates the population at that time as rather over a million, of whom more than half were very poor, dwelling in wretched cabins, sleeping on straw, and living, as a rule, on milk and potatoes. Wages were low, but necessities so cheap that a family of six persons could live on about £16 a year. Many were well educated. French was not unknown, and the Latin tongue was "very frequent amongst the poorest Irish and chiefly in Kerry." Trade was much fettered by restrictions, and to this and the uncertainty of land-tenure, was due, to a great extent, the laziness with which the Irish were frequently reproached.

The Established Church.—In Ireland, as in England, the Protestant Episcopalian Church was, immediately after the Restoration, replaced in the position of dignity and authority from which it had been degraded by the Parliamentary Government. The lands of the Sees were restored and the numerous vacancies in the episcopal bench at once filled, in most cases by the appointment of Englishmen. The revenues were sufficiently large to prove attractive to these strangers. The Primate received £5,000 a year; the Archbishop of Dublin £3,000. On the other hand, most of the lower clergy were badly paid, some being expected to subsist on £16 or £20 per annum, the amount which Petty notes as barely sufficient for the maintenance of a labourer and his family.

The restored Church showed a tendency to visit on the Dissenters the humiliations which, for some ten years, she had endured at their hands. Stern discipline was enforced, and an order was made that ministers who refused to use in public services the prescribed liturgy, and to declare on oath their belief that resistance to the authority of the

King was always and under all circumstances unlawful, should be ejected from their livings. This, in a good many cases, was actually done. On the whole, however, the laws against the Dissenters were not strictly carried out, and their lot compared very favourably with that of their brethren in England at this period.

Treatment of the Catholics.—The Catholic Church in Ireland was not at this period regarded, as we hear she was some fifty years later, as "an old lion with its teeth drawn." Her influence and the power of her followers was feared by those who remembered the Confederation Government and the deeds of Eoghan Ruadh. Partly on account of this fear, and partly owing to the influence direct or indirect of the King, whose leanings to Catholicity were well known to his ministers, the persecuting laws against the Irish Catholics, though none of those passed in the preceding reigns were repealed, and some were even added, were generally little enforced. The Deputy, Essex (1669), strongly opposed a project for extending to Ireland the penal code against the Catholics which was in force in England. He warned the Government that, if this were attempted, and especially if the secular clergy were banished, there would be serious trouble, and it would be needful to keep large bodies of troops under arms all over the country to hold the people in check.

Isolated acts of severity, generally due to the anti-Catholic zeal of some official, frequently took place. Thus, in 1670, Lord Ossory boasts that he has turned the Catholics out of the city of Limerick. In most cases, however, positive persecution was only exercised against the clergy. Priests were often fined and imprisoned; sometimes for special acts, as publicly denying the King's Supremacy; sometimes for exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction on Papal authority. At times there was a wave of ill-feeling towards the Catholics in the English Parliament, which soon made itself apparent in Ireland, by official acts of the King and his Council. Thus, in 1673, a Proclamation was issued requiring all Catholic archbishops, bishops, ecclesiastical dignitaries and regular priests to quit the country. Very few of the clergy appear to have taken any heed of the order, but the Bishop of Clogher declared that he had been obliged to fly to the woods. Even the highest dignitaries of the Catholic Church were very poor, and obliged to live in the humblest way. In 1673, of 120 parishes in the diocese of Ossory, only twenty-eight had a parish priest. Sometimes a priest served six parishes.

Even at times of the greatest lenity, Catholics were excluded from all considerable public offices, and only very few of them attained, by the connivance of the authorities, to even the lower ones. They could not administer justice, become Privy Councillors, members of Corporations, or Fellows of a University.

The Popish Plot.—Towards the end of the reign a storm of persecution, exceeding in violence anything that they had experienced for almost a century, burst over the heads of the Catholics, both in Ireland and in England.

An Englishman of low origin and of infamous character, named Titus Oates, pretended to have discovered an extensive "Popish Plot," the object of which was to murder the King, place the Duke of York, his brother, who nine years before had declared himself a Catholic, on the throne, and, being helped by a French invasion, overthrow the Protestant Church. Oates was examined before the Privy Council and repeated his story. The evidence which he tendered was slight and unreliable, and his own statements in many cases inconsistent one with another or demonstrateably false. Nevertheless, most of the Members of the Council either believed him or pretended to do so. The Parliament and the people of England appeared to be seized with veritable madness, and to thirst for Catholic blood. Catholics of the highest positions and of most unblemished reputations were sent to the scaffold on the perjured and purchased testimony of the most abandoned wretches. The King himself absolutely disbelieved in the Plot, and said so in private, but it would have been dangerous and difficult for him to set himself against the tide; and danger or difficulty Charles was not prepared to face for any cause.

The fury soon spread to Ireland. Ormond, the Viceroy, put no more faith on this tale than did his Royal Master, but he did not dare to give a pretext to his enemies to attack him by declaring this openly. The measures which he adopted were stringent. He caused the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy to be administered to everyone serving in either the army or militia. He closed Catholic schools and dispersed convents. He issued a Proclamation offering rewards for the apprehension of all bishops and regular clergy. He ordered all Catholics to surrender their arms. Many prominent Catholics, including several bishops, were imprisoned. Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, who was in bad health, died in prison (1680).

A Proclamation had been issued inviting persons to "make discoveries" as to the "Popish Plot" in Ireland, and naturally a large number of disreputable individuals presented themselves. Ormond found himself obliged, much to his disgust, to send many of them to England at the Government expense, to be examined by the authorities there. In a private letter he describes them as cow-stealers, who, having gone out of Ireland "with bad English and worse clothes, are returned hither well-bred gentlemen," with "fashionable shoes and glittering buckles."

Trial and Execution of Oliver Plunkett.—Still, in spite of all efforts, the Plot did not succeed at all as well in Ireland as in England. There was such a complete absence of any real proof of the guilt of the persons arrested, and the witnesses against them contradicted each other and themselves so constantly, that even prejudiced judges or juries would be unlikely to convict on such evidence, and the majority were soon released. One illustrious Irish victim was, however, to be sacrificed to the senseless fury excited by Oates and his accomplices. Oliver Plunkett was descended from an old Pale family and connected with several holders of Irish peerages. Born in 1629, he was educated on the Continent, and afterwards, as a professor of Theology and Philosophy, acquired a high reputation. Subsequently he returned to Ireland, and, in 1669, was consecrated as Archbishop of Armagh. His political views were so far from being extreme or disloyal to the Government, that he might be regarded as rather erring by excessive subservience. In 1671, he received a gift of £200 from Charles himself. All this, however, could not save a man who was head of the Catholic Church in Ireland. In December, 1678, he was arrested. His accusers were bad specimens even of the class of informers. When he was arraigned at Dundalk on a charge of high treason (July, 1680) these personages, of whom one of the chief was Edmund Murphy, a degraded priest, whom the Archbishop had ejected from his parish for several grave offences, felt that they were too well known, and did not appear. As no evidence against him was tendered, the Louth Grand Jury refused to find a Bill. He was conveyed to London, and there again charged on the same count. Although the witnesses had been carefully drilled, their stories still so frequently contradicted each other that the first Grand Jury refused to believe them. A second was more accommodating, and, a True Bill being found against Oliver Plunkett, he was put on his trial before the Court of King's Bench (May, 1681). The delay granted to enable him to bring witnesses from Ireland proved insufficient, and when, on June 8th, the trial was proceeded with, these witnesses, although already in England, had not yet reached London. A further postponement for even a few days was refused. The Archbishop was obliged to face his accusers without the help of a counsel—it was at this period not permitted to employ one in treason cases—or the support of testimony in his favour. He defended himself with considerable skill, denied that he had ever engaged in or countenanced disloyal designs, held communication with foreign governments or received money from them for political purposes. Nevertheless, the testimony of the perjured informers was believed, and he was condemned. He was hanged at Tyburn July 1st, 1681.

During the remainder of the reign there was a reaction, and the treatment of the Catholics became again much what it had been previous to 1678. The country was relatively prosperous; the revenue increased and there was actually a surplus, which the King promised to employ in promoting some useful object in Ireland. There had been no Irish Parliament for eighteen years, and it was suggested that one should be summoned, but this was not done.

Charles died February 6th, 1685, and as he left no legitimate child, James, Duke of York, his brother, who had in 1667 declared himself a Catholic, succeeded him.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Restoration of Charles II*)	1660
Act for the Settlement of Ireland	1661
Act of Explanation	1664
(*Treaty of Dover*)	1670
The Popish Plot	1678
Execution of Oliver Plunkett	1681
(*Death of Charles II. James II succeeds him*)	1685

CHAPTER XIII

THE IRISH POLICY OF JAMES II

Policy of James II.—The position of the new King of England, the Catholic ruler of a strongly Protestant and anti-Catholic people, was one requiring the utmost tact and discretion. Unfortunately, in these qualities precisely James was conspicuously lacking. In character he resembled rather his father than his brother. Like Charles I, he believed firmly in the principle of the Divine Right of Kings, and their responsibility to God alone for their acts. Like him, he was dull and obstinate. He was, however, free from the propensity to lying and double-dealing which had done so much to bring about the fall of Charles.

The object which James set before him was to place those of his own Faith on a footing of at least equality with the members of the Established Church, both in England and in Ireland. Ireland, where the overwhelming majority of the population was Catholic, appeared to him a good field for political experiments in this direction. It was seemingly only from this point of view that it interested him. He had no special sympathy with the people, and, when he made personal trial of the country, he very strongly disliked it.

Soon after his accession, he selected as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland the (2nd) Earl of Clarendon and, as Lieutenant-General of the Irish forces, Richard Talbot, on whom he a little later conferred the title of Earl of Tyrconnel. Clarendon was a strong Protestant, but he was still more a courtier, whose greatest aim would be to please the King. Talbot was a Catholic, member of a family settled in Ireland since the twelfth century. He was the younger brother of the Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, who had died in prison during the "Popish Plot" scare. There has been much dispute regarding his character, and some regarding his abilities, which latter do not appear to have been remarkable. The Lord Lieutenant was directed to quietly suspend the execution of the anti-Popery laws, and to slip Catholics into vacant offices when an opportunity for doing so presented itself.

Favour Shown to the Catholics.—To the Protestants of Ireland the accession of James had caused much apprehension, and when Talbot,

in accordance with his instructions, began to "remodel" the army by turning out Protestant soldiers and officers and substituting Catholics their fears naturally increased. Flagrant acts of injustice were perpetrated, by depriving young Protestant officers of the commissions for which they had paid large sums only a few years before, which naturally caused great indignation. In the law offices, too, changes were made; three Protestant judges being superseded and replaced by Catholics. Of the new judges, two, Denis Daly and Stephen Rice, were certainly lawyers of good standing and ability. The third, Thomas Nugent, is stated, by an enemy, to have been remarkable only for his brogue and his ignorance of the law. Catholics were admitted to the Privy Council, and were named sheriffs. Clarendon regarded all this as most imprudent, but he did not dare to oppose it, and could not restrain Tyrconnel.

So far there had been no actual resistance, but the uneasiness and unrest were growing. Clarendon's reports grew more and more alarming; the actions of Tyrconnel and his subordinates more and more imprudent. "Landed proprietors," the Lord Lieutenant writes, "feel so little confidence in the security of the tenure of their estates that they are trying to sell their land and leave the country. Many have actually gone; quantities of money have also been sent away. Things in the army are in a desperate condition; 500 men have been dismissed from the Guards. In nine months, 2,300 new recruits have joined, and of these five-sixths are Catholics. The arms are most unsatisfactory, the guns especially. There are not 800 barrels of powder in the whole of Ireland."

Clarendon's private letters are full of complaints of Tyrconnel personally. If even a small part of the "loose talk" on the latter's part which the Lord Lieutenant records could justly be laid to his charge, it must have greatly aggravated the situation, and strengthened the belief of the Irish Protestants that the oppression which, so far, they had been permitted by the English Government to exercise over their Catholic fellow-countrymen was about, by that very Government, to be repaid with interest.

The King's next move was to alter the Constitution of the Irish Corporations. These bodies were mostly exclusively Protestant, though many Catholics still enjoyed the privileges of freemen which they had inherited from their ancestors. Writs were now issued ordering an investigation of the Charters of almost all the Corporations. When the cases were brought to trial, the judges, who were removable at the King's pleasure, naturally decided for his Majesty. The Charters were declared void and new ones issued. These new Charters appointed the Municipal officers by name, and arranged that vacancies should be filled by co-options. About two-thirds of those appointed were Catholics.

Tyrconnel appointed Lord Lieutenant : His Imprudence.—Clarendon had shown a courtier-like subservience, and such remonstrances as he had ventured now and then to address to the King had been singularly mild. Nevertheless, James desired a more willing instrument, and early in 1687 he recalled him and appointed Tyrconnel in his place.

Under Tyrconnel's rule almost every week was marked by some fresh act of imprudence. Almost all the sheriffs were now Catholics, and on the bench but one Protestant remained. Two new regiments, consisting exclusively of Catholics, were raised and were sent to England to be trained.

Still, it must not be supposed that the Lord Deputy practised, or his Royal Master enjoined, acts of absolute tyranny against the minority in Ireland. Tyrconnel, as regards the smaller offices which were in his gift, and the King in respect of the more important ones, certainly favoured the Catholics unduly, but the Protestants were not oppressed, as they and their ancestors had oppressed the Catholics in the past, and as they and their posterity were to oppress the Catholics in the future. No disabilities were imposed upon them as a body ; their religious services were not interfered with nor their clergy molested. It was but natural, however, that those who had long been permitted to exercise an ascendancy over their fellow-subjects should regard a descent to the level of the latter as an acute grievance, and any extra favour shown to those on whom they had been accustomed to trample, as positive persecution to themselves,

Rebellion in England: Flight of James II.—Meanwhile, in England affairs were rapidly approaching a crisis. In April, 1687, James published, on his own authority, a "Declaration of Indulgence," by which he suspended the execution of all laws against both the Catholics and the Dissenters. Not only were the members of the Established Church indignant at this, but the Dissenters themselves were alarmed at the assumption on which the the Declaration rested : that the King could, at his pleasure, supersede the authority of the law. Moreover, they were well aware that the favours granted to them were merely a cloak to prevent the real intention of James—the elevation of his co-religionists—from appearing too plainly before the public eye.

In the following year (April, 1688) a second Declaration of Indulgence was issued, and it was directed that on a certain Sunday it should be read in all churches. When seven of the Bishops of the Established Church presented a petition against this decree, the King ordered them to be tried for seditious libel. But the jury, to the great delight of the populace, acquitted them.

Much as, by these acts and the general methods of his Government, James had exasperated the English people, it is probable that, had they had confidence in a termination in the fairly near future of the Papist ascendancy, they would have continued, for some time longer at least, to endure his rule. So far, they had felt this confidence, and with good reason. James was already fifty-five years of age. By his second wife he had no surviving child; so that Mary, the elder of the two daughters of his first marriage, was heiress to the throne. Mary was a Protestant, and married to a Protestant, her cousin William of Orange, Stadtholder of Holland; while, should she die childless, there remained her sister Anne, also a Protestant. There seemed little fear of a second Catholic ruler for Great Britain. But an event which occurred in June, 1688, overthrew all these pleasing calculations. The Queen, Mary of Modena, gave birth to a son. This child would, of course, be brought up in the religion of his parents, and the English people saw before them, with horror, the prospect of a long series of Catholic monarchs. This they could not endure. Only a few weeks after the Prince's birth an invitation was conveyed to the Prince of Orange, asking him to accept the English Crown. William consented, and in the following November he landed with his forces in England. He was everywhere welcomed with delight, and James, deserted by almost everyone, was obliged to fly. In December he left England and betook himself to France, whither he had already sent his wife and infant son, and where the reigning monarch, Louis XIV, received the fugitives most kindly. In February, 1689, a Convention Parliament having offered the Crown to William and Mary as joint Sovereigns, they accepted it.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Tyrconnel, Lord Deputy	1687
(*Birth of the Prince of Wales*)	1688
(*Declaration of Indulgence. Flight of James II*) . .	1688
(*The English Parliament offers the Crown to William and Mary*)	1689

CHAPTER XIV

THE WILLIAMITE WAR

PART I

Unrest in Ireland : Derry Shuts her Gates.—During the autumn and early winter of 1688 there had been increasing unrest and alarm in Ireland. There were rumours of a plot of the Protestants to massacre the Catholics, and counter rumours of a plot of the Catholics to massacre the Protestants. The merest spark might set the country in a blaze, and this spark was supplied. Derry, which had been one of the towns conferred on the London Companies by James I at the time of the Ulster Plantation (see *Chapter II, Book V*), was an intensely Protestant city. It had hitherto been garrisoned by a Protestant regiment, that of Mountjoy, but in November this was removed to Dublin and was to be replaced by the Catholic regiment of Lord Antrim. Councils of rebellion began to prevail. Finally, when it was announced that the Papist regiments were actually in sight, the 'prentice boys of the city took the law into their own hands, and shut the gates in the faces of the soldiers (December 7th, 1688). Other towns in Ulster, and notably Enniskillen, followed the example of Derry more or less closely, and had considerable success over the Government forces. This emboldened the men of Derry. They proclaimed William and Mary in their market place, and sent messengers to England to ask for help. The Civil War had begun.

Complicated Political Situation : Aims of the Various Parties.—The political situation was exceedingly complicated, owing to the different motives of the personages and the parties, and the different courses of action which resulted. Except by the Irish themselves, the interests of Ireland were little considered. She was merely a pawn in the game.

James was in France, and above all things was anxious, as speedily as might be, to regain his crown. He regarded Ireland as the most favourable battlefield to begin the contest; for there his creed, which won him unpopularity in England, would be the greatest asset in his favour. Nothing could, however, be further from his thoughts than any desire to reign as King of Ireland alone.

To Louis XIV, the exiled King's host, things presented themselves

in a different aspect. He was willing to help James, chiefly because, by so doing, he hoped to forward his own schemes for domination on the Continent. To the accomplishment of these schemes the Dutch Stadtholder, William, had so far been the chief obstacle. He had not only thrown all the power of Holland, and notably of her very important navy, into the scales against him, but he had stirred up opposition and formed coalitions abroad. As King of England, William's power to injure Louis would be immensely increased; while, on the other hand, if James were restored by the aid of the French King, he would almost of necessity remain subservient to him, and the forces of England would be, to a considerable extent, at his disposal. At the worst it might be possible to so prolong the struggle in Ireland as to divert the forces of William from the Continent for a considerable time; or, if William abandoned the country, to maintain James as King there, and preserve for France a useful base for hostilities against the usurper in England.

From Louis' motives those of William can be easily understood. He was, and remained, a Continental ruler and a Dutch patriot. He desired the English Crown, because the power which its possession would give him would enable him to oppose more effectually, and, as he hoped, finally to crush the enemy of his country, whose discomfiture had been his life-long object. He desired to dominate Ireland, because without it his hold on England would be insecure.

There remain the Irish themselves—Anglo-Irish and Celtic-Irish—all united now, as they had signally failed to be in the days of the Confederation. What Holland was to William, Ireland was to them. Absolute independence did not appear to them practicable; but they hoped for the security of complete religious toleration, and the reversal of the Acts of Settlement which had robbed them of their lands. Of the first they would be, they considered, certain under a Catholic ruler; while the second they might, if they supported him, expect from his gratitude or extort from his necessity. That James might, at least pending his restoration in England, be satisfied to rule Ireland alone as her King was a pretty general expectation.

James comes to Ireland.—Louis was unable to spare a large number of troops to his departing guest, but he provided some hundreds of excellent officers suitable to train the new Irish levies, great quantities of arms and ammunition, and a considerable sum of money. To take command of the Irish armies several French generals were despatched, of whom Boisseleau, Rosen, and Maumont were the most noted. All were good officers, but the conditions of Irish warfare were quite new to them. They lacked many things, such as good artillery, a properly equipped commissariat, artificers to repair arms, surgeons and medicine

for the wounded and sick, and so forth, to which they had always been accustomed in their Continental campaigns.

James landed at Kinsale, March 12th, 1689. He received a rather discouraging report from Tyrconnel, especially as to the lack of arms and artillery. Still, the whole of the country, except a part of Ulster, was in his hands, and the army at his service numbered over 60,000.

In Dublin, which he reached on March 21st, the lower and middle class citizens especially greeted James with enthusiasm.

The Siege of Derry.—Tyrconnel had sent a force to the north under Richard Hamilton, and on April 19th the siege of Derry was begun. Derry stands on the river Foyle, and its fortifications, which still remain, were such as in that age were regarded as not ineffective. The surrounding wall was eight feet thick and from twelve to twenty-four feet high; provided with bastions on which twenty cannons were mounted. The Jacobite army was raw, ill armed, and during most of the siege badly commanded. The besieged, on the other hand, were poorly supplied with ammunition and provisions. The garrison numbered about 7,500, but the townsmen lent efficient aid in the defence. Lundy, the Governor, had secretly left the city, and Colonel Baker took his place. Baker's efforts were seconded by the Reverend George Walker, a militant clergyman of remarkable courage and capacity, who acted as Assistant Governor. As attempts to take the city by assault failed, a blockade was resolved on, and the river was closed by a great timber boom, so that no provisions could reach Derry. James, who, in the belief that his mere presence would ensure a speedy surrender, had journeyed north, finding his expectations in this respect disappointed, withdrew, and returned to Dublin (April 29th) to open the Parliament which he had summoned.

Within the city provisions soon ran short. Horses, dogs, cats and rats were luxuries, and all sorts of garbage was devoured. Still the townsmen held out, although pardon, free exercise of their religion and preservation of their property were offered them, if they would surrender. Early in July, Rosen endeavoured to shake their constancy by a barbarous expedient. He collected the Protestant peasantry from the country round, and exposed them in the open fields under the walls in full sight of the besieged, guarding them with soldiers so that they could not escape. He would keep them there till they died of hunger, he declared, if Derry were not given up. The citizens retorted by a threat to hang all their prisoners, if the country folk were not suffered to depart. Perhaps owing to this, but probably more in consequence of the remonstrances of the officers of his army, Rosen released the peasants, after two days (July 4th). James, when informed of what Rosen had done, was

extremely angry and recalled him, placing Richard Hamilton in command.

All through July the brave Derry men endured the tortures of hunger. From the Williamite leader, Kirke, came promises of speedy succour, but for the succour itself the starving citizens long waited in vain.

At last (July 28th), three small vessels were seen making their way slowly up the Foyle. In spite of the fire from the forts they continued to advance, and at last crashed into the boom. One recoiled, but the others pushed through, and that night they anchored at the quay side, and the abundant stock of provisions which they carried was distributed to the multitudes, who ran down to welcome their deliverers. Three days later the Jacobite army struck their tents and departed. The siege of Derry, which had lasted for 105 days, was over.

James' Irish Parliament.—It has been already mentioned that James, soon after his arrival in Dublin, had sent out writs for a Parliament to be held in that city. This Parliament met on May 7th, in the building, once a priory, which occupied the site of the present Four Courts.

In the Commons there were 232 members; while fifty-five peers sat in the Lords. These last included six Protestant bishops. James, after consideration, had decided not to admit Catholic prelates. Of the temporal peers at least eight were Protestants. In the Lower House there were only six Protestants. The parts of the country which had declared for William did not, of course, return members.

The legislation of James' Parliament was in many respects enlightened and praiseworthy. Complete religious toleration was to be given to all, and tithes should be paid by the members of each Church to their own clergy, whereas, up to now, since the Reformation, all had been obliged to contribute to the support of the religious ministers of the Establishment. This latter enactment should certainly have been accompanied by some clause arranging that a life pension should be secured to the actual incumbents, though nothing of the sort had been done when the Catholic priests had been deprived of the tithes. It was specifically declared that the English Parliament could not pass laws to bind Ireland, and that appeals from Courts of Justice in Ireland were to be finally settled by the Irish, and not the English House of Lords.*

The Repeal of the Act of Settlement: The Bill of Attainder.—Unfortunately it often happens, with Parliaments as with individuals, that it is their least commendable actions that are longest remembered, and so the name of this Assembly is generally linked, not with those pieces of legislation which we have mentioned, nor with other Acts

* *This was not, as often represented, a repeal of Poynings' Law, which gave the English Parliament no power in Ireland.*

passed by it to promote the welfare of the country, but rather with its two most imprudent enactments—the Reversal of the Act of Settlement and the passing of the Bill of Attainder.

To a repeal of the Act of Settlement James had always been opposed. If he now consented to this, it was merely because, as he bitterly declared, the native Irish party "rammed it down his throat." It would be useless to explain the details of the measure which now, with little opposition, passed through both Houses, since it never actually came into effect. Suffice it to say that the Cromwellian soldiers and adventurers and their heirs were to be ejected from the lands which the Act of 1652 had bestowed on them, and which that of 1661 had suffered them to retain, and that the old proprietors who had held them prior to 1641 and their heirs, should be restored. Those who had inherited the lands from Cromwellians owing to blood relationship or marriage were not to receive compensation, but "honest purchasers" should be reprised from the lands of William's adherents which should, it was enacted, be forfeited by their rebellion.

That such an Act should be passed in a Parliament consisting largely of the sons of those who had been driven in 1652 from their ancestral estates is not at all surprising. It is no wonder that they seized this opportunity to right their wrongs, and ignored claims which were founded originally, so they conceived, on robbery and wholesale spoliation. Still, whatever may be thought of its abstract justice, the Repeal of the Act of Settlement was, particularly at this juncture, most unwise, and calculated to provoke intense hostility to James' Government amongst the Protestants of Ireland, as well as amongst his subjects and former subjects across the Channel.

Almost as unwise was the "Act of Attainder," not indeed in its principle, which was that generally acknowledged, that rebellion against a sovereign entails the forfeiture, not only of the rebel's property, but even of his life, but in its method and scope. Lists were prepared, firstly of persons known or asserted to be actual and active adherents of William; secondly of those who had withdrawn from Ireland since November, 1688; thirdly of those who had left before that date. All these were ordered to return to stand their trials for treason, within a certain number of weeks. If they failed to appear within the times specified, their estates would be forfeited, and they themselves liable to suffer the penalties of treason, should they be captured.

The number of persons in the three lists taken together was about 1,800. So carelessly were they drawn up that several actual adherents of James appeared in them. There was no official publication of the lists, which was certainly unfair to those whose properties and lives were

threatened, but neither is there any proof that a "secret conspiracy" was entered into to prevent the terms of the Act from being divulged. Indeed to keep a secret known to over three hundred persons, many of whom had an interest in divulging it, would have been too obviously impossible to be even attempted.

That no one actually suffered any penalty under this Act should not prevent us from condemning it and its authors. It may, however, be taken as certain that, had the triumph of the Jacobite cause afforded an opportunity for putting its clauses into practice, they would have been, by pardons or otherwise, considerably modified on the side of mercy.

The Parliament made a grant to the King of £20,000 a month, to be raised as a land tax for the carrying on of the war. This proving insufficient, James levied £20,000 more in the following year. He also coined money of the face value of over two millions. It was chiefly composed of brass and other base metal, and its use proved, of course, most destructive to trade. It can only be urged in excuse for James that his need was great, and that other English monarchs had foisted base money on Ireland before this, under circumstances of far less necessity. On the 20th of July, 1689, James prorogued the Parliament and it met no more. It is not counted in the official list of Irish Parliaments, as James' competency to summon it is denied.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
The War begun in Ulster	1688
The Siege of Derry	1689
James II's Irish Parliament	1689

CHAPTER XV

THE WILLIAMITE WAR

PART II

Schomberg Lands in Ireland.—In August, Schomberg, William's general, landed at Bangor in Co. Down and captured Carrickfergus. James advanced to Drogheda but Schomberg avoided a battle and encamped at Dundalk, while James quartered his army at Ardee. The winter rains were heavy, and the bulk of the soldiers on both sides raw and unseasoned, so that disease broke out and carried off great numbers in each camp. The Williamites suffered most severely. Of the 14,000 whom Schomberg brought into winter quarters, little more than half were alive by December. He wrote to England for reinforcements, which William sent.

Landing of William: Numbers and Qualities of the Hostile Armies.—Schomberg's army was evidently too much weakened to be relied on, and Schomberg himself, over seventy years of age and lacking, as was natural, dash and fire, could not be trusted to bring the campaign to a speedy termination. William, therefore, resolved to go himself to Ireland. On June 14th, 1690, he landed at Carrickfergus, at the head of an army composed chiefly of Continentals—French Huguenots, Germans, Danes and Dutch—and, joining Schomberg, marched down to Dundalk.

James had returned to Dublin in the previous October, and remained there till after William's arrival. He had received reinforcements from France (March, 1690), numbering about 7,000, all troops of the first quality. But the supplies of arms and powder which were sent were very inadequate. De Lauzun, the general in command, was a man of very small capacity. Louis obtained, in exchange for his veterans, some 5,800 Irishmen, the material from which, when trained, splendid regiments were afterwards formed. They were placed under the command of Lord Mountcashel.

When the news of William's arrival reached Dublin, the more prudent of the Jacobite generals advised their King not to attempt a regular battle, but to retreat westward, and hold the line of the Shannon,

but this James refused to do. On June 16th he left Dublin and joined his army, which encamped on the right or southern bank of the Boyne; while William, marching south, established himself on the northern side of the river. In mere numbers the armies were not very unequal. James had some 25,000, and William, perhaps, 34,000; the difference lay more in the quality of the troops. The Jacobites, with the exception of the French contingent, were untried recruits, badly armed. William's men were mostly experienced soldiers, provided with excellent weapons. Moreover, he had good artillery, while James could only muster eighteen small cannons. As regards generalship, too, the advantage was with the Williamites. William himself was a skilled and experienced general, and with him were the Schombergs, father and son, and Prince George of Hesse; all of whom had been bred to arms and seen many campaigns. On the other side, James' indecision and downright cowardice had the most disastrous effect. Tyrconnel and De Lauzun had only served previously as junior officers, and that too at a period already distant. With leaders of this kind the best subordinate officers could achieve little.

The Battle of the Boyne.—James seems, from the very first, to have thought less of fighting than of securing a means of retreat. Before the battle began he ordered the baggage to be sent back to Dublin, and detailed twelve of his cannon to guard it, so that only six remained with the army. On the evening of July 11th the two armies faced each other ready for battle.

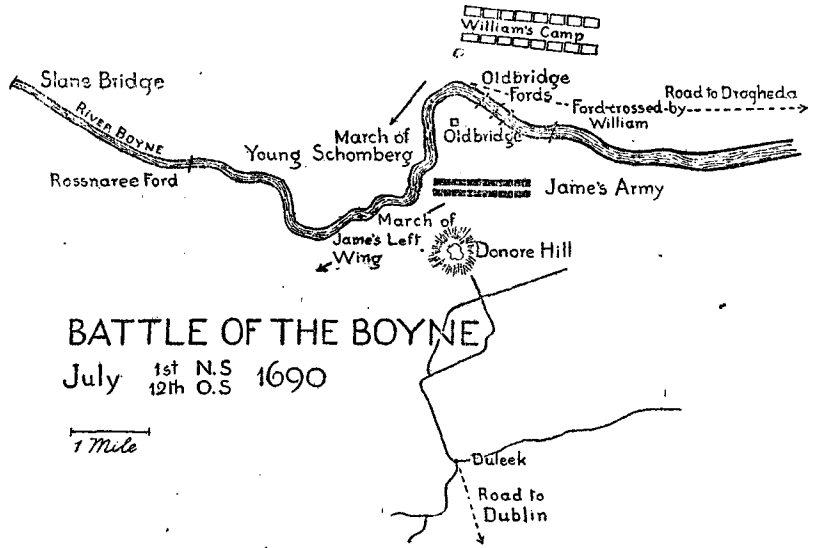
The morning rose fine and sunny, and the troops on each bank were early astir. According to William's design, the main attack was to be at Oldbridge, and was to be led by the elder Schomberg. The first move, however, was made by young Meinhardt Schomberg. Proceeding up in the direction of Slane Bridge, he forced the ford of Rossnaree, which was guarded by Sir Neill O'Neill with a very small body of dragoons. At Oldbridge, Tyrconnel, Berwick and Hamilton were posted, and their very insufficient forces were to have been supported by De Lauzun and the French contingent.

When, however, Lauzun heard that Meinhardt Schomberg had crossed the river, he, like James, fearing lest the retreat should be cut off, not only drew away his own forces towards the left, but actually took several of the finest Irish regiments with him, thus leaving some 5,500 inexperienced soldiers to oppose Schomberg's 15,000, the very pick of William's army.

The Irish soldiers resisted gallantly; the cavalry, in particular, excited the admiration of even the enemy. In the crossing of the river, or after it, Schomberg himself was killed. At last the Jacobites broke and retreated in disorder. Meanwhile, William, who commanded in

person the left wing of his army, had succeeded in crossing lower down between Oldbridge and Drogheda, though sturdily resisted for some time by the Irish Guards.

During this time James and Lauzun had remained on the Irish left, watching the younger Schomberg. The troops with them, some 5,500 French and nearly as many Irish, were the best trained and armed on the Jacobite side, and they had the only six cannons that remained. Nevertheless, they did practically nothing whatever. When James learnt from the fugitives that the river had been crossed by the enemy, he ordered a retreat.



The battle had lasted but a very few hours. The total losses on both sides are said to have amounted to scarcely 2,000. The French spoke of it as "a cavalry skirmish." Nevertheless, its results were momentous.

James leaves Ireland: The Irish Army retires towards the West.—James returned to Dublin, and hastened thence to Duncannon, as fast as horses' feet could carry him. On July 20th he arrived in France, bringing the news of his own defeat.

After James' departure the army, collected and re-organised, drew back towards the west to hold the line of the Shannon. By August, some 20,000 infantry and 3,500 cavalry were assembled at Limerick under the command of Berwick, Boisseleau, Patrick Sarsfield, Sheldon and Maxwell. Cork, Waterford, Athlone and Kinsale were also held for James, but Waterford soon surrendered.

The First Siege of Limerick.—In August William marched from Dublin, and on the 18th "sat down" before Limerick. The fortifications of the city were very poor. Lauzun and Tyrconnel had considered that it could not be defended, and that the best policy would be to make terms with William. Finding themselves outvoted on the War Council by Sarsfield and most of the other Irish officers, they had withdrawn to Galway, taking with them the French troops, some time before the beginning of the siege.

William had with him a force of about 20,000 men, but his guns were small, and he resolved, before commencing serious operations, to await the arrival of a splendid siege-train then on its way to the camp from Dublin; which comprised cannons of the largest size, tin pontoon boats to be used in the making of temporary bridges, and 155 wagon loads of ammunition. This siege-train Sarsfield resolved to intercept and destroy. Taking with him some 500 cavalry, he secretly rode out of the city on the night of August 21st. They swam their horses across the Shannon at Killaloe, and on the slopes of the mountains they lay all day concealed. When darkness came again, they descended, and approached the ruined Castle of Ballyneety, under whose walls the convoy of the siege-train had encamped. As it happened, the watchword of the night was "Sarsfield," and this the Irish had ascertained. When the first sentry challenged them, they replied with a shout, "'Sarsfield' is the word and Sarsfield is the man," and dashed into the camp. Confused and terrified, the Williamites made no resistance. The pontoons and wagons were smashed, the cannons crammed with powder, their muzzles buried in the earth, and a train laid to explode in a given time and blow the whole into the air. As Sarsfield and his men rode back to Limerick, what sounded like a clap of thunder told them that their work was done.

Still, William pushed the siege with vigour. At length a breach was made near St. John's gate, and a general attack was decided on (September 6th). Boisseleau had constructed an inner defence about thirty yards behind the breach, protected it by sacks of wool, and mounted three cannons upon it. When the attacking party reached the crest of the breach, these cannons and the men on the inner rampart opened fire on them. Those who actually entered the breach were met by the Irish regiments, who stood under heavy fire hour after hour, and would not yield a foot of ground. In vain William ordered up reinforcements; these too were repulsed. Boisseleau now commanded a general advance, and the Williamites were driven back to their trenches, having lost probably over 2,000 men.

The season was now advanced and signs were not wanting that the

heavy winter rains were at hand. William decided to abandon the siege (September 9th), and he hastened at once to Dublin, whence he embarked for England. His army followed him more slowly.

Tyrconnel betook himself to France to lay the state of affairs before King Louis, and to ask for further assistance.

Further Aid promised by Louis XIV.—The French monarch must have realised that the chances of James' ultimate success, even in Ireland, were now remote. But the mere diversion of a large part of William's forces from the Continental war for a year or more was an object worth his exerting himself to attain. Some of the French generals had endeavoured to excuse their own failures by representing the Irish as miserable cowardly creatures. But this, Louis, having regard to the qualities displayed in his own service by Mountcashel's Brigade, was scarcely likely to believe, even before the tidings of the defence of Limerick came to confirm his incredulity. Soldiers, indeed, he could not spare, but he would send, he declared, some good officers, money, arms and supplies.

Meanwhile in Ireland things had gone badly for the Jacobite cause. In October, the Earl (afterwards Duke) of Marlborough had captured Cork and Kinsale and taken a good number of prisoners.

In May (1691) General St. Ruth, who had been selected by Louis to conduct the Irish war, entered Limerick. He was a general of excellent military reputation and great experience. Some good officers accompanied him, and he brought arms and supplies.

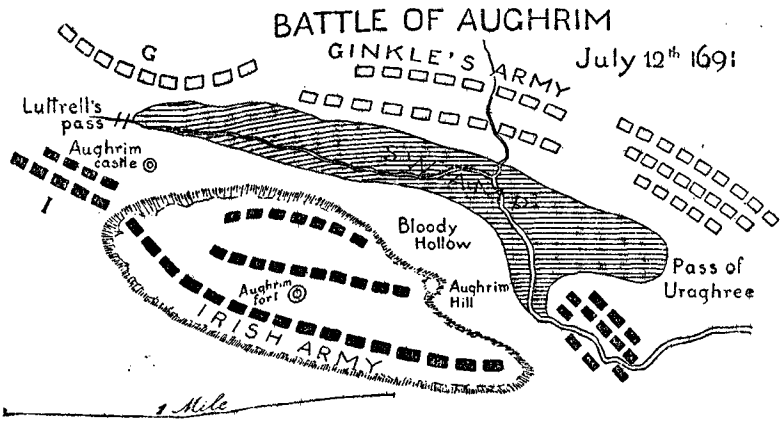
Ginkell, William's commander, had received large reinforcements from England, and in artillery and cavalry had the superiority. His infantry were less numerous than those of the Jacobites, who, moreover, were now very different from the raw recruits who had retreated from the Boyne ; but they were still, for the most part, not well armed.

The Siege of Athlone.—St. Ruth soon discovered that Athlone would be Ginkell's first objective, so he pitched his camp some two miles from the town on the Connacht side of the Shannon, having with him a force of some 22,000 men. On June 19th Ginkell approached ; next day he attacked and speedily took possession of the English town on the Leinster side of the river.

The capture of the Irish town was an enterprise of much greater difficulty, although, on the side facing the river, it had practically no fortifications. Ginkell's efforts were directed to forcing a passage across the bridge connecting the two parts of the town. The Irish had destroyed some of the arches, and the Williamites brought planks and beams to make a footway over the chasm. Seeing this, General Maxwell called to his regiment for volunteers to remove the planks. Eleven brave men

rushed forward, heedless of shot and shell, and began to throw the heavy pieces of timber into the river. Not one survived to complete the task, but another band of equal number were ready to take their dead comrades' places. Of these only two survived, but their sacrifice had not been in vain; the last plank had been hurled into the Shannon. Of these two and twenty heroes, the name of but one, Sergeant Custance, has been handed down to us, and no monument marks the spot where they so gallantly gave up their lives.

The besiegers now resolved, as the river was then low, to endeavour to cross by a ford. St. Ruth, foreseeing that they might succeed either in doing this or in capturing the bridge, ordered the Marquis d'Usson to level the ramparts of the Irish town on the side facing towards his camp,



so that, should the enemy penetrate into the town, he might be able to come with his troops to the assistance of the garrison. D'Usson, for some reason or other, did not do this. Early in the morning of July 10th (N.S.), a small force of Williamite Grenadiers entered the Shannon at the ford below the bridge. The Irish troops on guard there were raw and inexperienced, and soon retreated. The Grenadiers landed, and, hastening to the bridge, threw planks across the broken arches. Their comrades poured over, and in half-an-hour the town was won.

St. Ruth too late hurried up reinforcements, but the town was already in the possession of the Williamites, and his troops, owing to the neglect to destroy the ramparts, could not enter. Athlone, the key to Connacht, was hopelessly lost.

The Battle of Aughrim.—The French general was infuriated at a misfortune which he must have realised was in great measure due to his own carelessness. In spite of the prudent advice of Tyrconnel and of Sarsfield, who desired to retire to Limerick and await

further help from France, he resolved to stake everything on the hazard of a single battle.

He selected his ground at Aughrim, some four miles west of Ballinasloe, and took up his position with great care. In front was a bog, difficult for infantry, and for cavalry practically impossible, except at two narrow passes. His left rested on the ruined castle of Aughrim, his centre was on a rising ground.

Ginkell realised the strength of the Irish position, when, on the morning of July 22nd, he came in sight of their array. The numbers on each side were fairly equal, but the Irish, posted as they were, had a considerable advantage over the Williamites. Of Ginkell's 20,000 not much more than half were Englishmen; the Jacobite army consisted practically wholly of native troops.

About midday the battle began. The advantage was decidedly with the Irish, two attacks on their right and centre being repulsed. The Williamites were driven back, with such slaughter that the place was known afterwards as "the Bloody Hollow"; and the Irish advanced into their ground, so that their centre was thrown into confusion. Ginkell now resolved to endeavour to force the pass near Aughrim Castle. St. Ruth, seeing this manœuvre, felt sure that he could easily frustrate it, and was confident that the day was won. He ordered several of his cavalry regiments to strengthen the menaced left, and himself rode over to watch their movements. At this moment a cannon ball struck him and carried off his head, the lifeless body falling to the ground.

The death of the General involved the loss of the battle so nearly won. The paralysis which fell on the Irish army is hard to understand. The cavalry regiments of Henry Luttrell and Nicholas Purcell galloped off without striking a blow. With scarcely any opposition, the Williamite troops went through the pass and attacked the Irish centre from the rear. The Jacobites, assailed thus from both sides, could not long resist. A cavalry charge of the Huguenot general, Ruvigny, finally determined the victory. The Irish turned and fled. This was a far better contested battle than the Boyne. All authorities agree that at Aughrim the soldiers on both sides fought valiantly.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Battle of the Boyne	1690
First Siege of Limerick	1690
Capture of Athlone	1691
Battle of Aughrim	1691

CHAPTER XVI

THE WILLIAMITE WAR

PART III

The Second Siege of Limerick.—With feelings very different from those of the previous year the Irish now withdrew to Limerick. Then they held almost all the south and west; now no places of importance remained to them, except Limerick and Galway. Of their army a very considerable proportion were new recruits, untrained and untried, while less than half the infantry was armed. Tyrconnel sent a pressing appeal to France for help, promising to hold Limerick till its arrival.

Ginkell's first attack was on Galway, which held out only five days, and then surrendered on conditions.

The Jacobites repaired the fortifications of Limerick as well as they could, and the leaders tried to inspire their men with courage by the promise of speedy succour from France. Before the siege began Tyrconnel was dead. He died on the 24th August, and was buried in the Cathedral Church of Limerick. He seems to have succumbed to apoplexy.

On September 4th (N.S.), Ginkell sat down before Limerick. At first communications on the Clare side remained open, so that the besieged could obtain supplies. On September 26th, however, Ginkell succeeded in crossing the Shannon, by a pontoon bridge, at a point near St. Thomas' Island. The city was now completely surrounded, and, if the investment were long continued, food would certainly run short.

Still, there was no immediate distress, and it was less the exigencies of the present situation than a sense that little could ultimately be gained for their cause by a more protracted resistance, while the chance of favourable terms might be lost, that induced the Irish leaders to consider the question of a capitulation. To this the French officers were absolutely opposed, saying that the aid promised by King Louis would be sure to arrive soon. The Irish must, however, have reflected that, even if this were so, the result would probably be merely to prolong the war, which might indeed serve the French monarch's end by diverting the English troops from the Continental war, but would only expose

Ireland to greater devastation, without securing for her ultimately the least real gain.

The Articles of Limerick.—On October 3rd, a parley was sounded, and next day the negotiations began. The Irish appointed seven Commissioners, of whom Sarsfield was one, to represent them; while Ginkell permitted some of his chief officers to take part in the conferences, pending the arrival from Dublin of the Lord Justices Coningsby and Porter. The terms at first suggested by the Irish included absolute religious toleration for the Catholics, with full liberty to practise all callings and professions, as well as the restoration of the estates which they had held before the war to all the Irish Catholics who had fought on James' side. To these Ginkell absolutely refused to agree, and the parleyings went on for several days. On October 13th, the Articles of Limerick (usually spoken of as "The Treaty of Limerick") were signed.

The articles of the Treaty were of two kinds—Military and Civil. Regarding the former, it need only be said that they permitted any soldier or officer who did not desire to remain in Ireland as a subject of King William, to leave it and betake himself to the Continent, carrying with him his family and movable personal property.

Subsequent events, however, gave such importance to the Civil Articles that it is well to quote at length some of the chief of them—there were thirteen in all—and to give the substance of others.

The first ran as follows:—"The Roman Catholics of this Kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles II, and their Majesties, as soon as their affairs will permit them to summon a Parliament in this Kingdom, will endeavour to procure the said Roman Catholics such further security in that particular as may preserve them from any disturbance upon the account of their said religion."

The second article was extremely long and confused. The substance of it amounted to this; that all inhabitants of Limerick or of the other places which still remained in the hands of the Irish, as well as all officers and soldiers in the Counties of Limerick, Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo who held commissions from King James ("and all such who are under their protection in these counties" *) who were then in Ireland, and were not prisoners of war or had "taken protection," should enjoy their estates, personal property and privileges, and should exercise their callings and professions without hindrance, in the same way as they had done during the reign of Charles II, provided that they should not "neglect or refuse to take the oath of allegiance made by Act of Parliament in England in

* *This clause, accidentally omitted by a transcriber, was reinserted and marked by William himself in the subsequent official copy.*

the first year of the reign of their present Majesties, upon being thereunto required."

The fourth and fifth were an amplification of the second, releasing the persons comprised in it from any penalties which they might be considered to have incurred by their adherence to James.

The seventh article ran as follows: "Every nobleman and gentleman comprised in the said second and third articles shall have liberty to ride with a sword and a case of pistols, if they think fit, and keep a gun in their houses, for the defence of the same or for fowling."

The ninth article laid down that "the oath to be administered to such Roman Catholics as submit to their Majesties' Government shall be the oath above-said and no other (*i.e., the oath mentioned in Article II*)."

Article twelve ran:—"The Lords Justices and General do undertake that their Majesties will ratify these articles within the space of eight months or sooner, and use their utmost endeavours that the same shall be ratified and confirmed by Parliament."

Articles three, six, eight, ten, eleven and thirteen are of minor importance.

Only a few days after the Articles had been signed the long-expected aid from France arrived. A French fleet under Admiral Chateau Renaud sailed up the Shannon. There were 18 ships of war, 20 smaller vessels, 3,000 soldiers, 300 officers, 30,000 stand of arms, and abundant stores of various kinds. This was the greatest effort that King Louis had ever made to help the Irish cause; but he made it too late. Nothing remained for the French Admiral to do but to place his ships at the service of some of the Irish troops who wished to betake themselves to France.

The Irish Soldiers Embark for France.—We have seen that the military articles of the Treaty gave the permission to every Irish soldier to withdraw, should he desire it, to the Continent. Means of transport were to be provided for him and his family. In practice, however, it proved that those who left were to go to France and to enter the military service of the French King. For those who elected to remain in Ireland, it was open to return to their homes, or to join William's forces. It soon appeared that few would adopt this last course. Of the defenders of Limerick, only about 1,000 agreed to take service under Ginkell.

The fleet of Chateau Renaud conveyed to France over 4,700 officers and soldiers, besides 552 women and 260 children. Nearly 2,000 more embarked from other ports, chiefly Cork and Limerick, on the merchant vessels supplied by Ginkell, in accordance with the terms of the Treaty.

Owing to some mistake, accommodation had not been provided on the English transports for the wives and children of the soldiers, although Sarsfield had promised that this should be done. When

these unhappy creatures found themselves abandoned on the shore, after the departure of their husbands and fathers, a dreadful scene of despair ensued. Some, we hear, plunged into the water, trying to follow the boats, and were drowned. When the ships had passed out of sight, the survivors turned away in despair, to find their way in the bitter winter weather to their often distant homes—if indeed any home remained to them.

Besides those who enlisted in the Williamite army, a considerable number, about 2,000 or more, elected to abandon a military life and quietly returned to their estates.

With high hopes tempering their sadness did many of the exiles depart; thinking soon to return on the ships of a conquering French fleet to the land of their birth—but that land it was given to but very few of them ever to see again. Less than two years after, Patrick Sarsfield was mortally wounded at the battle of Landen in the Netherlands (July, 1693). It is said that, seeing his hand red with the blood which flowed from his wound, he looked at it and exclaimed: "Would that this were shed for Ireland!"

For those who remained behind dark days were at hand. Ireland was entering into a new phase of her chequered history. Resistance was at an end; the Penal times were about to begin.

CHAPTER XVII

LITERATURE OF THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Gaelic Culture.—The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, disastrous to the Irish people and destructive of the Gaelic organisation, naturally brought many changes in the domains of intellect and literature. When the period began, learning and culture were honoured in Ireland. No great literature was being produced. But in every part of the island Gaelic chief and Norman lord had his hereditary bard, historian and brehon, who carried on the tradition of scholarship from generation to generation. Chief and lord were frequently skilled in Irish poetry or were prominent for their patronage of poets. Every great family had its "Book" filled not only with records and genealogies, but also with the poems of various authors. Libraries, like those of the Great Earl of Kildare, were well stocked with books, of which a large proportion were in Gaelic. Famous schools, carried on by successive generations of hereditary teachers, maintained the old classical literature throughout the country: others, in the towns, more "liberal" in their subjects, were almost as Gaelic in atmosphere.

War on Learning.—Two centuries of destructive warfare broke down this traditional Gaelic culture almost as completely as it wiped out the Gaelic polity. From the first the bards and teachers were bitterly attacked. They were the heart and brains of national effort, and their influence was powerful in urging chiefs and people to defend their common country. They were, therefore, denounced, proscribed, and hunted down; their writings were destroyed, their hereditary lands confiscated and their schools dispersed. Education was denied the Irish people in their own land except at the sacrifice of all that they deemed sacred. It was only to be obtained by exile in foreign lands in the retreats afforded by sympathetic sovereigns. "There is no other instance of a race subjected to this peculiar doom, that every student who would not abandon his nationality and his religion must seek education in exile: while the remnant in their own land were to be

deprived of all the aid that knowledge, association in learning, or cultivated leaders could give them." *

Great Literary Activity.—It is strange, therefore, that this period of savage devastation should be so important as it is in the history of Irish literature. It is still stranger that the very period which saw the wholesale destruction of the organised forms of Gaelic life should also be the period in which the most valuable records of the race were compiled, and in which a new school of poetry rose spontaneously from the people. It was a time of great annalists and historians, of religious writers, of classical and popular poets. Then, too, was Irish first put into printed form.

Last of the Annals.—The latest of the old form of annals came down from this period. The "*Annals of Loch Cé*" were written at the end of the sixteenth century for Mac Dermott, chief of Magh Luirg (Moylurg), and about the same time were compiled the "*Annals of Connacht*," while the "*Annals of Boyle*" are brought down to the year 1562. The first of these is the only one of importance, but the three are interesting as being amongst the last of the old style of annals.

The "Four Masters."—The greatest of all the annals, however, is the work known as the "*Annals of the Four Masters*," and sometimes as the "*Annals of Donegal.*" The "Four Masters" were Michael O'Clery; his brother, Conaire O'Clery; their cousin, Cucogry or Peregrine O'Clery; all members of a family which for generations had been the historians of the O'Donnells; and Fearfeasa O'Mulconry, whose family were hereditary poets of the Kings of Connacht.† Their leader was *Michael O'Clery*, who, fearing that all the records of the Gaelic race might be destroyed in the general ruin that prevailed, spent many years in collecting every manuscript he could find in any part of Ireland.‡ He brought his materials to the Franciscan Monastery of *Donegal*, and there for over four years (1632–36) he and his colleagues devoted themselves to their task, supported by the hospitality of the monastery, and by the generous patronage of *Fergal O'Gara*, chief of Coolavin. The result of their labours is the famous "Annals" which form a record of the history of Ireland to the year 1616. Like the earlier annals, they are *not in narrative form*, but merely give each isolated event in order of time, and they are written in a "literary" or pedantic dialect used only by those trained in the old bardic schools.

The O'Clerys.—Two of the O'Clerys were also responsible for other

* *Mrs. A. S. Green, "The Making of Ireland and its Undoing."*

† *They were assisted by Torna O Mulconry and Cucogry O Duigenan.*

‡ *Most of the manuscripts cited as authorities for the "Annals" have since been lost.*

works. Michael compiled a new "*Leabhar Gabhala*," or "*Book of Invasions*" (*page* 10), the "*Réim Rioghraidhe*," or "*Succession of Kings*," the first of which is an account of the early colonies, and the second is a list of the different kings in Ireland with the dates of their reigns. He also wrote the "*Martyrology of Donegal*," somewhat like the "Feilire" of Angus (*page* 81). He it was, too, who collected most of the materials for the "Lives of the Saints," which were written in Latin by *Father John Colgan* of Louvain. A valuable "*Life of Red Hugh O'Donnell*" was written either by Cucogry O'Clery or by his father, Lughaidh O'Clery, a famous poet who will be subsequently referred to.

Keating.—An historian of different style was Geoffrey Keating, the *greatest prose writer* that Ireland had yet produced. Of Norman extraction he was born near Clonmel, and was educated at Bordeaux and other places in France and Spain. Ordained priest, and made a Doctor of Theology, he returned in 1610 to the diocese of Lismore. But soon he was forced to fly for refuge to the recesses of the Glen of Aherlow. Here he spent some years, and while thus in hiding, he laid the foundations of his history. Collecting all the materials that could be found, he wrote "*Forus Feasa ar Eirinn*"—the first *History of Ireland* written in narrative form. As an historian Keating was uncritical, and he failed to discriminate between the authentic and the fabulous. But his work is based upon writings, many of which are now lost, and, therefore, it has been the means of preserving many facts as well as legends. Unlike his contemporaries the "Four Masters" he discarded the old "literary" forms, and used the ordinary idiom of the people. He also wrote important religious works in prose and a number of poems. After some years he was allowed to settle at Tubrid, Co. Tipperary, where he died in 1644,* the first of the "*Sean-Ghaill*" to attain eminence in Gaelic literature.

Duald Mac Firbis.—In the west, as well as in the north and south, the records of the now conquered race were being preserved. In the College of St. Nicholas in *Galway*, a member of that great family of scholars which had produced the "*Book of Lecan*" and the "*Yellow Book of Lecan*" (*page* 26) laboured at his hereditary task. This was *Duald Mac Firbis*, "the last and most accomplished master of the history, laws and language of Ireland." His greatest work is the "*Book of Genealogies*," which was written in the years 1650–56, and which gives in nine books the descent of all the principal clans of Ireland. The "*Chronicon Scotorum*" (*page* 104) is sometimes attributed to him, but he appears to have only copied it. He also assisted non-Gaelic writers like *Sir James Ware*, *Roderick O'Flaherty*, and *Dr. Lynch* in their works

* *Or* 1650.

on Irish history and antiquities. He was stabbed to death, when eighty years of age, in 1677.

A Galaxy of Poets.—A large number of poets flourished at this tragic era, and their works are mostly devoted to stimulating their countrymen in the struggle, or to lamenting their fall. Numerous poems still survive of such writers as *O'Gnive* of Clandeboye; *Tadhg Dall O'Higgins*, poet laureate to O'Rourke; *Tadhg Mac Daire* of Thomond; *Lughaidh O'Clery* of Tir-Chonaill; *Owen Ward*, who lamented the "Flight of the Earls"; *Eoghaidh O'Hussey*, the last bard of the Maguires; *Angus Finn O'Daly*, a religious poet; and numerous others.

The "Contention of the Bards."—A curious poetic tournament took place in the beginning of the seventeenth century, to which the circumstances of the time give a peculiar irony. Just when the ancient Gaelic culture and polity were becoming dissolved, and when north and south were involved in common ruin, the poets of Leath Chuinn and Leath Mhogha waged vigorous combat in verse over the comparative glories of the "*Eremonians*" and "*Iberians*." Tadgh Mac Daire commenced by attacking the memory of Torna Eigeas—a poet of the fifth century—for his alleged partiality towards Niall of the Nine Hostages! He was answered by Lughaidh O'Clery, and the two continued the conflict. Soon, other poets joined in the warfare, and for some years all the poets of Ireland were arrayed in two hostile literary camps. This pathetic outburst of controversial poetry is known as "The Contention of the Bards."

New School of Poetry.—The change in the fortunes of the people was accompanied by a *revolution in poetic forms*, and the creation of a new school of poetry. The destruction of the chiefs, the loss of their patronage, and the dispersal of the schools, broke the traditions of professional literary training, and loosened the classical and somewhat pedantic conventions of literary form. A new race of poets arose who threw aside the elaborate and highly finished verse forms, and produced poems of a more spontaneous nature which appealed directly to the ordinary people. This *literary revolution* was not a sudden one. Many poets continued to write in the old forms as late as the eighteenth century, and some of the bardic colleges continued to maintain themselves in remote districts for the same time. But the new and popular forms became more and more used until they became the characteristic moulds of modern Gaelic poetry.

O Bruadair: O'Carolan: O Neachtain.—Towards the end of the seventeenth century three poets were born who belong rather to the literature of this period than to the "peasant poets" of the "penal

days." *Daithi O Bruadair* (1650–94) was a native of Limerick or Cork, and wrote numerous poems which give much information regarding the events of the later period of the seventeenth century. *Turlough O'Carolan* (1670–1738), a native of Nobber, Co. Meath, lived mostly in Connacht. The "last of the bards," he is more famous as a musician, but he also wrote numerous poems. *Sean O Neachtain*, also born in Nobber, died about 1730, having written numerous works in prose and verse.

Printing.—This new popular literature, however, was denied in Ireland an advantage which it now possessed elsewhere. Gaelic Ireland was not allowed to use the printing press. That, as well as the other accessories of education, was denied to the Irish people because the bulk of them adhered to the ancient religion. Popular poetry in Ireland was preserved only in the memories of the people, or in manuscripts copied by the hands of those who loved it for itself. Gaelic, however, did first appear in print at this time. The first printed book in the language came from the new Trinity College, which issued a *Protestant Catechism* (*Kearney's*) and a *Protestant Bible* (*Daniels'*) in 1603, but no more, until *Bedel's Bible* was printed in 1685. Except for these the earliest Gaelic printed books came from *Louvain*, whence during a period of sixty years (1618–76) there issued a number of books nearly all devotional, the work of Irish exiles.

Irish Writers and Scholars Abroad.—It was, indeed, only abroad that Irish intellect was allowed to express itself. A new race of Irish exiles now spread over Europe. Unlike their predecessors of a thousand years before they were not willing missionaries filled with enthusiasm but refugees flying from a blighted land. The religious and the scholar found homes in the asylums afforded by the Kings of Spain and France, the Emperor of Germany and by the Pope. *Louvain* in the Netherlands, then subject to Spain, was the greatest of the Irish centres, but the Irish Colleges of Rome, Salamanca, Lisbon, Paris, Douai, and elsewhere were also famous. In those colleges gathered many Irish scholars and writers like Colgan, Ward, Mulloy, Mooney, Conry and others, who wrote in Gaelic, and Archbishop Lombard and O'Sullivan Beare who wrote of Ireland in Latin. Scholars in almost every country of Europe won credit for Irish intellect, while soldiers won glory for Irish bravery.

BOOK V

THE PENAL DAYS—THE ASCENDANCY PARLIAMENT (A.D. 1691–1800)

CHAPTER I

THE VIOLATION OF THE TREATY OF LIMERICK

WILLIAM, as far as the evidence now extant enables us to judge, had every intention of observing the articles on the faith of which the city of Limerick had been ceded. He visited with his severe displeasure the Bishop of Meath, who, in a public sermon, had suggested that a compact with so treacherous a people as the Irish need not be considered binding. But the Ascendancy Party in England, and still more in Ireland, was determined to profit to the fullest extent by its victory. The King soon learned that the power of an English sovereign, especially if his title was a Parliamentary one, was limited. He might, indeed, had he made a determined stand, have at least lessened considerably the extent to which the public faith was violated. But he apparently did not care enough about the matter to attempt this.

Ambiguity of the First and Second Articles.—Undoubtedly the Irish Commissioners, in consenting to the drafting of the first and the second Articles of the Treaty in the form in which they appear, had shown a carelessness difficult to explain and impossible to excuse. They had left obvious loopholes for evasion and permitted most unjust limitations to be introduced.

The first Article laid down "that the Roman Catholics of this Kingdom shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion as are consistent with the Laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the reign of King Charles the Second." Concerning this, three questions at once arise. Was the status conceded to the Catholics that which they occupied by law during the reign of the Second Charles, or that which they occupied in point of fact; and, if the latter, was it that of the greater part of the period, or that of the two or three years of the Popish Plot

scare? Then, what exactly did the reference to the Laws of Ireland imply? Now, the legal position of the Catholics after the Restoration was an extremely bad one, since all the persecuting statutes of Tudor times remained unrepealed; but, as we have seen, they really enjoyed, except during the period between 1678 and 1682, a fairly full measure of toleration. Strictly speaking, however, the days of the Popish Plot fall within the reign of Charles II. In this dilemma the aid of common sense must be brought to help in the interpretation, and by it we can easily discover the absurdity of supposing that the Catholics, when yielding Limerick, intended to covenant for a renewal of the Elizabethan persecutions, or desired a repetition of such incidents as the execution of Oliver Plunkett.

The confused and ambiguous phrasing of the second Article certainly lent itself to evasions, and its exclusion of the prisoners of war from its benefits was manifestly unjust. Owing to this, many officers who had been captured at Aughrim were adjudged to have forfeited their estates.

Other Articles Violated.—It was only in the case of these two articles that any misunderstanding as to the meaning could arise, but, nevertheless, many of the others, the signification of which was absolutely clear, were violated.

When the Parliament of 1692 assembled, several Catholics presented themselves to take their seats, but the oath imposed by the English Act of 1691 was tendered to them, and they were excluded. This oath denied the spiritual jurisdiction "within this realm" of any foreign Prince, Person, Prelate or Potentate, which of course would include the Pope, and therefore it could not be taken by any Catholic. This was a direct violation of the ninth Article of the Treaty, which required of the Catholics, not this "New Oath," but one laid down by an English Act of 1689, and which promised merely that the person taking it would "be faithful and bear true allegiance to their Majesties, King William and Queen Mary." This same Parliament broke also, by disarming the Catholics, the seventh Article.

The Parliament of 1697 went still further. It decided that the position which the Catholics were entitled by the first Article to "enjoy" was that to which the persecuting laws, still unrepealed in the days of Charles II, condemned them, a perverse reading which, as a recent authority rightly observes, "violates all canons of interpretation, and cannot be upheld for a moment."*

The second Article was, from the first, quietly ignored in many instances, by the non-fulfilment of the promise made to restore the estates and property of Jacobites.

* *Murray, "Revolutionary Ireland and Its Settlement."*

In contravention of the fifth Article, many officers were retained in prison, some of them for years.

Thus, of the thirteen Civil Articles, only seven were in any true sense confirmed, and these precisely were either of trivial importance, as concerning a small number of persons, or were of quite temporary application.

Against this breach of faith the Catholics naturally sought to protest; but not even a hearing was accorded them. In the Commons House they had few supporters, but in the Irish Lords were found so many "Just Men" that the Bill, absurdly named "An Act for the Confirmation of the Articles made at the Surrender of the City of Limerick," passed by a majority of only one.

However much it may be sought to palliate the violation of the Treaty of Limerick, by references to the general religious intolerance of the age; to indignation caused by Louis XIV's persecution of the French Protestants; to fear of a foreign invasion which the Catholics might support, or to other considerations more or less relevant, the fact remains that what was done was in itself indefensible; disgraceful alike to the Parliament which was guilty of it and the Monarch who consented to it. For generations the memory of it lived on amongst the Irish at home, and still more perhaps amongst the Irish abroad. When, fifty-four years later, the Irish Brigade charged the British lines at Fontenoy, it was to the battle-cry of "Cuimnıo ar Luımnıg ır Feall Saranaıc" ("Remember Limerick and English treachery!")

Confiscation of Jacobite Lands.—A Court of Claims was set up to deal with the question of the lands, which the Williamites held to have been forfeited by the Jacobite rebels. The amount which they adjudged to be forfeited was large, but was reduced very considerably by the partial fulfilment of the Articles of Limerick and of Galway, and also by special pardons. It finally amounted to about three quarters of a million acres.

CHAPTER II

THE PENAL LAWS

The Catholics excluded from Public Life.—The violation of the Articles of Limerick was only part of a general policy which aimed at the political and social extinction of the Catholics of Ireland. This succeeded so far that, for almost a hundred years, the Catholics ceased to count at all in public life, and became, for the most part, in their own land, slaves and drudges, of whose lives and acts but few and obscure records have been preserved. What was considered to be the History of Ireland during this period was that of the Protestant colony, and mainly of that section of it which belonged to the State Established Church. Its members alone could sit in Parliament. Catholics might not as much as listen to the debates; far less record a vote for a candidate at a Parliamentary election. To Protestants belonged all the offices of State, high and low; all the public appointments, from toll collectorships to judgeships, were filled by them. The great professions of the Law, the Army and the Navy, were reserved for them exclusively. A Catholic could not become a Municipal Magistrate, could not be a member of a Corporation or of a Grand Jury, or of a Petty Jury when a Catholic was to be tried. Even in business he was restricted, being forbidden to exercise certain trades. Yet the Catholics were really the People of Ireland; probably at no time during this period did the Protestants, even if the Dissenters are included, form more than thirty per cent. of the population, while of this thirty per cent. only about half belonged to the Established Church.

The Penal Laws, as the enactments passed against the Catholics in the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries are generally called, do not constitute a code; they were enacted at different times between 1697 and 1746, and after the latter date repealed one by one. It is better to consider them, not in chronological order, but under various heads, as they affected the Catholic in regard to his religious worship (and pressed upon the clergy by whom that worship was conducted); to his property; to his public rights; to his means of livelihood and to his family relations.

Laws against the Catholic Clergy.—The first important penal law passed against the Catholic clergy was that of 1697, by which all ecclesiastical

dignitaries, that is to say all archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, or vicars-general, as also all regular priests and members of religious orders, were ordered to leave the country. If found in Ireland after a certain date they would be imprisoned or transported. Secular priests were allowed to remain, but an Act of 1704 required them to be registered, to give sureties for their good and peaceful behaviour, and not to quit the district in which they ordinarily resided without special leave. But one priest could be registered for each parish, however large. A registered priest was generally permitted to say Mass without interference. Unregistered secular priests and regulars frequently came to the assistance of the registered clergy, and said Mass at a turf altar erected in some well-concealed spot, while scouts watched to warn the congregation who knelt round, often in snow and rain, if the military approached. If it were not for this, the vast majority of the people in the huge country parishes must have remained without any religious service except at long intervals.

No priests, whether secular or regular, were to be allowed to come to Ireland from abroad or from England; and therefore they could not leave the country to be ordained. As we have seen, no bishop or archbishop was to remain in Ireland, so that they could not be ordained at home. This being so, it was hoped that when the generation of priests registered in 1704 died out, there would be none to replace them. These calculations, however, proved false. Students left Ireland secretly to study at the Continental Colleges, and when ordained returned to minister to their fellow-countrymen. Bishops dwelt in obscure houses in towns, or hid in woods or mountains, and, when and where they could, administered the Sacrament of Holy Orders. In 1724 there were more priests in Ireland than there had been in 1704, when the number registered was 1,092.

Laws excluding Catholics from Public Life: Extra Burdens Imposed on Them.—As regards public life, scarcely any rights remained to the Catholic. The law of 1727, confirming that of 1704, deprived him of both the Parliamentary and the Municipal franchise. All Municipal offices were, of course, closed to him. His very existence was denied. In 1759, a judge declared from the bench that the law did not consider that a single Papist breathed in Ireland. Only when there was a question of persecuting or taxing the Catholic was this legal fiction conveniently forgotten. The burdens with which he was loaded exceeded considerably those imposed on his Protestant fellow-countrymen. Extra impositions were laid on his industry; for him the militia tax was doubled; he was obliged, when England happened to be at war with a Catholic power, to make good the damage caused by the enemy's privateers. It was

evidently assumed that, even though he could not actively aid, yet he was certainly in sympathy with the latter. In truth the Government can scarcely be blamed for an assumption, the grounds for which its own actions and attitude rendered so probable.

Laws restricting the Catholics in regard to Landed Property and to Professions and Callings.—The object of the Penal Laws being to diminish the power and influence of the Catholics in Ireland, it was naturally sought to prevent them from acquiring or retaining landed property. No Catholic could take land on a longer lease than thirty-one years, and his profits on the farm which he leased must not exceed one-third of the rent paid. Should it do so, and information be given of the fact, he would at once be ejected, and the informer enter into possession in his place. When a Catholic landowner died his estate must be gavelled or divided amongst his sons, if they, too, were Catholics. No Catholic could obtain land from a Protestant by gift, sale or inheritance. Marriages between Catholics and Protestants were strictly forbidden, and, if they took place, the Protestant husband forfeited his civil rights. A Protestant heiress who married a Catholic was deprived of her estates, which passed to her Protestant next-of-kin.

Personal property was not interfered with, except in regard to horses. A Catholic was not permitted to own a horse of higher value than £5, and a Protestant, by tendering that sum to a Catholic, might compel him to sell to him any horse, however valuable.

As already stated, no Catholic was allowed to become a barrister or solicitor, or to enter the army in any capacity. He could not open a school or teach in one. Commercial pursuits were less restricted, but all trades connected with the production of books or newspapers were forbidden to Catholics, as was the making and selling of arms. A Catholic manufacturer, unless he were engaged in some branch of the linen trade, could not have more than two apprentices, and a Protestant master must not take a Catholic apprentice at all.

Restrictions in regard to Education: Inheritance and Guardianship.—Galling as were these restrictions, they probably affected the average man and woman less than did others which pursued them, as it were, into the bosom of their families and often embittered the most intimate relations of life.

A love of knowledge had always been a marked characteristic of the Irish people. All through the centuries they had striven, even in evil days, to procure instruction for their children. Now the Catholics of Ireland saw themselves condemned, by the deliberate policy of the Government, either to suffer their sons and daughters to grow up in ignorance, or to imperil their faith by sending them to Protestant schools,

where every effort would be systematically made to uproot it. No Catholic school or college was permitted in Ireland, while the Foreign Education Acts forbade, under heavy penalties, the sending of children to colleges abroad.

Undutifulness in children and heartlessness in wives were encouraged by the law. Any child who expressed a desire to join the Established Church was to be at once removed from the custody of the Catholic parent, who would be forced to make for him or her an allowance in proportion to his means. An eldest son conforming could, after he had attained his majority, make his father a mere tenant for life of any estate he possessed, unable to sell, mortgage or otherwise decrease its value. Such a son, when his father died, succeeded to all his lands, subject only to small allowances to be made to his mother, brothers and sisters. A wife who conformed likewise received an adequate part of her husband's income or property, and could abandon his house and live where she pleased.

Most cruel of all perhaps was the law which handed over Catholic orphans to the care of a Protestant guardian, who should bring them up in his own creed. The sufferings of the dying parent must have been immensely increased by the knowledge that the children he was leaving behind would be taught to despise and detest the faith to which he himself had clung throughout his life at so great a cost.

Laws against the Protestant Dissenters.—Religious intolerance in eighteenth-century Ireland did not find its victims amongst the Catholics alone. By the members of the Established Church the Protestant Dissenters were as little liked as the Papists themselves. Like the Catholics, they were excluded from Parliament and from public offices. Till 1719 their public worship was illegal, but in that year the Relief Act was passed, which authorised them to hold religious meetings.

The Presbyterian Church, to which the majority of the Irish Dissenters belonged, was so far acknowledged by the Government that a small grant (called the *Regium Donum*) was made to its clergy. Of all the Non-conforming sects the Quakers suffered most, their peculiar tenets bringing them constantly into conflict with the law. The fines inflicted on them during the period 1702–1760 are said to have amounted to £79,181.

Excuses made for the Penal Laws.—The Penal Laws have found few actual defenders, but many who, by explanations and excuses, modify their condemnation. The most usual defence is that the persecuting enactments were due to fear of a French invasion, and the conviction that the Catholics would, if suffered to retain power and influence, help the invaders ; so that only by their virtual enslavement

could the English interest in Ireland be secured. But while this must be admitted as true in a great measure at first, it neither explains nor excuses the continuance and even aggravation of the oppression of the Catholics long after all such fear had ceased. So, too, the influence of the persecution of the French Protestants, the anger aroused by which is often mentioned as an inciting cause of the persecuting Acts passed in Ireland, cannot be denied. Many of the Penal Laws are evidently copied from Louis XIV's decrees against the Huguenots. But the Penal Laws remained unrepealed when the persecution of the Huguenots had become a thing of the past. That they so continued can be ascribed only to the desire of the Ascendancy to maintain its position of exclusive superiority, and to that love of tyranny which always, when one race, creed or political party is suffered to dominate over another, comes into special prominence.

The number of Catholics who, during the period of Penal Laws, abandoned their religion was relatively small, and those who did so were usually landowners or members of the professional classes. The conversion of the town or country poor was little desired by members of the Established Church. Protestant traders and Protestant tenants were more independent, less subservient, less willing to submit to hard conditions than were the spirit-broken Catholics.

Bad Effects of the Penal Laws.—The evil effects of the Penal Laws on the character of both Protestants and Catholics, and on the country itself, can scarcely be exaggerated. The Protestants developed the vices of slave-owners, becoming idle, dissipated, and neglectful of their duties. The Catholics grew, as a serf population always does grow, cringing, shifty, and untruthful. They were lazy because they had nothing to work for; lawless because they knew the law only as an enemy, to be defied or evaded when possible. Not such had been the Irish of the old times, praising truth as the highest of virtues; obeying strictly a law supported by no force save that of public opinion. Nor were such qualities observed in the soldiers and statesmen whom Ireland at this very time was giving to the nations of Europe and of America.

That bad effects must have followed from these pernicious enactments, as regards efficiency in professional and artistic work, in industry and in agriculture is evident. The Catholic's abilities were lost to the country, since he had no means of exercising them. The tenant whose improvements the landlord might confiscate at the end of his short lease, if indeed he had a lease at all, naturally did not improve. If a tenant at will, he did not dare even to show any sign of prosperity in his dress or in the equipment of his house or farm. The purchase of a new coat or a new plough might result in a raising of his rent next gale day.

CHAPTER III

THE IRISH ABROAD

WHILE in their own land the mass of the Irish people was thus oppressed and degraded, others of their race and creed were performing elsewhere deeds which kept the name of Ireland in honour before the eyes of the world.

At the very time when "scattered over all Europe were to be found brave Irish generals, dexterous Irish diplomatists, Irish counts, Irish barons, Irish Knights of St. Lewis and of Saint Leopold, of the White Eagle and of the Golden Fleece," the Irish at home were "hewers of wood and drawers of water," of as little consequence as women or children.

The Mountcashel Brigade, which had passed into the service of France in 1690 (see *Chap. XV, Book V*), had given a good account of itself on many fields of battle before "the Wild Geese," as those who left Ireland after the surrender of Limerick were called, joined it. When the Articles were violated, many who originally designed to remain in Ireland crossed, too, to France, and the number of the Irish army amounted, it is estimated, to at least 24,000 men.

The Irish Brigade in the Service of France: Their Record in the War of the Spanish Succession.—In 1702, after the death of William III and the succession of Anne, second daughter of James II (Mary had died in 1694), the War of the Spanish Succession, chiefly between France on the one side, and England and the Empire on the other, broke out. The Duke of Marlborough gained victory after victory, his four great triumphs being at Blenheim (1704), Ramilles (1706), Oudenarde (1708), and Malplaquet (1709). At each of these battles Irish Protestant troops fought on his side, and Irish Catholic troops fought against him. At Blenheim, where the French sustained a crushing defeat, it was noted by King Louis with special commendation that the Irish regiments never broke their ranks and lost neither colours nor prisoners to the enemy. At Ramilles, Lord Clare's regiment captured the colours of Churchill's. They hung them in the Church of "the Irish Dames of Ypres," a convent of Benedictine nuns endowed by Mary of Modena,

James II's wife, and ruled by Irish Abbesses till far into the nineteenth century. At Malplaquet, the two "Royal Irish Regiments," French and British, engaged one another, the result being in favour of the latter.

Against the Imperialists, too, the Irish distinguished themselves. Major O'Mahony covered himself with glory by his wonderful defence of Cremona in 1702, against the forces of Prince Eugene of Savoy. He and some of his officers were personally congratulated by the French King.

The war concluded in 1714, and a long period of peace followed. One by one the Irish exiles passed away, but their sons took their places and inherited their traditions. The ranks, too, were constantly filled by newcomers from Ireland; although there "foreign recruiting" was an offence punishable with death.

The Irish Brigade in the War of the Austrian Succession.—In 1740 the War of the Austrian Succession began, and again France and England found themselves enlisted on opposite sides. The greatest military achievement of the Irish regiments during this conflict was their splendid charge at the Battle of Fontenoy (1745), which is admitted to have decided the victory in favour of France. Louis XV himself went to the Irish camp after the battle and thanked each corps separately.

After Fontenoy the laws against foreign recruiting in Ireland were very strictly carried out. It became more and more difficult to fill up the ranks of the Irish regiments; finally foreigners of various sorts, Flemings, Walloons, Scotch and others, began to be admitted, though most of the officers continued to be Irish.

Count Thomas Arthur Lally.—In 1757, Count Thomas Arthur Lally, the chief hero of Fontenoy, was sent to take command of the French forces in India, and to reform the abuses of the French East India Company. He was the son of Sir Gerard Lally of Tullach na Dála, near Tuam, one of those who departed to France in 1691. Lally the younger at first gained much success in India. But he was badly served, and indeed betrayed by those interested in continuing the corrupt methods of administration which he was endeavouring to suppress. He was defeated by Sir Eyre Coote (a Limerick man) at the Battle of Wandewash (1760), and was obliged, after a gallant resistance, to surrender Pondicherry (1761). On his return to France he was falsely accused by his enemies of maladministration and dishonesty, and, after suffering an imprisonment of four years in the Bastille, was executed in 1766. Twelve years later, Louis XVI reversed his sentence on the appeal of his son.

The Irish in the French Revolution and Afterwards.—When the French Revolution broke out, in the last decade of the eighteenth century,

the greater number of the Irish officers adhered to the Royalist side. Many went into exile with the emigrant nobles of France. Some remained, and were guillotined. A few elected to serve the new Republican Government. One, Theobald Dillon, rose to the rank of general, and was murdered by his own mutinous soldiers at Tournay; another, Brigadier-General O'Meara, successfully defended Dunkirk against the Duke of York (1793). Under the first Empire an Irishman, Henry Clarke Duc de Feltre, was Napoleon's War Minister (1807–1814).

The Brigade Dissolved.—After the Restoration Louis XVIII was obliged to dissolve the Irish Brigade, lest he should offend his allies the English. He held a review of the three last remaining regiments, and solemnly presented them with a "farewell banner" of white silk, on which was embroidered an Irish harp surrounded with the emblems of Ireland and of France, shamrocks and fleur-de-lis, with the motto "Semper et Ubique Fidelis" (always and everywhere faithful), and the dates 1692–1792. It is said that, during these hundred years, 500,000 Irishmen had fallen in the service of France.

The Irish Soldiers in Spain, Italy and Austria.—France was not, however, the only country for which the Irish exiles shed their blood. Until the nineteenth century an Irish Brigade was maintained in Spain. Sir Patrick Lawless was Colonel of Philip V's regiment of Guards, and was sent as an Ambassador to England in 1714. A Waterford man, Richard Wall, was Prime Minister of Spain under Ferdinand VI and Charles III (1754–1764). There was an Irish regiment also in Naples, and the Austrian army was crowded with Irishmen, several of whom rose to the highest ranks.

Peter Lacy and His Son.—In Russia, Peter Lacy of Killeedy Castle, Limerick, entered the service of Peter the Great, rose to the rank of Brigadier-General, and is said to have so improved the Russian troops by the new system of drill which he introduced from France, that "from the worst, they became some of the best soldiers in Europe." He died in 1751 as Governor of Livonia. One of his sons became a Field-Marshal in the Austrian service.

The Irish in America.—Across the Atlantic, too, both in North and in South America, the Irish won laurels, and made for themselves names ever to be remembered in the lands of their adoption. When, in 1775, the American Colonies of England broke out into revolt against her, Irishmen were amongst the most prominent movers in the rebellion. On July 4th, 1776, the Declaration of Independence was signed by the Colonial delegates. It was in the handwriting of Charles Thompson of Londonderry; it was first read to the American people by John Nixon, son of a Waterford man; first printed and published by John Dunlop

of Strabane. Of the signatories, three were of Irish birth; five more the sons of Irishmen. In the war itself, the colonial ranks were so filled with men of the Irish race that one authority considers that they amounted to almost a half of the total number. John Barry of Wexford was "the Father of the American Navy." Two Irish generals, Moylan and Knox, commanded Washington's cavalry and artillery respectively. At the battle of Saratoga (1777), which first turned the tide in favour of the Americans, five Irish generals took part in the fighting. Perhaps most important of all in influencing the final result of the war was the action of thirty Irishmen of Philadelphia, who, when Washington's army was almost starved at Valley Forge, raised amongst them a subscription of half-a-million dollars, and relieved the wants of the troops (1778). Of the Irish-Americans of that period the greater number were Ulster Presbyterians, who had been obliged to leave their homes owing to the iniquitous laws by which Irish trade was ruined, and of which we shall speak in the next chapter.

In Latin America, too, the Irish exiles made their mark. Ambrose O'Higgins, born in Co. Meath about 1720, became Viceroy of Chili and afterwards of Peru (1789–1794). When Chili revolted and threw off the power of Spain, O'Higgins' son, Bernard, headed the revolutionists. Bernard was named "the Liberator of Chili," and was for several years President of the Republican Congress (1818–1823). His equestrian statue stands to-day in the chief square of Santiago. In his political labours he was ably seconded by John Macnamara, a Tyrone man, himself of distinguished ability.

CHAPTER IV

THE RUIN OF IRISH TRADE

We have seen how, by the enactment of the Penal Laws, the Catholics who constituted the bulk of the inhabitants of Ireland were deprived of their religious, political and social rights, and placed in a position of inferiority to the Protestant minority. But the English Government, while allowing the Protestants, and especially those of the State Church, thus to trample on their fellow-countrymen, was itself quite prepared to trample on them in turn, whenever any real or fancied advantage for England was to be gained by so doing.

Ruin of the Wool Trade.—We have told (*Chap XII, Book V*) how, when her cattle trade was ruined by the Act of 1667, Ireland turned to the promotion of her woollen manufactures. In this she made good progress and developed a considerable foreign trade. After the termination of the Williamite Wars, the industries which they had interrupted were resumed, and the Irish cloth exports continued to increase.

The English traders grew alarmed, and began to send petitions to the King, declaring their fears lest the Irish, owing to the lowness of taxation and the cheapness of labour in Ireland, might be able to undersell them, and so to ruin not only their foreign, but even their home market; and praying that they might be "restrained." William promised to consider their request, and on receiving a report from the Commissioners of Trade to the effect that the alarm expressed was well grounded, and further an address in the same sense from both English Houses, he proceeded to do as they asked.

In September, 1698, the Lord Justices put before the Irish Houses, at his Majesty's command, a Bill entitled "An Act for laying an additional Duty upon Woollen Manufactures exported out of this Kingdom." The servile Parliament passed the Bill, though the majority in its favour was very narrow in the Lords, and not large even in the Commons. The duties imposed on fine cloths were so heavy as almost to ruin the trade; but friezes were, for the present, exempt. In 1699, however, an English Act was passed, prohibiting absolutely the export of Irish woollen or mixed woollen goods to any country whatever, except England, and

there the high duties were retained. At the same time, English woollen stuffs coming to Ireland paid only a very small tax.

Terrible distress resulted in Ireland from these regulations. Thousands of families, for the most part Protestants, had subsisted by the woollen trade. Then a great tide of emigration flowed, especially from Ulster. The traders who remained behind were reduced to the utmost distress. "The cry of the people was loud for bread," we hear.

After all, England profited little by the cruel and short-sighted legislation which harmed Ireland so much. She did not capture new Continental markets, nor even retain her old ones. The European countries began, often with the help of the expatriated Irish weavers, to set up manufactures of woollen cloth for themselves, or to improve those which they already possessed. Louis XIV accorded special religious toleration to skilled Protestant woollen workers from Ireland. A colony of them developed the cloth industry of Rouen. Another went to Germany and established woollen manufactures in Saxony. Catholics settled in Spain and Portugal. Soon Spain was able to produce stuff for her own troops, instead of, as she had hitherto done, purchasing the cloth for their uniforms abroad, and frequently in England.

Other Trades Destroyed.—The woollen trade was by no means the only Irish industry which was ruined by the selfish commercial jealousy of England. An infant cotton industry was crushed by the imposition of heavy duties in the reigns of William and of Anne. Irish silk and Irish gloves were excluded entirely from Great Britain, so too was Irish salt. After the Williamite wars, Ireland had started the manufacture of glass, for which the good quality of her kelp gave her special facilities. An Act of 1737 forbade Ireland to import glass from any country but Great Britain; one of 1746 prohibited her from exporting her own glass at all. The glass industry languished till the trade relaxations of 1780 for a while revived it.

Fisheries: The Provision Trade: The Linen Trade.—The only branches of Irish industry not attacked by legislation were fisheries, linen, and, during the greater part of the century, the provision trade. The fisheries were simply let alone, except in so far as the restrictions on the salt trade adversely affected them, the import of salt being heavily taxed. In 1698, the fishermen of Folkestone and Aldborough petitioned the British Parliament to prevent the Irish from catching herrings at Waterford and Wexford, as this "forestalled and ruined their market," but they received no satisfaction for the injury. After 1778, the Irish Parliament made successful efforts to develop the Irish fisheries by a series of bounties. Irish herrings, in particular, gained a great reputation abroad.

The provision trade was wholly with foreign countries, Ireland not being permitted to send her provisions to England. It increased very rapidly, and huge quantities of beef, pork and butter, as well as such "by-products" as tallow and hides were exported, a great deal going to the British plantations. A series of embargoes on the export of provisions from Ireland abroad, imposed from 1770 to 1780, was ruinous to the trade and caused great distress. After 1780 it revived.

When the woollen industry was destroyed by statute, special encouragement for the linen manufacture had been promised as a compensation. In point of fact, however, nothing was done for a considerable time by the Parliament.

King William made some efforts himself to promote the Irish linen manufactures, and induced Louis Crommelin, a Huguenot refugee, who had been head of a linen factory in France, to settle in Lisburn, giving him an annual salary (1698). Crommelin's efforts were crowned with success, and Lisburn became the centre of a thriving industry.

Irish linens were admitted freely to England, but the colonial market was closed to her till 1705, when permission was given her to send plain coarse linens to the British colonies. This permission was renewed in 1730, but only on condition that British linens should be allowed into Ireland without duty. At the same time, so high a duty was imposed at British ports on dyed and fancy linens from Ireland that these were practically shut out. In 1743, 1746 and 1770, the British Parliament passed Acts by which bounties were given for the export to foreign countries of all classes of British linens, and of *plain* Irish linens, coarse and fine. Thus, in her foreign markets, Ireland had to contend in regard to her fancy linens with the bounty-fed products of Great Britain, for she was not permitted by England to give bounties on her own.

Great efforts were made by the Irish Parliament to promote the linen industry. Acts for its encouragement were frequently passed, and grants, amounting in some years to as much as £33,000, were made to the Linen Board established in 1711. At first the trade developed slowly, but as the century advanced the progress grew more rapid. The linen manufacture had become the staple industry of Ireland, and fortunately the fears often expressed that the jealousy of manufacturers across the Channel would cause this too to be destroyed, as the rest had been, were not realised.

CHAPTER V

THE IRISH PARLIAMENT

THE public life of eighteenth-century Ireland—that is to say of that minority of its population which was permitted to have any public life at all—centred round the Parliament. It was now held always in Dublin, occupying, from 1739 on, the stately building which still stands in College Green. From 1715 till 1783 there was, as a rule, but one session of six months every two years.

In the Lower House there were 300 members, of whom 64 sat for the 32 counties of Ireland; the rest for cities and boroughs. All were, or were supposed to be, members of the Established Church.

The Franchise: Corruption of the Parliament.—The Franchise on which the members were elected was uniform for the counties—all males over twenty-one years of age, not excluded by religious disabilities and owning leasehold property of the annual value of £10, or freehold property of the annual value of forty shillings, were entitled to vote. In the boroughs there was great variety; some were "open," all burgesses and freemen voting; others were "close," the franchise being confined to a very few.

The voting was in all cases open, so that the vote, of the smaller tenant especially, usually expressed rather his landlord's than his own political convictions. Any attempt at independence was generally punished by some of the many ways by which the despotic lord of the soil could show his displeasure. The whole electorate of a borough, which was often very small, might be thus in the power of one man. An individual might even own a number of these boroughs. George Ponsonby is noted as controlling twenty-two in the Parliament of 1775. Such seat or seats were regarded generally as the absolute property of the patron, who disposed of them by gift or sale as he pleased. The price paid varied. Grattan, in the closing decade of the century, puts it at £3,000. The person named by the patron was at once elected without a contest.

Besides the holders of these nomination boroughs, there were also in the Irish Parliament a great number of placemen and pensioners

"during pleasure"; persons, that is, who held some appointment from the Crown or were in receipt of a State pension, which appointment or pension they would at once lose if they ventured to oppose the Government. Members thus restricted constituted ordinarily at least a third of the House; sometimes a half. The Government generally bought over a few of the chief borough owners, who engaged to throw all the weight of their following in favour of any Bill of which the passing was desired by the English Ministry. These men were generally, though unofficially, known as "Undertakers."

The Upper House.—In the Upper House sat the Spiritual Peers, the Archbishops and Bishops of the Established Church, and the Temporal Lords, whose number varied but tended to increase; peerages being a favourite form of bribery. The Government majority was always larger in the Upper than in the Lower House. Until 1719, when the "Appellate Jurisdiction" was, by an Act of the British Parliament, transferred to the English Upper House, the Irish House of Lords served usually as the Supreme Court of Appeal for law cases in Ireland. Its power in this respect was restored in 1782.

Effect of Poynings' Act.—The action of the Irish Parliament was fettered, until the gaining of Legislative Independence in 1782, by "Poynings' Act" (1494—see *Chapter X, Book I*).

According to Poynings' Act, all Irish Bills originated in the Irish Privy Council, and all Bills which it was desired to pass should be submitted to the King and the Privy Council of England. A custom gradually grew up of permitting suggestions as to proposed Bills to be made to the Irish Privy Council by one or other of the Houses of Parliament. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, this custom had become so well established as to be regarded as a right. The power of the Irish Privy Council had declined, and it no longer ventured to suppress any "Heads of Bills" so suggested, and rarely to originate any itself, except the single one which Poynings' Act required to be transmitted to England as a formal reason for the holding of a Parliament.

The ordinary process of legislation, prior to 1782, was briefly as follows: The suggested Act as "Heads of a Bill" was introduced into either the Upper or the Lower House. It was debated, passed through its readings, and was then sent to the Lord Lieutenant for transmission to England.* In form it was exactly similar to a "Bill," save that the words "we pray that it be enacted" were substituted for "be it enacted." In England it was submitted to the King and the English Privy Council,

* *The Heads of a Bill were read only twice and in the House in which they originated. On the return of the Bill from England it was read three times and in both Houses.*

who could, if they pleased, alter or entirely reject it. If not rejected, it was returned to Ireland, and, as a Bill, placed before the two Irish Houses, who could only accept or refuse it as a whole, not being allowed to make any alteration. Not infrequently the changes which it had undergone in England were so radical that they rejected it. If it were accepted, it was once more sent to the Lord Lieutenant, who received permission from the King to give the Royal Assent. By this the process was completed and the Act became law.

Faults and Advantages of the Irish Parliament.—The foregoing account will have made it clear that almost every fault that a legislative assembly could have was present in the Irish Parliament of the eighteenth century. It was unrepresentative even of the minority of the population which it professed to represent. It was corrupt, through the methods of election, the nature of the constituencies, and the facilities afforded by its constitution for the bribery, direct and indirect, of its members. It was weak, owing to the restrictions imposed upon it by Poynings' Act. Still, with all its faults, it was an *Irish* Parliament of a kind. Its members, however narrow and prejudiced were the majority of them, however dishonest a large number, were still Irishmen living in Ireland. They could not fail to understand, in some measure, the needs of the country, for they were eye-witnesses of its sufferings or its prosperity; nor could they wholly disregard the public opinion of the community which surrounded them; an opinion often conveyed to them by such rough and ready methods as broken windows or "chairings," the hisses and brickbats or the cheers and bonfires of the mob.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL STATE OF THE COUNTRY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

HAVING now briefly explained the system by which Ireland was governed in the eighteenth century, it is time to consider the general condition of the country, due largely to this system, and to note some of the features of the ordinary life of the people.

The Officials: Social Life.—The administration of the Government was in the hands of the authorities of Dublin Castle. For the most part they were men of English birth, and a great many had resided but a short time in Ireland. The Lord Lieutenant himself, in the earlier part of the century, remained but six months in each two years—the period, that is, of the Parliamentary Session—in the country which he was supposed to govern. For the remaining eighteen months the Lord Justices took his place. Of these there were generally three—an ecclesiastic, namely the Archbishop of either Dublin or Armagh, and two of the highest of the lay officials. These always resided in Dublin, and returned most commonly to office again and again.

Of the social life of the period, too, the Castle was the centre. During the time of the Lord Lieutenant's residence there the country gentry and their families flocked to Dublin.

Landlords, Middlemen and Tenants.—For the greater part of the year the Irish landlord—unless he was an absentee, and in that case he usually lived in London—dwelt in his country house, amusing himself, according to the season, with hunting or shooting as outdoor occupations, and within doors with drinking and card-playing; with now and then a duel as an extra excitement. To the condition of his tenantry or the improvement of his estate he generally, though there were, fortunately, many exceptions to this, paid little attention. In most cases business was transacted by the agent. Hard as was often the lot of the tenant-at-will, who held his land from a despotic estate owner, it was happiness compared with that of the miserable being who depended on a middleman. This class, one of the greatest curses of rural Ireland, owed its origin to the indolence of the landlord, very often an absentee, who, desirous

of avoiding the trouble of collecting the rents of a number of small holdings, leased out his estate in large portions to persons who sublet the lands to poor tenants, a few acres to each.

Sometimes as many as three middlemen intervened between the estate owner and the actual tiller of the soil, who, ground down by the exactions of each, for ultimately it was on him that the burden of all was imposed, could barely succeed, by the hardest toil, in providing his family with the merest necessities of life, when circumstances were most favourable. When they were not, when a bad season came, or his one or two cows perished by disease or accident, he too often saw his wife and children suffering the pangs of hunger, or, the rent having fallen into arrears, he and they were flung out together on the roadside, to perish or to wander away as beggars. Meanwhile, the improvements which he had made; the fences which he had built with his own hands; the drains which he had dug; the increased fertility of the land which was due to his toil, were extra sources of profit to the landlord, enabling him to exact from the next tenant a higher rent. Multitudes lived almost entirely on potatoes of the poorest kind with water only as a beverage, or sometimes a little milk. In the wretched huts there was no chimney, and it was through a hole in the roof that the smoke was supposed to escape.

It must not be forgotten, however, that this dark picture does not fairly represent the whole of Ireland. Where the landlord was just and humane, and was satisfied with fair profits, the power for good which he exercised was immense. Under such a master the tenants were happy and contented. Food was extraordinarily cheap, so that the lowness of agricultural wages was not a great hardship. Clothes were made at home, and the cabin was built by the peasant's own hands. For fuel the turf of the neighbouring bog was used; if there were no bog near, the cost of transport rendered it, of course, much dearer. Life was not dull or destitute of amusement. The boys and girls danced to the music of the bag-pipe; in summer at the cross-roads; in winter within doors. The elders gathered round the fire, and songs were sung and old tales were told in the old Gaelic tongue. Except in the towns English was little spoken.

Education.—In spite of all the efforts made to prevent "Popish education," there were, even at the very worst period of the Penal Laws, many small Catholic schools scattered here and there over the country, and also many wandering schoolmasters who remained a while in each district. Often the teachers did not limit themselves to elementary instruction, for amongst them there were some fine classical scholars, and it was not uncommon to find ploughmen, blacksmiths and fishermen who could recite, in the original, long passages from Homer or from Virgil;

and this at a time when, amongst the richer classes, the level of education was lower than it had been for generations, and when, over in England, seventy per cent. of the population could not read their own language.

Over even the most fortunate Catholic tenants there hung the dread of eviction. Their present landlord might be well disposed towards them, but who could tell what his successor might prove? They were only tenants-at-will, or at best holders of short leases of under 31 years; no longer lease was permitted to a Catholic.

Secret Societies.—It is not to be wondered at that numbers of the smaller peasant farmers, filled with this terror of losing their hold on the little patch of land which they loved, and filled, too, with the belief, handed down from the days of the Brehon Laws, that he who tills the soil has in it certain unalienable rights, finding that the law would not protect them, sought protection outside the law. Hence arose those secret societies which form so marked a feature of the Ireland of the eighteenth century. All were, at least partly, agrarian in aim, though religious animosities had much to do with the formation of some. In the south the Whiteboys were the most prominent and most widespread organisation. They owed their name to a habit of wearing white shirts over their clothes when engaged in their night expeditions. The movement originated in County Limerick about 1760, owing, it is said, to the action of certain landlords who, sometimes in violation of actual contracts, had begun to enclose the commons on which the poorer tenants had always been permitted to graze their few cows or sheep free of charge. The Whiteboys interested themselves in other grievances besides that of enclosures; forbade the payment of tithes which they regarded as excessive, or the taking of farms from which the former tenant had been evicted. Disobedience to their decrees was followed by the most savage punishments. Not only were houses burned and live-stock destroyed, but human beings were tortured with terrible ingenuity, by being flung naked into pits filled with thorns, having their ears cut off, and so forth. Nor was actual murder unknown. The Government passed Act after Act against the Whiteboys, and many who were convicted of taking part in their outrages were severely punished; several even executed. But, though repressed, the society was not entirely crushed. The fact that it was to a large extent favoured by a public opinion, which had lost confidence in the ordinary law, rendered its suppression extremely difficult. The Ribbonmen, who came into great prominence in the early nineteenth century, were a later development of the Whiteboys.

In Ulster the chief secret societies were the Hearts of Steel, the Oak Boys and the Peep o' Day Boys, whose members were Protestants, and

the Defenders who were Catholics. The Orange Society was only founded in the last decade of the eighteenth century. The Peep o' Day Boys were in their beginning agrarian, their aim being to prevent the letting of farms to Catholics, but they developed into a regular anti-Catholic association. The Defenders was a society formed by the Catholics to protect themselves against them.

The Town Poor : The Laws : Amusements.—As the Penal Laws and the Agrarian System were the causes in chief of the poverty of the Irish peasant, so do the trade restrictions explain the misery of the lower classes in the towns, especially in the latter part of the century. We hear constantly of unemployment; of hundreds or even thousands of families reduced to beggary; of manufacturers ruined, and, as a consequence, their employés and those depending on them left without bread.

Both in town and country, epidemics, the result of destitution and of insanitary conditions, were common, and often a great famine swept over the land. The wages of skilled workmen were fairly high, but work was often not to be obtained.

In other respects, too, the poor were ill provided for. Workhouses in our present sense of the word did not exist; the few "Houses of Industry" partook rather of the nature of adult reformatories for tramps, vagabonds and the like. Orphanages and industrial schools were only available, in most cases, on condition that the children should be educated in the Protestant religion. In the larger cities there were good hospitals, founded generally by private charity, where the best medical skill of the day was at the service of the patients.

The laws were brutal and brutally administered. Capital punishment was inflicted for offences which would now be punished by a year or two of imprisonment. Public whippings were amongst the ordinary sights of the streets. The condition of the jails was terrible. Jail fever often carried off numbers of the prisoners, and those who could not pay the exorbitant fees exacted by the warders were sometimes permitted to starve to death.

Sports, too, were brutal. Bull-baiting was dying out, but cock-fighting was still a favourite amusement amongst gentlemen. The theatre was much frequented, and plays, usually imported from London, were produced, often by actors and actresses of the highest reputation. These toured through Ireland once a year, or perhaps once in two years, playing in Dublin during the Session of the Irish Parliament.

CHAPTER VII

THE AFFAIR OF WOOD'S HALFPENCE

DURING the reign of Queen Anne (1702–1714) the history of Ireland does not show any event of much public importance. On Anne's death, George, Elector of Hanover, ascended the throne in virtue of his descent from a daughter of James I.

In 1719, the Irish House of Lords was, as already mentioned (*Chap. V*), deprived by Statute of its Appellate Jurisdiction, and at the same time the power of the English Parliament to legislate for Ireland was declared.* Primate Hugh Boulter (1724–1740) was at this time, and during a great part of the following reign, the most important person in the Irish Government. He inclined to what was called "the English Interest," and constantly endeavoured to fill all considerable offices with men imported from across the Channel. On the other hand, William King, Archbishop of Dublin (1698–1729), made himself the champion of the rights of the colonists, who bitterly resented these new importations, and denounced, as loudly as they dared, the laws which had ruined the trade of Ireland and reduced many thousands of its people to beggary.

Towards the end of the reign of George I occurred the episode generally known as "the Affair of Wood's Halfpence." It is important as causing the first strong and united resistance made by the Irish colony, within the bounds of the law, and supported to a great extent by the Irish people as a whole, to the arbitrary proceedings of the English Ministers in regard to the affairs of Ireland.

Scarcity of Small Coin in Ireland : Patent given to Wood.—Since the days of Edward VI there had been no mint in Ireland. All the coins required were made in England, or else certain foreign currencies were allowed to circulate. In the early part of the eighteenth century there was a great scarcity of small money in Ireland, and this was especially inconvenient for the poor.

The attention of the English Ministers was directed to the matter, and in 1722 (July) a patent was issued to one William Wood, a

* *This Act is known in Irish History from its date, as "The Sixth of George I."*

Wolverhampton Iron Master, empowering him to coin 360 tons of copper into halfpence and farthings, to the face value of £108,000, for use in Ireland. The patent had orginally been given to the Duchess of Kendal, a greedy German favourite of the King, and was by her sold to Wood for £10,000. Wood was, moreover, to pay £200 a year to the King's clerk, and £100 a year to the Treasury during fourteen years.

It certainly appears strange that Wood could afford to expend such large sums if he hoped only for legitimate profits, but, on the other hand, no fraud on his part in the carrying out of the contract has ever been proved, though often asserted. The real grievance, from the Irish point of view, lay elsewhere. Not only had the Irish Parliament not been consulted in regard to the proposed patent, but the Irish Commissioners of Revenue had not even been informed that any such project had been in contemplation. Again, the minting of coins was a prerogative of the State, and the granting of it to a private individual was regarded as an insult to the whole colony.

Remonstrances of the Irish Officials.—It was considered, however, that to attack the patent on these grounds would be too bold a course, and when the Irish Commissioners wrote to the Lord Lieutenant (the Duke of Grafton) in August, they merely complained of the proposed influx of copper as likely to be injurious to trade. No notice was taken either of this letter or of a subsequent Petition to the Lords of the Treasury.

When Parliament met in September both Houses voted an Address to the King, in which, after repeating what the Commissioners of Revenue had said, they added that the coin which Wood had sent to Ireland was light, and that it was "prejudicial to the Kingdom" to give to any private individual the right of coining.

A Committee of the English Privy Council was appointed to investigate the matter. It reported that the coin had proved, on assay, to be better than the terms of the patent required, and that the King had acted within his rights in according to Wood, without previous consultation with the financial officers of Ireland, the permission to supply that Kingdom with halfpence and farthings. In point of fact he was not bound to consult the Irish Government on anything, though frequently he was pleased to do so. Such language was little calculated to soothe the irritation of the Irish Parliament. The tide of anger rose steadily, and even the highest officials took sides against the English Ministers.

The Drapier Letters.—Early in the year 1724, a letter appeared in print professing to show the trading community of Ireland what injury the new coinage was calculated to inflict on their business interests.

It was signed "M. B. Drapier," and was written in the character of a plain Dublin shopkeeper. The author, however, was really Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, and already famous for his writings. Born in Ireland of English parents in 1667, he had spent much of his life in England, and had no special love for the land of his birth or for her people. He, however, hated injustice; injustice, that is, which appeared to him to be such, and it enraged him to see the rights of the Irish colony trampled on and her complaints treated with disdain by the Ministers in London.

The first Drapier Letter is addressed to the prejudices of the ignorant multitude, and the reasoning contained in it will not bear a moment's investigation. It is assumed throughout that not only will the new copper coins be legal tender for any sum, but that they will become the sole currency of the Kingdom. The result showed that Swift had well gauged the mentality of the majority of his readers. The letter greatly increased the storm of indignation.

The second Drapier Letter did not greatly differ from the first, but in the third Swift began to reveal his real purpose, and to attack the English system of governing Ireland. The remonstrances of both the Irish Houses in regard to the halfpence were, he indignantly notes, described as "a clamour." Would anyone dare to so term an address from the English Lords and Commons? Are not the people of Ireland, he asks, as free as those of England? Is their Parliament not as representative? It will be noticed that of the four-fifths of the Irish people who were not represented at all Swift takes no account. His attitude is throughout that of a colonist. The fourth and most famous of the Drapier Letters appeared in the October of 1724, and was addressed to "the Whole People of Ireland," but here again the Catholics are not reckoned as "people." The unanimity of the opposition to the halfpence is shown, and a continuance of it advised. The new power assumed by the English Parliament to bind Ireland by statute is complained of, and it is pointed out that force alone compelled its acceptance.

The Government offered a reward of £300 for the discovery of the authorship of the letters. The secret was known to many, but none would reveal it. They then prosecuted Harding, the printer. The Dublin Grand Jury refused to find a Bill. It was dissolved and another summoned. This proved even less satisfactory. It not only threw out the Bill, but besides presented as enemies to the King anyone who should accept Wood's coins.

It was evident that the colonists were determined. Boulter reluctantly admitted that the patent must be recalled. Wood was

amply compensated, and the King's speech (1725) announced that "an entire end had been put to the patent."

The colony's first attempt at dogged resistance had triumphed, but for long the success was not followed up. Walpole, the English Prime Minister, tightened his grip on the timid and divided colonists. The Catholics, crushed and powerless, did not move. For almost thirty years no fresh instance of spirit came to trouble the authorities across the Channel.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*War of the Spanish Succession begins*)	1701
(*Death of William III. Anne succeeds him*)	1702
(*War of the Spanish Succession ends*)	1714
(*Death of Anne. George I succeeds her*)	1714
(*Jacobite Rising in Scotland*)	1715
(*Death of Louis XIV*)	1715
"The Sixth of George I" passed	1719
Patent given to Wood	1722
The Drapier Letters	1724
Wood's Patent withdrawn	1725

CHAPTER VIII

IRELAND UNDER GEORGE II. THE FIRST PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION

Many of the Penal Laws Cease to be Enforced.—In 1727 George II succeeded his father. In England the change of rulers made little difference: in Ireland it made none at all. Quite unconnected with it was the gradual diminution of hostility towards the Catholics. The generation which remembered the Williamite Wars had passed away; the schemes of France were no longer feared. The laws, indeed, remained unchanged, but there was scarcely even a pretence made of enforcing those which related to religious observances or to the clergy. "Titular" bishops exercised their functions openly. There were numerous "Popish" schools, and boys were sent to study at Catholic colleges abroad, returning as ordained priests, with hardly an effort at concealment. The decrees which prohibited Catholics from holding lands on long leases or from entering professions were not suffered so easily to become dead letters, for the pecuniary interests of the Ascendancy were concerned in their enforcement.

The First Opposition.—The most notable representative of the English Government in Ireland at this time was the Primate, George Stone. With many of the prominent persons in Parliament he was most unpopular. It was mainly from a desire to thwart and embarrass him that some half-dozen of these formed the coalition, generally known as "the First Opposition," because it was the first party which had arisen in the Irish Parliament since the Revolution who were banded together with the avowed object of defeating the Government policy. The chief leaders of the movement were Henry Boyle, the Speaker; Antony Malone, the Prime Sergeant; John Ponsonby, and the Earl of Kildare. They styled themselves "the Patriots," but to such a title they had little claim.

The Surplus Dispute.—Their first trial of strength took place in 1751, and was concerned with the surplus in that year's revenue. Of this surplus the Irish Parliament desired to apply the greater portion to the reduction of the Irish National Debt. Some members of the English

Privy Council considered that the Irish Houses, by even suggesting how they wished a part of their own money to be spent, had infringed on the royal prerogative, and Dorset, the Lord Lieutenant, was instructed to emphasise in his opening speech the King's absolute ownership of the sum "then remaining in his Treasury." He did so, but the Commons —urged on by Boyle and Malone—passed the Heads of a Bill by which, while no mention whatever was made of his Majesty's gracious consent of which they had just been assured, £120,000 of the surplus was appropriated to the reduction of the National Debt. When the Bill was returned from England the phrase "with his Majesty's previous assent" was found to have been inserted. The Commons, afraid apparently to take any further step, passed the Bill.

Next Session (1753) there was again a surplus, and the same performance was repeated. The Royal Consent was given and ignored, and the Bill returned from England with the added phrase as before. The Irish House, however, after a debate of nine hours, rejected the altered Bill, though only by a small majority.

This display of independence created great alarm in England. Dire punishment was meted out, and Boyle, Malone, and some of the lesser "patriots" lost their offices and preferments. Then the surplus over which the dispute had arisen was taken out of the Treasury by Royal Letter, and applied as arranged. The Irish Parliament, unable to prevent this, resolved that there should never again be a surplus, but that expenses should be so arranged as to consume the entire revenue each year.

The "Patriots" Bribed.—Still, as long as the Opposition continued strong and united there was always, it was felt, a chance of their finding some new way to give trouble to the Government. An effective way of getting rid of this danger was found and applied with success. It was that of bribery. John Ponsonby was made Speaker; Boyle received a pension of £2,000 a year, and the title of Earl of Shannon; Kildare was raised to a Marquisate; Malone was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. They one and all "dismissed the woes of their country, for which they had no longer occasion." Boyle and Ponsonby united with Stone, and for the next seven years the three practically conducted the Government of Ireland.

The Catholic Committee.—In 1757 several Catholics of good position, of whom a Mr. Wyse of Waterford; Charles O'Connor of Bellanagar, a noted scholar and antiquary; Dr. Curry, a physician; Lord Fingal and Lord Delvin were the most noted; founded the "Catholic Committee," the object of which was to press for a repeal of the laws which so oppressed their co-religionists and themselves. This

was the first attempt at organising the Catholics made since the Revolution, and its very existence proved that the worst of the Penal Days were passed.

Thurot's Expedition.—Since 1756 England had been at war with France, and in February 1760, a small French expedition, headed by Thurot, a naval commander, who was Irish and whose real name was O'Farrell, made a descent on the north of Ireland, and reached Carrickfergus, of which they took possession. So slender a force could achieve nothing without local assistance, and such assistance its evident inadequacy prevented it from obtaining. The neighbouring peasantry indeed, armed themselves with scythes and joined the militia in their attack on the French, who quickly re-embarked. They were encountered by three British ships of the line and defeated.

Distress in Ireland: New Men in Parliament: Attempts at Reform.—In 1760 George II died, and was succeeded by his grandson, George III. The opening of the new reign found Ireland in a condition of great financial and economic distress. There had recently been two severe famines, and, owing to trade depression, a steady flow of emigration, especially of the Ulster Presbyterians, was yearly depriving the country of thousands of industrious and valuable citizens. Outrages were increasing in every part of the country. Whole districts were terrorized by the Whiteboys. Many banks had failed. The revenue had for some years been falling. In 1759 it had been found necessary to raise a loan of £150,000, and now it was announced that another, this time of £300,000, was required.

In Parliament new men, several of them destined to leave, by either their merits or demerits, a lasting name in Irish History, were coming into notice. The most prominent were Lord Charlemont, Henry Flood, John Hely Hutchinson, John Scott (afterwards Lord Clonmell), John Fitzgibbon (afterwards Lord Clare), and Edward Sexton Pery. Charlemont and Flood especially were sincere and disinterested Colonial patriots, but neither to them, nor even to most of the younger men who afterwards joined their ranks, did the state of political slavery, in which, on account of their creed, the vast majority of the Irish people were held, appear in itself a grievance or a violation of justice. At that time the connection of Church and State was held to be an almost indispensable condition of orderly government. From this, the right of the members of the Established Church to ascendancy in public life, and to a preponderating if not an absolutely exclusive voice in the administration of the government of the country, was considered to flow as a natural consequence.

In 1763, there was much agitation in Parliament regarding the

Pension List, and the excessive cost of the Irish Military Establishment which was declared to be in inverse proportion to its efficiency. The attack was led by members of what was beginning to be recognised as a new Opposition, but there was little result from their eloquence.

Much earlier than this Charles Lucas, a Dublin apothecary and subsequently a doctor, had made vigorous efforts to introduce reforms into the municipal administration of Dublin. He had now been elected as one of the representatives of Dublin in the Commons, and was continuing his campaign against corruption, both within Parliament and elsewhere, ably seconded by his friend, David La Touche.

In December, 1764, Primate Stone and Lord Shannon, the two great "Undertakers," died within a few days of each other.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Death of George I. George II succeeds him*)	1727
(*War of the Austrian Succession begins*)	1740
(*Jacobite Rising in Scotland*)	1745
(*War of the Austrian Succession ends*)	1748
The Surplus Dispute	1751, 1753
(*The Seven Years' War begins*)	1756
The Catholic Committee founded	1757
Thurot's Expedition	1760
(*Death of George II. George III succeeds him*)	1760

CHAPTER IX

THE VICEROYALTY OF TOWNSHEND AND OF HARCOURT. THE SECOND OPPOSITION

A New System Decided On: The Octennial Bill.—In 1767 Viscount Townshend came over as Lord Lieutenant. With his term of office the later phase of the history of the eighteenth-century Ireland is considered to begin. This period is marked, on one hand, by the gradual relaxation of the Penal Laws, and the consequent re-appearance, to some extent, of the Catholics in the public life of the country; and by the steady growth of the independence and power of the Irish Ascendancy Parliament, on the other.

George III had resolved on making considerable changes in the system of Irish Administration. The Viceroy was to reside continuously in the country, and the power of the Undertakers was to be crushed. Corruption would continue and even increase, but it should be managed directly by the Government, and no middleman should intervene to divert any portion of the profits from the Crown.

The three chief surviving Undertakers, Lord Shannon (son and successor of the first Earl), Ponsonby and Hely Hutchinson, quickly understood what the new policy was to be, and went into Opposition.

The excessive duration of Irish Parliaments had long been felt to be a serious grievance. Whereas in England a Septennial Act had been in force since 1715, in Ireland nothing save the decease of the Crown absolutely necessitated a dissolution. One Irish Parliament continued to sit during the entire reign of George II, a period of 33 years. It can easily be understood that an assembly of this kind was likely to grow quite out of touch with the public opinion of the country, and that its members would feel themselves little dependent on constituents, whose suffrages they might not have again to seek for twenty or more years.

The members themselves were naturally by no means anxious for a change which might force them to incur more frequently the expense and the risk of a contested election. Therefore, although in deference to the general desire they had passed the Heads of a Septennial Bill through the Commons, the delay in transmitting it to England, and the

still greater delay in returning it, seems, so far from causing them dissatisfaction, rather to have induced a hope that it would not be returned at all. Returned it however eventually was (February 1768), but changed from a Septennial to an Octennial Bill. This change was evidently an improvement as applied to a Parliament which sat only once each two years, since it would give four full sessions between each General Election. The Lords, who saw much advantage to themselves in the opportunities for selling their corrupt borough property more frequently, had no desire at any time to reject it, so, to the great delight of the colony in general, it passed.

The Army Augmentation Scheme : The Money Bill Dispute.—Before the end of this Session an attempt was made by the Government to induce the Parliament to agree to a considerable increase in the number of regular troops which were paid by the Irish revenue and constituted the "Military Establishment" of the country. At present there were 12,000 men ; the proposed augmentation would raise the total to over 15,200. The scheme was most unpopular in Ireland. It was urged that, if the 12,000 soldiers whom Ireland already supported were compared with the 17,000 which constituted the military peace establishment of England, it would appear that the poorer country bore far more than her share of the common burden. The measure was defeated, though only by a very narrow majority. The English Privy Council revenged itself by not returning a Bill for extending the Habeas Corpus Act* to Ireland. In May the Parliament was dissolved.

Townshend employed the sixteen months' interval in using all the sources of corruption to secure a substantial Government majority for the next Session.

When the Houses reassembled in October 1769, a dispute regarding Money Bills was at once initiated. The Bill transmitted to the King by Townshend, in accordance with Poynings' Law, with the request for leave to hold a Parliament in Ireland, had been a Supply Bill, and had, of course, originated in the Irish Privy Council. The Commons had always been very sensitive regarding outside interference with Supply Bills. As early as 1692, they had declared that they alone had the right to originate them. Subsequently, they had on more than one occasion rejected Money Bills originating in the Privy Council, without, however, formally declaring their reasons for so doing. They now went a step further, and when they received back this Money Bill, rejected it,

* *This Act, passed for England in 1679, was intended to prevent persons from being detained in prison for long periods without trial and without any specified charges being made against them. It authorised a prisoner to demand to be made acquainted with the nature of the charge, and required him to be produced for trial within a certain time. It was extended to Ireland in 1782.*

"because it did not take its rise in this House." There was great indignation in England. It was even suggested that the English Parliament should proceed to exercise the prerogative which it had asserted in 1719, and should vote the Irish supplies.

In debates on the subject of the rejected Bill the Commons justified their action by reasons which appeared unanswerable. They urged that they were entitled to the benefits and liberties of the English Constitution, and that the best legal authorities on that Constitution declared it to be "an ancient indisputable privilege and right of the House of Commons that all grants of subsidies or Parliamentary aids do begin in their House." Further, even if this had not been so, it could not be denied that the Irish Houses had an absolute right to reject any Bill presented to them, and need not state a reason for so doing. On this occasion they *had* stated a reason, merely as an intimation that they intended to reject all Supply Bills which originated in the Privy Council, and that, therefore, it would be mere waste of time placing any such before them. In order to show, however, that, while asserting their rights, they did not wish to embarrass the Government, they themselves voted a Bill exactly similar in terms to that which they had refused, and even, with an excess of generosity, passed the Army Augmentation Bill.

In December, 1769, the Parliament was prorogued and did not meet again till February, 1771.

Before the opening of the new Session the Lord Lieutenant had expended over half-a-million of money in direct or indirect bribery, and had created, in order to win support, several needless offices, which increased the expense of the already overburdened Administration and almost beggared country.

Still, the Commons on the subject of the Supply Bills remained obdurate. When one was returned from England with three slight alterations they rejected it, but at once voted another in similar terms. This they received back unchanged, and, of course, passed it without demur.

In other respects, however, the bribery of Townshend had done its work. Flood's denunciations of the new offices met with little response.

This year (1771) was marked by the first actual relaxation in the Penal Laws. A Catholic was henceforth to be permitted to take a lease for 61 years of a bog, provided that the said bog was at least four feet deep, was situated not less than a mile from a town, and that he would undertake to reclaim at least half of it within twenty-one years. For seven years no taxes would be levied on this bogland.

Continuance of Corruption: The American War.—In 1772 Townshend was recalled and Earl Harcourt took his place. The deficit

in the revenue amounted to about £300,000, and the new Viceroy was instructed to exercise rigid economy. Some of the new offices created by Townshend were abolished, but on the whole the system of corruption and bribery remained as extensive and costly as ever. In order to meet the deficit various new duties were imposed. Some of the Bills embodying these were altered in England, and then almost unanimously rejected by the Irish Commons, and other Bills similar in tenor immediately voted in their place.

In 1775 Flood took office, and accepted the post of Vice-Treasurer, to which a salary of £3,500 a year and a seat in the Privy Council was attached. There seems no doubt that his motives were perfectly honourable, and probably even patriotic; he appears to have considered that his new position would give him greater power to promote the interests of his country. Undoubtedly, however, the acceptance decreased his popularity, and consequently his influence. He came himself later to recognise this, and in 1779 resigned his place, but he never fully regained the public confidence.

In April, 1775, England declared war on her American colonies. The dispute between them had been watched with interest in Ireland. It was felt that an admission of the principle that the English Parliament, to which the colonies sent no representatives, had, nevertheless, a right to tax them would be extremely dangerous for Ireland, also without representatives at Westminster. The Act of 1719 made this danger all the greater, since the English Parliament had by it asserted its right to legislate for Ireland; though, so far, it had not attempted to control her taxation. Besides this, the people of Ireland, and especially the Ulster Presbyterians, were connected by many ties with the colonists of North America. Since the beginning of the century a continual stream of emigration had flowed, from that province in particular, across the Atlantic, owing chiefly to the ruinous trade laws. The emigrants were for the most part imbued with no very friendly feelings towards the British Government, and in the struggle that now began, they, or their sons, took a very prominent part (see *Chapter IV*).

Lord North, the English Minister, was under no illusion as to the opinion of the country. Anxious to allay discontents, he privately ordered the Penal Laws to be in great part ignored, and that, as there was pressing need of soldiers for the American War, Catholic recruits should be received without question. This latter measure was, however, found quite insufficient to supply the necessary number of troops, and Parliament was induced to withdraw the proviso, which had been inserted in the Army Augmentation Bill of 1771, requiring that not less than 12,000 of the soldiers supported by the Irish revenue should always

remain in the country. By a considerable majority leave was accorded to send 4,000 additional troops to America.

In March, 1776, the Parliament was dissolved.

Great apprehensions were entertained as to the result of the coming General Election, and Harcourt informed the English Minister that, in order to secure a safe Government majority, at least £11,000 should be expended in pensions. This was done, and, in addition, eighteen new Irish peerages were created and twelve Irish peers were raised to higher rank.

In November, 1776, Harcourt was recalled, and the Earl of Buckinghamshire was appointed in his place.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*The Seven Years' War ends*)	1763
Viscount Townshend appointed Lord Lieutenant	1767
The Octennial Bill passes	1768
The dispute on Money Bills	1769, 1771
(*The War of American Independence begins*)	1775

CHAPTER X

THE RISE OF THE VOLUNTEERS

Defenceless State of the Country: The Volunteers.—The condition of Ireland at the time when Buckinghamshire took office was in every way critical and unsatisfactory. When, early in 1778, France openly allied herself with the revolting colonies, the situation became still more dangerous. French and American ships ranged the Channel, and the famous privateer, Captain Paul Jones, actually captured a vessel in Belfast Lough. An invasion might at any time be expected, and to meet it there only remained in the country a few thousand troops, mostly of inferior quality; the rest had been sent across the Atlantic.

It was under these circumstances that, in reply to a request from Belfast, that additional troops might be sent for its defence, the Lord Lieutenant was obliged to confess that only "a troop or two of horse or part of a company of invalids" were available for the purpose. This made it apparent that little help could be expected from the Government and that the people must only rely on themselves. From this time, therefore, the Volunteer Movement may be said to begin.

The first regular Volunteer Corps was formed in Belfast early in 1779, and already, in the following spring, we find Buckinghamshire filled with uneasiness. "Discouragement has been given on my part, as far as might be without offence," he wrote to England. He suspected, and as the event proved, not without reason, that the aims of the new Citizen Army were, to a great extent political; but at the same time he could not deny that these men, as Protestants, had a legal right to bear arms, and, as citizens, could not be blamed for undertaking a duty which the State had practically confessed itself unable to perform. Catholics who offered to join were, by the Volunteers themselves, prevented, owing to a desire to keep well within the law. Later, the restriction was removed, and many regiments came to consist chiefly of Catholics.

Noblemen began to raise corps, so too did professions; the Lawyers' Corps is an example. The uniforms were selected by each corps for itself. The men bought their own uniforms, or, in the case of the poorer individuals who began towards the decline of the movement to join,

these were supplied from a general fund. Arms were provided in the same way, except that the Government, very reluctantly, gave out from the Castle a few thousand stand. No pay was, of course, given to anyone; neither officers nor men received commissions, or were subjected to any military law. When cavalry and artillery were added, horses and guns were supplied from private resources.

Increasing Distrust of the Government: The Volunteer Movement Spreads.—As the chances of an invasion grew less, the Volunteers began to turn their attention decidedly to domestic questions, and the Government viewed them with increasing suspicion and dislike.

Still, the Volunteer Movement was far from being one of rebellion. The Volunteers were both extremely loyal to the British connection and decidedly Protestant. In Dublin, they deployed round the statue of William III. In Belfast, they wore Orange cockades on July 12th. Each corps had its Protestant chaplain. Their political object was to endeavour to obtain for their country, and especially for its Protestant inhabitants, such a system of administration under the English Crown as might redress its grievances and restore its prosperity. To attain this they considered that the best means was to increase the independence and remedy the corruptions of the Irish Parliament.

During the next three years the Volunteers continually progressed, both in efficiency and in numbers. The final figures (1787) are given as 100,000, of whom over 5,000 were cavalry, and 130 pieces of artillery.

At first the Volunteer corps were unconnected one with another. Gradually, however, they drew together, and in 1780 Lord Charlemont was chosen to command the whole body. Charlemont had a strong reverence for law and order and a belief in the sacredness of established institutions. His appointment as Commander seemed to guarantee the intention of the Volunteers to confine their action within the limits of the Constitution.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
The Volunteer Movement begins	1777
(*Battle of Saratoga*)	1778

CHAPTER XI

IRISH DISTRESS. THE DEMAND FOR FREE TRADE

Embargoes on the Provision Trade: Distress and Agitation.—The industrial distress, which had come to be the habitual state of things in Ireland, had been aggravated in 1770 and the following years by a series of embargoes placed by the English Privy Council on the export of Irish provisions to foreign countries. These crippled and eventually almost destroyed one of the only two surviving branches of trade which remained to the country. In 1775 the American colonies, then on the verge of war, excluded Irish linens from their markets.

In 1778 the permission to export some few articles of food from Ireland to England, given some time previously, was withdrawn. The prohibition of the foreign provision trade had been justified on the ground that the rebel colonial army was being fed by Irish beef and pork, but for the refusal to admit Irish food into Great Britain no such excuse could be offered. It was due to mere commercial selfishness and weak pandering to the clamorous complaints of the English farmers and graziers.

The ruin was now complete and widespread amongst all classes and in all parts of the country. The Limerick and Cork merchants found themselves with huge stocks of unsold and unsaleable provisions on their hands. The Dublin weavers paraded the streets in procession carrying a black fleece. Ten thousand workpeople were said (May 1778) to have lost their employment. The Finances were reduced to a deplorable condition. In 1777 the expenses had exceeded the revenue by £80,000. La Touche, the Dublin banker, professed to be unable to advance £20,000 to the authorities. For lack of money the few regular troops left in the country were obliged to be left stationary; their travelling expenses could not be paid.

This state of things was felt to be intolerable; murmurs of discontent were heard on every side. The power of the English Privy Council to prohibit Irish trade by proclamation was questioned.

In the Irish Commons Henry Grattan, a young man of thirty-two, who in 1775 had been elected to Parliament, moved that an address on the state of the country should be presented to the King (February 1778). But Government influence over the corrupt Assembly was strong, and the motion was rejected. When, in the English House, a proposal was made to remove some of the restrictions on Irish trade, fierce opposition arose. Petitions poured in from manufacturers, crying out against the consequences which would follow to themselves and to the country at large if any such concessions were granted. Manchester, Preston and Stockport declared their fear of Irish checks; Worcester and Stafford would be ruined by Irish gloves and Irish glass. Scotland joined in the chorus. Glasgow "wished well to Ireland, but would not go so far as to reduce herself to poverty for her sake." In most of the petitions, and in the Parliamentary debates, it was urged that the lower taxation and the cheapness of labour in Ireland, as well as the less cost of living, would enable her to undersell English goods, even in their home markets. The English Minister, North, yielded to the "Storm," and whittled down his proposed concessions so much that they amounted in the end to little more than a permission to Ireland to export some goods of minor importance to the British Colonies, and spun cotton-yarn, duty free, to England.

In Ireland this inadequate measure was received with indignant contempt, as practically useless to remedy the prevailing distress.

Recourse was now had to a peculiar method of retaliation. In very many parts of Ireland, especially in the towns, "Non-Importation" Leagues were started, the members of which pledged themselves "not to import or use any goods or wares, the product or manufacture of Great Britain, which can be produced or manufactured in this Kingdom." Ladies joined in the movement, and by refusing to wear British stuffs, greatly aided it. The value of the goods exported from Great Britain fell to about a quarter of what it previously had been, and the revenue steadily decreased. The British manufacturers, long deaf to appeals made to them in the name of justice, began to be alarmed at the loss resulting to themselves from their selfish policy.

Still North hesitated. When, in October, 1779, the Irish Parliament met, the Lord Lieutenant, acting according to the directions which he had received, delivered a colourless speech holding out no prospect of concessions. This was received in the Commons with murmurs of disapproval, and Henry Grattan, rising, proposed as an amendment to the Address, that a statement should be conveyed to the King, setting forth that, owing to the trade prohibitions, the natural

support of Ireland had decayed; her manufacturers were dying of want, and the only means by which this could be remedied would be to open a free export trade. The opposition was feeble, and it even appeared that the House was prepared to sanction a still bolder expression of opinion. When Hussy Burgh, the Prime Sergeant, moved to substitute for Grattan's amendment one which declared that "not by temporary expedients, but by free trade alone," was it "that this nation is now to be saved from impending ruin," the assent expressed was so general that the Government considered it expedient to avoid the odium of a futile resistance and to allow the motion to pass unanimously.

The Volunteers Demand Free Trade: The Government Yields.—The Volunteers had watched the proceedings with deep interest, and when the House went in a body to convey the amended Address to the Viceroy, the Dublin corps lined the streets and presented arms as the procession passed.

On November 4th the Dublin Volunteers assembled round William III's statue in College Green. This commemoration of the Protestant hero's birthday was in accordance with their usual practice. What was significant, however, was that, to some of their pieces of artillery and on the pedestal of the statue itself, were fastened placards bearing such inscriptions as "Free Trade or a Speedy Revolution," "A Free Trade or else——"; or most threatening of all (on two cannons), "Free Trade or This."

Buckinghamshire was much alarmed at the situation. He wrote to the Prime Minister that concession was absolutely necessary. No danger to be apprehended from the British manufacturing interest would be so great as that which threatened in Ireland from the almost universal discontent and indignation at the trade restrictions. North was obliged to yield. In December, 1779, and the following month, he introduced a series of measures into the English Commons, which removed the greater part of Ireland's commercial grievances. Henceforth, Irish woollens and Irish glass could be freely exported and hops freely imported. The Plantation trade was thrown open to Irish merchants on the same terms as to those of Great Britain. Ireland was also to have the right of trading in the Levant. These proposals were agreed to with little opposition. For the present, at least, this burning question was peaceably settled.

The course of the proceedings had been one too common in the dealings of England with Ireland. Urged by arguments founded on considerations of justice and of mercy to redress the crying grievances of the country which she had reduced to beggary, she had refused any

appreciable concession till exasperation increased to the brink of revolt. Then the British Government, harassed by troubles abroad, grew alarmed at the spirit which she herself had evoked, and yielded to threats of violence what she had denied to reason and argument, couched in respectful and constitutional language. To Ireland a dangerous political lesson had been taught, and by no means for the last time. In June (1778) the great measure of Catholic relief known as "Gardiner's First Relief Bill" was passed. We shall deal in a later chapter with its provisions.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Embargo on Irish Provision Trade	1778
Gardiner's First Catholic Relief Bill	1778
Restrictions on Irish Trade removed	1780

CHAPTER XII

PARLIAMENTARY INDEPENDENCE

The Movement for Legislative Independence.—After the first burst of triumph and rejoicing over their victory with regard to the trade restrictions had passed, the Irish Parliamentary leaders began to consider that neither the liberties which they had won nor any others could be regarded as really secure as long as the Irish Houses remained in their present state of subordination to the English Privy Council, which had power to alter or suppress their decrees, or as the Lords and Commons of England considered themselves entitled to legislate for Ireland.

In April (1780), Grattan brought the subject of Legislative Independence before the Commons in a splendid speech. The consideration of the question was, however, postponed.

As a sort of test case an Irish Mutiny Bill was introduced by one of the Opposition. Hitherto the troops in Ireland had been kept under discipline by the English Act, and the passing of a special enactment by the Irish Parliament amounted, of course, to a denial of the right of the London assembly to legislate for Ireland at all. Government opposed the Bill, but was utterly defeated. The Bill, as drafted, was on the model of the English one, to be renewed by Parliament each Session, and failing such renewal to lapse; the object being to keep the army under the control of the civil power. When, however, it was returned from England it was found to have been changed to a Perpetual Mutiny Bill. The alteration had quite evidently been made in order to induce the Irish Houses to reject the entire measure. They, however, passed it by a fair majority. In September (1780), Parliament was prorogued.

Before the end of the year Buckinghamshire was replaced in the Viceroyalty by Lord Carlisle. The directions given him indicated some desire to conciliate Irish public opinion, but the determination of the British Ministers to oppose any pretensions made by the Dublin Parliament to legislative independence was as strong as ever.

Parliament opened in October (1781), and the beginning of the Session was tranquil. The long-desired Habeas Corpus Act was passed, returned from England, and became law. In December the news of Lord Cornwallis' surrender at Yorktown, an event which practically

ended the American war, was made known in Ireland. The two Irish Houses received the intelligence with expressions of deep concern and voted an Address to the King assuring him of their loyalty. For the time the attention of almost all the members of the Opposition seemed to be diverted from the grievances of their own country, and a motion made by Flood for the appointment of a Commission to inquire into the powers claimed by the Irish Privy Council under Poynings' Law was rejected by a large majority.

When the Houses met after the Christmas vacation, a Second Catholic Relief Bill was introduced by Luke Gardiner, who some four years previously had been the sponsor of the first, and was passed without much difficulty (February, 1782).

The Dungannon Convention.—A great Convention of the Ulster Volunteers had been arranged, and on February 15th, 1782, 243 delegates, representing 143 corps, met at Dungannon. The resolutions to be placed before them had been drawn up chiefly by Charlemont, Grattan and Flood. The most important, politically, were those which asserted "that the claim of any body of men, other than the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland to make laws to bind this Kingdom is unconstitutional, illegal and a grievance," and that "the powers exercised by the Privy Councils of both Kingdoms, under, or under colour, or pretence of the law of Poynings, are unconstitutional and a grievance." Last of all came a resolution, drafted by Grattan alone, that "as men and as Irishmen, as Christians and as Protestants, we rejoice in the relaxation of the Penal Laws against our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects (i.e., *by the two Relief Bills*), and that we conceive the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland."

It will be noticed that, though the Catholics were still excluded, not only from the right of sitting in Parliament but also from the franchise, no hope or even desire is expressed that anything further will be accorded to them. Many, indeed, of the most prominent leaders in the Volunteer Movement, as Charlemont and Flood, were strong opponents of any demand of the Catholics for a share in political power. Grattan held more liberal views, but he evidently considered it advisable not to run the risk of stirring up dissensions by bringing them forward at this juncture.

The resolutions were passed with very little opposition, and at meetings held for the Connacht Volunteers at Portumna, for those of Munster in Cork, and for those of Leinster in Dublin, they were repeated without material alteration.

The Question of Legislative Independence brought before

Parliament.—Before the end of February, Grattan brought forward the question of Irish Rights in the House of Commons, maintaining, as the Dungannon resolutions had done the exclusive right of the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland to legislate for the country. The House agreed to postpone the question, but this was not due, as the Lord Lieutenant warned the English Minister, to any difference of opinion regarding the alleged powers of the British Parliament to pass Statutes for Ireland. In a denial of such right the speakers on both sides were almost equally unanimous.

During the Easter recess the North Ministry fell, and the Rockingham Administration, its successor, replaced Carlisle as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by the Duke of Portland.

The new Viceroy proved to be no more able to perform the miracle of allaying the Irish discontents without removing their cause than his predecessor had been. The Government, after some vain attempts to bribe Grattan and Charlemont by offers of high preferment, gave up resistance as hopeless.

The Government Yields.—On the first day of the new Session the Commons received a message from the Lord Lieutenant, saying that the King recommended them "to take into consideration the discontents prevailing amongst his loyal subjects of Ireland," "in order to arrive at such a final adjustment as might give mutual satisfaction to the Kingdoms of Great Britain and Ireland." Grattan at once moved a resolution "to assure his Majesty that his subjects of Ireland are a free people. That the Crown of Ireland is an Imperial Crown, inseparably annexed to the Crown of Great Britain, on which connection the interests and happiness of both nations depend." But that "the Kingdom of Ireland is a distinct Kingdom, with a Parliament of her own, the sole legislature thereof. That there is no body of men competent to make laws to bind this nation, except the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland; nor any other Parliament which hath any authority or power of any sort whatsoever in this country, save only the Parliament of Ireland." This was passed unanimously.

Portland assured the English Ministers that, if what was asked were denied or even delayed, there would be an end of all government in Ireland. "The whole country," he wrote, "is desirous of this; the Church, the Law, the Army, the merchant, the tradesman, the manufacturer, the farmer, the labourer, the Catholic, the Dissenter, the Protestant."

In this statement there was probably much exaggeration. It is at the least doubtful whether some of the classes mentioned took any interest worth speaking of in the measure, but certainly amongst the

better educated there was a unanimity such as had not appeared on any question for generations. Behind the civil, or to speak more correctly, the unarmed population, stood at least 80,000 Volunteers. Of regular troops there were scarcely more than 5,000 in the country.

Legislative Independence Carried.—In the English House when the question of Irish Rights was introduced, there was little opposition by the Lords and practically none by the Commons to the proposition that the demands of the Dublin Parliament should be complied with. On May 25th (1782), the Irish Lords and Commons were officially informed that "the sixth of George I," by which the English Parliament declared itself entitled to legislate for Ireland, had been repealed, and that the King was willing that "Acts to prevent the Suppression of Bills in the Privy Council and the alteration of them anywhere" should be passed by their Houses; or, in other words, that the Irish Act of 1494, usually known as "Poynings' Law" should, in essentials, be rescinded.

Of the process of legislation in the Irish Parliament of the eighteenth century up to this time, and of the steps by which the Heads of a Bill became law, an account has already been given (*Chap. V, Book VI*). This process would now be greatly simplified. An Irish Bill would pass through the Irish Houses in the same way as an English one passed through the Houses in London. When passed it would be sent to the Lord Lieutenant, who should transmit it to the King for his assent. Of the refusal of this to an Act passed by Parliament there had been no example in Great Britain since 1707, but instances were found in Ireland, although they were rare, even after Legislative Independence had been gained. The English Privy Council was still summoned to advise the King as to "returning" or not of Irish Bills. This and their "return" under the Great Seal of England were surviving fragments of Poynings' Law. When the Bill was returned to Ireland it was accompanied by a Commission to the Lord Lieutenant to give to it the Royal Assent.

The Irish Parliament was now no longer controlled by the Viceroy nor by the Privy Council of Ireland as it had hitherto been. In regard to the affairs of Ireland it was subordinate only to the Crown.

The Question of "Simple Repeal": The Renunciation Act.—During the debates of the first Session it became apparent that a considerable party, of whom Flood was the leader, regarded the repeal of the Act of 1719 as insufficient to secure for the Irish Houses the exclusive right of legislation for the country. They pointed out that the Act had been a Declaratory one—the mere assertion of a right—and therefore, they argued, its repeal left things as before. As against this, Grattan maintained that the rescinding by the British Parliament of the Act by

which it asserted itself to have the right to legislate for Ireland, involved, by implication, the confession that it had no such right.

It appeared, however, to the British Ministers that there could be no harm in allaying suspicion by making the point clear; so (February, 1783) a "Renunciation Act" was passed, in which it was specifically stated that "the right claimed by the people of Ireland to be bound only by laws enacted by his Majesty and the Parliament of that Kingdom shall be established . . . for ever, and shall at no time hereafter be questioned or questionable." The Appellate Jurisdiction was, at the same time, specifically restored to the Irish House of Lords.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Gardiner's Second Catholic Relief Bill	1782
The Dungannon Convention	1782
Legislative Independence granted	1782
The Renunciation Act	1783
(*The War of American Independence ends*)	1783

CHAPTER XIII

THE VOLUNTEERS AND PARLIAMENTARY REFORM

Urgency of Parliamentary Reform: The Dublin Convention.—The triumph which had been achieved by gaining the independence of the Irish Parliament was, at best, but a partial one, and might prove of little practical use, if that Parliament remained unreformed, and so liable to be swayed by bribery in whatever direction might suit the party then in office in England. The Volunteers, after considering the matter in local assemblies, decided to hold a great Convention of the whole body in Dublin in the November of 1783.

Of this resolution many of those who hitherto had been their most ardent supporters disapproved. Grattan saw in it a desire on the part of these citizen-soldiers to interfere overmuch in political matters. Charlemont, too, disliked the Convention, and only very reluctantly, and with the hope of preventing it from embarking on dangerous courses, did he consent to be named its President.

On the 10th of November the Convention assembled at the Dublin Exchange, and marched across the city to the building called the Rotunda, where the debates were to take place. Some Volunteers lined the streets, while others joined in the procession. The delegates, numbering 160, walked two and two, with Charlemont at their head. Each wore the uniform of his corps and a green scarf across his chest. In the hall prepared for them, the delegates continued their discussions for nearly three weeks. Catholic Emancipation, which many desired, was defeated, mainly by the efforts of Charlemont and Flood. At length certain resolutions, constituting what was afterwards called "the Volunteer Reform Bill," were agreed on. Their substance was (1) that all adult male Protestants, who had lived at least six months in a constituency, and whose property exceeded the annual value of £20, should be entitled to vote. (2) That the electoral districts of the smaller, the so-called "rotten," boroughs should be extended. (3) That the restricted franchise of the towns should be widened. (4) That no pensioners during pleasure should sit in Parliament, and that persons who accepted a life pension or a place under the Crown should vacate their seats and seek

re-election. (5) That all persons elected should take an oath that they had not given money for their seats. (6) That Parliaments should be triennial.

When these resolutions were drafted, Flood announced that he himself would go immediately and present them to the Parliament then sitting in College Green. The Convention decided to remain in the hall and await his return (November 29th).

No course more injudicious or more certain to provoke the hostility of Parliament could well have been conceived. It was absurd to expect that the legally established legislative assembly of the country would tamely submit to the dictation of an unauthorised, semi-military rival Parliament, sitting at its very doors; unless indeed it were coerced by violence or moved by fear of such violence to do so. That no such fear appears to have been entertained by this unarmed body of legislators shows what confidence in the peaceable intentions of the Volunteers was felt, even by those who most strongly opposed them.

When Flood appeared in the House, and desired leave to introduce the Bill, whose provisions he explained, his reception was most unfriendly. Fitzgibbon violently attacked the Volunteers; Grattan defended them with so little spirit that his speech rather encouraged their opponents. All through the Saturday night and the early hours of the Sunday morning the debate went on. At length, to a weary House, the question of receiving the Bill for discussion was put, and permission was refused by a very large majority. Meanwhile, in the Rotunda Hall, another assembly sat, equally weary, awaiting their envoy's return. After midnight, however, they dispersed, with faint hopes for their cause, for the intelligence that reached them frequently from College Green plainly showed the spirit of hostility that prevailed there.

On Monday they met again, but only to pass one or two futile resolutions as to the necessity of Parliamentary Reform. Then they adjourned *sine die*. Their power had passed from them. As a political force they counted less and less, until, in the troubled times that preceded the Rebellion of 1798, they disappeared. Drilling still continued for a while, and small local meetings were held, but dissensions arose; the character of the force changed; men of lower class were received, and most of the older members withdrew gradually. The more extreme drifted into the United Irishmen organisation.

Reform Defeated.—In many of the speeches made by the opponents of the Volunteer Reform Bill, during the memorable debate of November 29th (1783), it was asserted that—though the Parliament was determined to resist any attempt at coercion from without—it was willing and even anxious to reform itself. The insincerity of this statement was shown by the fact that in March, 1784, an extremely moderate

Reform Bill was rejected by a considerable majority. In 1792 the Opposition succeeded in getting a measure passed which excluded in future pensioners during pleasure, and those holding certain specified offices from Parliament, and obliged persons accepting certain other offices under Government to vacate their seats, and offer themselves for re-election, should they desire to continue members of the House. Even this, however, was ingeniously converted into an extra means of corruption. Members were found, who, while not willing to actually sell their votes to the Government, allowed themselves to be induced to accept such a pension or place as obliged them to retire; thereby creating a vacancy, which some more complaisant individual at once filled.

The Irish Pension List.—The Irish Pension List had long been a grievous scandal. The British Government had placed on the Irish Establishment the burden of great numbers of pensions to be paid to persons who had no connection whatever with Ireland. Some were members of the Royal Family; others, officers in the army; others, foreign princes who had helped England in her Continental wars. Not a few were persons of character more than doubtful, whom the Ministers felt that they dared not recommend to the English Houses as worthy objects for the nation's bounty. During the latter part of the century, in spite of frequent complaints in the Commons, the Pension List had grown with increased rapidity. In 1757 the total amount was £51,583 a year. In 1786 it was £94,000, actually exceeding that of England by £4,000. In 1789 £13,000 more was added. In 1793 the Government, perceiving that it was absolutely necessary to do something to allay the growing discontent, itself proposed a measure by which the pension list was to be reduced to £80,000 a year. This was passed without difficulty, but various means of evading its provisions, by the creation of sinecure offices and so forth, still remained open.

With the exceptions mentioned, nothing was done by the Independent Irish Parliament during the eighteen years of its existence to reform the abuses which existed within itself; abuses which, when the Government chose to purchase from it its own destruction, rendered the attainment of that object comparatively easy.

PRINCIPAL DATES	A.D.
The Dublin Convention	1783
The Volunteer Reform Bill rejected	1783

CHAPTER XIV

THE CONSTITUTION OF GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT

Defects in the Constitution of the Independent Parliament.—The Parliament which, from 1782 to the Legislative Union of 1800, sat in Dublin is generally named, from the man to whose exertions the liberties which it enjoyed were chiefly due, "Grattan's Parliament." We have seen that, within itself, it contained the elements which, after a short period of years, were to lead to its destruction, and that to purge itself of these elements it obstinately refused. Besides this, however, the constitution which had been imposed on it was in several respects faulty. Its greatest defect was this, that the Executive was practically completely independent of the Legislature.

In the British Parliament the executive authorities are the Cabinet Ministers, who are chosen from amongst his own followers by the leader of the political party then in power. Thus all are pledged to the line of policy which the House of Commons, representing the nation, approves. To that House, too, they are responsible. If an important measure officially introduced by them, a Government measure as it would be called, be defeated, they at once in a body resign, and by means of a General Election ask the electors to endorse or repudiate their policy. If a majority of their party be returned, the verdict of the country is taken to be in their favour and they resume their functions. In the contrary case, the most prominent man amongst their opponents is asked to "form a Government," which, of course, would consist of the members of his own party.

Very different was the course of proceedings in Ireland. There the Executive consisted of the Lord Lieutenant, the Chief Secretary who was his deputy, and a few of the leading officials, who together formed a sort of Cabinet. All of these were selected in England by the leader or leaders of the political party in power there. As long as his political friends held office the Lord Lieutenant might retain his position, unless they chose to recall him, or he resigned of his own accord. When the Government in England changed, he was, of course, replaced by a member of the new predominant party. Thus the Irish Government represented the political views which were in the ascendant in the Lower House, not of the Dublin, but of the Westminster Parliament. By

this Government certain measures, decided on in the English Cabinet, were placed before the Irish Lords and Commons. If they were rejected, as they sometimes were, no dissolution, no General Election followed. The matter was, for the present, quietly dropped; sometimes merely till the next Session. Thus, when in 1799, Cornwallis and Castlereagh were defeated on the question of the Legislative Union, they brought it up again when Parliament reassembled, and Pitt even intimated that it would be placed before the House every Session till they consented to pass it. A proceeding of this sort, which amounted to nothing less than a resolve to bully, weary or bribe the so-called representatives of the people to register votes in opposition to the decision of their judgment and the dictates of their conscience, was, of course, a gross violation of the fundamental principles of Constitutional Government.

Again, in England the official censure of an individual minister by the Parliament would at once be followed by his resignation. In Ireland such a censure produced no effect whatever. In 1789, when Buckingham, the Viceroy, refused to transmit to the Prince Regent an Address from the two Irish Houses, they voted his proceeding "ill-advised," and considered that it attempted "to question the undoubted rights and privileges of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and the Commons of Ireland." But of this the Lord Lieutenant took no notice.

This absence of responsibility of the Irish Government to any authority in Ireland itself, its often most unharmonious relations with the majority of the House of which it should properly have been the mouthpiece and the instrument, might well lead to serious consequences, and even culminate in a regular breach between the Parliament and the Executive, which would also almost of necessity, involve a breach with the British Ministry itself. When the Catholics regained political power—that they would do so within a comparatively short time, no one of the least intelligence can have failed to foresee—and the Dublin Parliament became really representative of the country, the danger of such a collision would be greatly increased.

These things, however, did not happen. The Independent Parliament lasted but eighteen years. During that time it showed itself, while not always in agreement with the British Government, constantly loyal and most ready to co-operate with and assist Great Britain herself when any necessity arose. Moreover, in spite of all its defects internal and external, it conferred, as we shall see, great benefits on Ireland, both by fostering her industries and increasing her material prosperity, and by constituting itself an object of national pride and a centre of national life, political and social, round which, had it continued to exist, the entire people of the country, in course of time, would doubtless have rallied.

CHAPTER XV

THE LEGISLATION OF GRATTAN'S PARLIAMENT. THE TRADE PROPOSALS

Beneficial Acts Passed by the Independent Parliament.—During the first years of the Independent Parliament many useful legislative reforms, some of which had been long desired in vain, were effected. The Irish judges were no longer to hold their offices merely during the King's pleasure, as they had done since Henry VII's Act (1495), but "during good behaviour." Like the English judges, they could now only be removed by a petition from both Houses of Parliament. The Perpetual Mutiny Bill was changed to one which required renewal every two years. During the last decade of the century two important Acts dealing with finance were passed. By one (1793) the Crown was interdicted from meddling with the Irish revenue, as it had done in 1753 (see *Chap. VIII, Book IV*), and this was entrusted to the care of Commissioners. By the other, a fixed income or Civil List, amounting to £145,000 a year, was assigned to the King, instead of the various duties which he had hitherto received.

Commercial Grievances.—The amount of actual commercial distress in Ireland in the years 1782–1783 is not easy to estimate. Ireland had certainly increased her West Indian trade, and the exports of cloth goods were rising. There was unquestionably great discontent amongst the industrial classes, both employers and employed. Increased discontent, however, whether in communities or in individuals, does not of necessity indicate that their sufferings or grievances are worse than before. Often the contrary is the case, and the removal of one disability or restriction causes those which are left to be more keenly resented.

Undoubtedly many serious grievances in regard to trade still remained unredressed, and the arrangement of 1780, although so great an improvement on the state of things which had preceded it, told in several respects against the interests of Ireland. The English Navigation Act of 1652* was so applied that Ireland was forbidden to re-export the

* *This Act, passed by the English Parliament in* 1652, *decreed that no goods should be imported into England on any ships except such as were either English or belonging to the country which had produced the goods.*

products of the British Colonies to Great Britain on her own ships, even when she had received only the raw materials from abroad and had worked them up at home. High duties were levied on most Irish goods at the British ports, while the amount charged on English products imported into Ireland was very small. The Irish Parliament did not dare to raise its duties, fearing that England might retort by crushing the linen trade. Acute agricultural distress aggravated matters, and in 1784 the export of oats and barley from Ireland was actually prohibited by Parliament, in order that sufficient for home consumption might be available.

Foster's Corn Laws.—This condition of affairs was, as regards agriculture, entirely changed by the Acts known as Foster's Corn Laws, which passed in 1784. By these enactments a bounty of 3*s.* 4*d.* was given for every barrel of wheat exported when the home price was 27*s.* or under. A duty of 10*s.* a barrel was charged on imported wheat, while the home price was under 30*s.* As soon, however, as the home price rose to 30*s.* or beyond it, the export was wholly forbidden, and the import duty reduced to 2*d.* a barrel.

An immediate and immense increase in tillage followed the passing of these laws. Mills sprang up, wages rose, the population was augmented by the increased marriage rate which was due to prosperity. In the twelve years from 1785 to 1797 more corn, meal and flour were exported than in the eighty-four previous years. At the same time Ireland produced and exported more butter and bacon, and almost as much meat and live cattle as before. It is true that there were disadvantages. Rents were increased, and, when the cessation of the wars on the Continent and the repeal by England of the Corn Laws, which had kept foreign wheat out of her markets, had caused the price of wheat to fall, great distress followed. For the present, however, the effects were entirely good. For a long time we hear no more of distress in rural Ireland, while the manufacturers also reaped the benefit, as regards the home market, of the increased prosperity, and therefore greater purchasing power of the country people.

Orde's Proposals.—The agitation regarding the trade regulations still went on. Pitt, the English Prime Minister, was willing to enter into negotiations, but he was fully alive to the difficulty of making any arrangement which would not excite the jealousy of the English manufacturing interest. The eleven proposals, which were laid before the Irish Parliament in February 1785, and which, from the name of the Chief Secretary to whom they were entrusted, are generally known as "Orde's Proposals," were somewhat of the nature of a compromise. All foreign goods, including those from the British Colonies, should pass

freely between England and Ireland. All the products or manufactures of either country could be sent to the other, either without duty or at equal duties for both. When the English import duty was the higher, it should be lowered to the level of the Irish one. No bounties were to be given by one of the two countries on goods intended for the other, except in the case of food. Whenever the peace revenue of Ireland exceeded a certain sum the surplus should be appropriated to the expenses of the Navy. The measures were debated at much length, doubt being expressed by many whether the prohibition of bounties and of import duties to meet the necessities of each case would not do more injury to Ireland than the throwing open of the British markets would benefit her. Still, the number of those who actually opposed the proposals was not large, and, with little real difficulty, they were passed and sent across the Channel, to be submitted to the English Houses. There they met with a very different reception. Nothing could exceed the indignation of the English manufacturers and their real or pretended alarm. The arguments which had done duty during the controversy of 1778–1779 (see *Chapter XI*) were revived; the predictions then uttered were repeated as confidently as before. Meetings were organised and petitions drafted and signed by thousands. Pitt, by his delay, allowed time for these hostile feelings to spread. He had introduced the proposals in February; in May the matter remained unsettled.

The Proposals Altered: Their Rejection.—It was now pretty evident that the resolutions in their original form had no chance of passing, and that, if the Prime Minister offered them unaltered to the Parliament, nothing but defeat could result. For a defeat, to be followed by a dissolution, Pitt had no desire. He, therefore, to a considerable extent gave way, and the trade proposals which he laid before the Commons on May 12th (1785) were, in several important respects, different from which those to which, some months previously, the Irish House had agreed. It was now proposed to forbid Ireland, for as long a time as it should please Great Britain to confer on any commercial corporation the monopoly of the Eastern trade, to trade at all with countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope and the Straits of Magellan. Such a monopoly the East India Company now held. Its charter might be continued, or a similar one might be conferred on another Company. Again, only Colonial, not foreign, goods might be conveyed directly from Ireland to England. Regarding this, it must be remembered that, as the Independence of the United States of America was now acknowledged by England, the cloth made from her cotton, the tobacco worked up from plants grown on her soil would be reckoned as foreign goods. Thirdly, the Irish Parliament must undertake to re-enact, without discussion or

alteration, not only all the present navigation laws of England, but all those which should pass in the future. However keenly the disadvantages of the first two suggested amendments were felt in Ireland, the full force of the indignation of the Irish Parliament was reserved for the third, which was, the members declared, an audacious attempt to deprive them of a great part of their newly won independence.

In England the altered proposals passed, though not without considerable opposition. In August, when they came before the Irish House of Commons, there was little need for Grattan to exert his eloquence to ensure their rejection. Permission to introduce the Bill which embodied them was granted, after a debate of seventeen hours, by a majority of only nineteen. Since almost half the members were thus shown to be unwilling even to hear the matter discussed, there could be no doubt of the reception which awaited the proposals themselves if they came under consideration. Orde could only accept the situation, and, acting for the Government, drop the Bill. Both sides were indignant. The Irish Parliament regarded itself as the victim of a dishonourable trick. Pitt, on the other hand, considered that he had run considerable risks to secure solid benefits for an ungrateful people, who now scornfully rejected his bounty. Whereas, up to this time, he appears to have been genuinely anxious to bring about a reformation of the Irish Parliament, so as to render beneficial to the country the increased powers which it had acquired, he seems henceforth to have rejoiced at the corruption which would facilitate the plan which he now conceived for its destruction by a legislative union of Ireland with England.

The Parliament Develops Irish Industries.—Although no further efforts were made to remove the commercial restraints imposed by England, the Irish Parliament exerted itself with considerable success to develop the internal resources of the country. It expended the by no means large sums at its disposal in the methods of encouragement which the policy of the age approved, although many, if not most of them, have been discredited by modern economists. Grants were made to the Dublin Society, to enable it to bestow prizes and other rewards on high-class agricultural and industrial products. A system of bounties was employed with regard to the fisheries, which, whether in consequence of this or owing to other causes, certainly attained to a very high degree or prosperity. Irish herrings were sent as far as the West Indies. Irish fishermen plied their trade on the Newfoundland banks, and went to Scotland to initiate the people of the maritime villages into their methods. The West Indian Fleet provided itself at Cork with barrels of Irish fish.

Other industries, too, flourished. Boots and shoes, blankets, soap and candles were produced in large quantities. The beautiful glass

of Waterford became famous at home and abroad. The linen trade revived, and Irish linens found a ready market, especially in the United States of America. The cotton industry survived the efforts made by the Manchester traders to crush it by flooding the country with cheap stuffs. The Irish woollen cloth exports rose very rapidly for a few years, but this was not maintained, and the amount shipped abroad decreased. The British markets were, owing to the high duties, practically closed to Irish woollens. Still, large quantities, generally of coarse material for the use of the poorer classes, continued to be produced. Brewing and distilling were carried on, and small breweries sprang up, owing to the removal of the restrictions on the import of foreign hops. Within the fourteen years from 1782 to 1796, the general exports of Ireland increased by 175 per cent. "On the whole, this short period of legislative Independence in Ireland was by far the most prosperous period which the country had ever experienced" (Alice Murray, "The Financial and Commercial Relations between England and Ireland").

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Foster's Corn Laws passed	1784
"Orde's Proposals"	1785

CHAPTER XVI

THE REGENCY QUESTION

Insanity of George III: Different Views on the Regency.—Towards the close of 1788, George III became so decidedly insane that it was evidently necessary that some other person should discharge the duties of sovereignty in his place. That this person should, in actual fact, be his eldest son, George, Prince of Wales, was generally agreed, but in what way and under what conditions the prince should enter on the office of Kingship was a point on which two different theories were entertained. The Whigs, led by Charles James Fox, held that he should take up the reins of Government as of right, and exercise the full powers of sovereignty in the same way as if his father were actually dead. The Tories considered that while the King lived no other person had an inherent right to rule. If circumstances rendered it needful that anyone else should do so, that person should be selected by Parliament, and by it endowed with whatever powers it thought fit to confer. As regarded Ireland this latter theory, which found most favour in England, presented difficulties. It either empowered the British Parliament to select a ruler for Ireland, and so violate its own express renunciation of all power over that country, or, by leaving the choice in the hands of the Irish Houses, it incurred the risk that a different Regent would be selected by them from the one chosen in London, so that the sole tie which now bound the two countries together would be severed. The alarm expressed lest this contingency should arise was for the most part not genuine. It must have been perfectly well known that, because of the obvious impropriety of passing over the heir-apparent to the throne, the choice of both Parliaments would fall on the same person, the Prince of Wales.

Action of the Irish Houses: Recovery of George III.—The view of Fox had more adherents in Ireland than that of the Tory party. To allow to the English Houses the choice of a ruler for Ireland would have seemed to the Irish Parliament unbearably humiliating. Still, to proceed on one theory, while England proceeded on another, would involve them in many difficulties, as it would place the Regent in a different position with regard to his rule of each of the two countries. Finally

it was decided that no adherence to either view should be expressed, but that an Address should be presented to the Prince of Wales, asking him in the name of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, to take up the government of the country. The Address was voted, but when it was conveyed to the Lord Lieutenant, Buckingham, he absolutely refused to transmit it. The Irish Houses pronounced an official censure on the Viceroy for this, and then proceeded to appoint a deputation to wait on the prince and personally present to him their Address. The Commissioners were graciously received by the prince, but before the matter could proceed further, the recovery of the King rendered all consideration of a Regency unnecessary (February, 1789). The affair was thus ended, and were it not for the use afterwards made of it, might well have been forgotten.

Use Made of the Regency Dispute.—Its importance lay in the frequency with which, when the question of a legislative union between Ireland and England came to be discussed, those who favoured the measure alluded to it as an example of the danger which might arise of the separation of the two countries in the event of a Regency, owing to the selection of different rulers by the Parliament of each. If, however, the question is viewed in the light of reason and common sense, it will appear that, in actual practice, any danger of this kind was little likely to arise, and could, at any rate, be guarded against by means much simpler and less drastic than the amalgamation of the legislatures. A Regency is not, in the history of most countries, of frequent occurrence. In the event of its becoming necessary, owing to the incapacity or minority of the sovereign, to appoint a Regent, some one person would be generally available, as there had been in this instance, whose claims would be so strong as to make it in the highest degree unlikely that either the English or the Irish legislature would ignore them. Should, however, a positive safeguard have appeared desirable, it would have been perfectly easy to extend, by a short Bill passed through the Irish Parliament, the Act of 1541, which decreed that the sovereigns of England should also be sovereigns of Ireland, so as to provide that, in the event of a Regency, the *de facto* Regent of England should be Regent of Ireland also. Such an Act was, during the debates on the Legislative Union, proposed by a member of the Opposition, but was opposed by the Government, on the ground that it would be an insufficient remedy for an evil which only the amalgamation of the Parliaments could really cure.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CATHOLICS

THE general amelioration in the condition of the Catholics after the first three decades of the eighteenth century had passed has already been mentioned (*Chapter VIII*). Long before any of the Penal Laws had been actually repealed, many which did not directly interfere with the interests of the Ascendancy had been suffered to become practically a dead letter. No actual change was, however, made by Act of Parliament in the Catholics' favour till the third George had been eleven years on the throne. Even then, the permission accorded them (1771) to hold leases of bogland for sixty-one years, on condition of reclaiming it, cannot have benefited a large number.

Gardiner's Relief Bills.—The first Catholic Relief Bill of general importance was that introduced into the Commons by Luke Gardiner (afterwards Lord Mountjoy) (1778). The Catholics, since the foundation of the Catholic Committee in 1757, had begun to show more spirit. The Government appears to have realised that concession was necessary, and the introduction of Gardiner's Bill was not seriously opposed. This Bill proposed the removal of several crying injustices under which the Catholics suffered in regard to the holding of land and to inheritance. It permitted a Catholic to take a lease of 999 years, released him from the necessity of "gavelling" or dividing his estate amongst his sons, and withdrew the advantages hitherto conceded to a wife or child who embraced the Reformed faith. The Irish Houses passed the measure by fair majorities, both in Lords and Commons (July, 1778). Less than two years after (March, 1780) the Irish Parliament, mainly in consequence of pressure brought by the Volunteers, abolished the Test, by which all officials were obliged to take the Sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church, thereby admitting the Protestant Dissenters freely to offices. The policy of the Relief Bill of 1778 appears to have been generally approved of in Ireland by both members of the Established Church and Dissenters.

The next important measures in favour of the Catholics were the Bills of 1782 (already alluded to in *Chapter XII*) which are known collectively

by the name of " Gardiner's Second Relief Bill," for to them also Luke Gardiner stood sponsor. Many of the repressive enactments which these proposed to repeal were, and some of them had long been, practically a dead letter. Of this sort were the prohibition of the residence of Catholic bishops, ecclesiastical dignitaries or regular clergy in Ireland; the requirement that secular priests should be registered and should reside within certain districts, not leaving them without permission; the regulation that no Catholic should possess a horse of a greater value than £5. Several clauses of these Bills, however, aimed at the redress of grievances still alive and acutely felt by the Catholic community. They permitted a Catholic to teach in a school or a private family, or to open a school himself, provided that he took the Oath of Allegiance, obtained the permission of the Protestant bishop of the diocese, and received only pupils of his own faith. The dying Catholic parent might now appoint any layman of his own creed to undertake the care of his young children's upbringing and education. As regards land, Catholics might purchase freehold property, inherit it and bequeath it in the same way as Protestants. The regulations forbidding Catholics to live in the cities of Cork or Galway were to be repealed.

As in the case of the Bill of 1778, the country in general appears to have been favourable to the policy embodied in these measures, and, as regards those clauses dealing with such matters as we have mentioned, the Parliament also showed little desire to obstruct their passage. The suggestion that any political power whatever should be given to the Catholics was, on the other hand, most strongly opposed in both Houses. Flood's attitude was uncompromising. Though he, like most of those who sided with him, was not prepared to say that the political servitude of the Catholics was, if considered from an abstract point of view, precisely just, yet he held it to be under the present circumstances not only expedient but absolutely necessary for the safety of the Protestant state.

The passage of the Relief Bills was celebrated in many parts of the country by rejoicings and festivities, in which Catholics and Protestants joined with the utmost friendliness.

Although some annoying restrictions, such as the prohibition of steeples on his churches, yet remained to remind him of his servitude, still, on the whole, almost all the enactments which had hampered the Catholic in the exercise of his religion and caused him pain and inconvenience in his family relations, as well as those which interfered with his purchasing, inheriting or bequeathing landed property, were now repealed.

From all public offices, public honours and political life generally he remained excluded. The great legal profession in both its branches was closed to him; so was the Army. He could, indeed, practise as a

doctor, but could not hold, however great might be his eminence, any University professorship in medicine or surgery, nor any professional, military post, nor a civil one under the State or under a Corporation.

When the first glow of satisfaction at their triumph had begun to cool, the Catholics again exerted themselves to ameliorate their condition. The renewal of the agitation dated from 1791, and the Catholic Question then entered into a new and stormy phase.

Views of the Irish Authorities and of the Irish Protestants generally on the Catholic Claims.—The Irish authorities, office-holders and corporations were, as a rule, far more opposed to concession than were the British Ministers. These indeed, inclined to the belief that, considering the dangerous state of affairs on the Continent, where the progress of the French Revolution had become a serious menace to all the neighbouring states, it was absolutely necessary to endeavour, by a conciliatory policy, to secure the tranquillity of Ireland. The Irish Ascendancy Party, further removed from the scene of disturbance and little concerned with foreign politics, clung with considerable obstinacy to its privileges.

Still, the general mass of the middle and lower class Protestants in Ireland were not, as far as they were interested in the question at all, particularly hostile to the granting of the concessions asked for, although the programme of the Catholic Committee included the abolition of practically all political disabilities.

The Lord Lieutenant (Westmoreland), however, was entirely opposed to the allowing of any political power to the Catholics. When it was conveyed to him in a semi-official letter that the English Government was inclined to favour the idea of granting to them the Parliamentary franchise, he wrote in the strongest terms, declaring that both he and the members of the Privy Council, whom he had consulted, considered that such a step would have the most disastrous results, and would be resisted with determination by both the Parliament and the whole Protestant community in Ireland.

Further Concessions Refused: The Catholic Convention.—Pitt, the English Prime Minister, could not be expected to know that what was confidently stated to be the opinion of the Irish Protestants in general was really the view of a few prominent but bigoted officials, such as John Fitzgibbon the Lord Chancellor; John Claudius Beresford and Sir John Parnell. Alarmed at the prospect of a serious misunderstanding with the community which hitherto had been regarded as the main support of the English power in Ireland, he modified his policy, and the result was Langrishe's Relief Bill, introduced in February, 1792, which removed certain grievances, but left the political restrictions of the Catholics unaltered. The Bill passed with little difficulty, although not entirely

without opposition. Catholics were now to be permitted to practise as either barristers or solicitors; they could marry Protestants; could open a school without demanding permission of the Protestant bishop of the diocese, and could send their children abroad for education.

These concessions fell so far short of what had been hoped for and expected that they excited little gratitude, and scarcely brought about any lull in the agitation for political rights.

A Catholic Convention was summoned to meet in Dublin in December (1792). The very project of its assembling caused the greatest indignation and alarm amongst a certain section of the Protestant community; that section namely to which, so far, the honours and emoluments of office had gone as a matter of course. Petitions to Parliament protesting against further concessions poured in upon grand juries and other public bodies. The address of the Dublin Corporation was remarkable for the extreme bigotry of its tone. The Corporators declared that they desired "a Protestant King, a Protestant Parliament, a Protestant hierarchy, Protestant electors and Government, the benches of justice, the army and the revenue through all their branches and details Protestant."

When the Catholic Convention met it decided on a direct appeal to the King, thereby marking its sense of the hostility of the Irish Parliament. Its address was conveyed to London to be delivered personally. The British Ministers and the King himself received the delegates most politely, and they returned impressed by the graciousness of his Majesty.

Troubles on the Continent: Relief Bill of 1793.—The year 1793 opened under conditions full of menace. The new French Republic, in the first flush of her democratic power, had declared (November 1792) that she would aid all enslaved peoples who desired to rid themselves of their tyrants. War had begun on the Continent; it was certain that soon other nations would be involved in it; England could scarcely hope to remain neutral. It behoved her, as well as the rest of the older governments, to set their own houses in order, and to endeavour to gain the good will of their subjects, lest worse should befall them. The British Ministers, finding the Irish Government and Parliament still blind to the necessities of the situation, absolutely insisted on concession, and when the Houses met (January, 1793), Westmoreland was reluctantly obliged to insert in the speech from the Throne with which Parliament formally opened, a clause in favour of the Catholic claims.

The Address was carried without a division. The tone of most of the speeches was afterwards described by Langrishe as having been one

of " acrimonious unanimity." Many of those who spoke showed plainly that they were at heart as much opposed to concession to the Catholics as they had ever been, but that they recognised that at the present juncture to avoid concession was impossible. In February the Catholic Relief Bill was introduced. It proposed to give to Catholics the Parliamentary and Municipal franchise, the right of sitting on grand juries and becoming magistrates, of holding commissions in the army and navy, and of obtaining University degrees. An amendment permitting them to sit in Parliament was defeated by a large majority, and also they were not to be eligible for the posts of Privy Councillors, Staff Generals, Sheriffs, Fellows of Universities or King's Councillors. Their exclusion from these, and especially from Membership of Parliament, was a grave mistake. The franchise had been conferred on masses of often uneducated and uncultured voters who were, for the most part, owing to their dependence on their landlords, unable to use it freely, even when qualified to do so intelligently. At the same time the Catholic landowner, the Catholic barrister, the Catholic scholar found himself shut out, owing to his creed, from honours and emoluments freely accorded often to his intellectual inferiors.

The Relief Bill passed the two Houses without much actual difficulty, though in the Upper a protest against it was recorded by some of the peers, and in the Lower it was attacked by a few very able opponents.

The Catholics expressed the greatest satisfaction at the result, and were urged by their clergy and bishops to show by their loyalty the deep sense of gratitude which they should feel for the favours accorded them by their gracious sovereign. At first, the delight felt at what had been granted prevented all but a very few from remembering that anything had been withheld.

PRINCIPAL DATES	A.D.
Gardiner's First Relief Bill	1778
Gardiner's Second Relief Bill	1782
(*Outbreak of the French Revolution*)	1789
Langrishe's Catholic Relief Bill	1792
Fourth Catholic Relief Bill	1793
(*England declares War on France*)	1793

CHAPTER XVIII

THE FITZWILLIAM EPISODE

In 1794, several prominent Whigs, till now hostile to the Government, joined Pitt, and it appears to have been generally considered that there would be considerable changes in the methods of administration, and that, amongst other things, the system of rule in Ireland would be conducted in a more conciliatory spirit. When it appeared that Westmoreland, who had always shown himself most hostile to the Catholic claims, was to be replaced as Lord Lieutenant by the Whig, Earl Fitzwilliam, this was, not unnaturally, taken as a good omen, and the hopes of the Catholics that their remaining grievances would soon be redressed rose high.

Fitzwilliam Appointed Viceroy : Vagueness of His Instructions.—From the first, considerable misunderstanding seems to have existed between Fitzwilliam and the members of the Cabinet. It does not appear to have been clearly explained to the Viceroy-Elect what the extent of his powers were to be, especially in regard to the appointment and dismissal of high officials, or, if such an explanation was given, it was not understood. Fitzwilliam afterwards declared that he believed himself authorised to make what changes he pleased, except that Baron Fitzgibbon, the Lord Chancellor, was not to be removed. These, and other matters, were discussed at personal interviews of which no note was taken at the time, and the recollections of the several persons present as to what was actually said were found afterwards to differ in many material points. Regarding the attitude which he was to take up in the important matter of the Catholic claims, Fitzwilliam would appear to have received sufficiently explicit directions. He was to endeavour to procure a postponement of the whole matter, if possible, but if that could not be done he was to support it. Yet even as regards this, some misunderstandings arose.

The Viceroy Arrives in Dublin : He Dismisses Several Officials : He Receives no Instructions on the Catholic Question.—The new Viceroy reached Ireland early in January (1795), and, before he had been many days in the country, he saw that any attempt to postpone the

discussion of the Catholic Question in Parliament would be quite futile, and only productive of intense irritation. He wrote to this effect to Portland, the British Home Secretary, his official chief, and asked directions as to what he should do. This letter, and some others which followed it, Portland left long unanswered, so that the Lord Lieutenant was placed in the very unpleasant position of seeing the day of the opening of the Parliamentary Session arrive, while he remained without directions as to what course he should pursue in regard to a question which would be certain to be almost immediately raised. He had himself strongly urged that the best policy would be for the Government to yield, cheerfully and with apparent willingness, to the demands of the Catholics. He certainly, in the absence of any intimation to the contrary, had some grounds for supposing himself entitled to act in accordance with his own views; indeed, in a letter written to Portland on January 15th, he distinctly said he would do so.

Previous to this, however, Fitzwilliam had ventured on an assertion of his authority which ultimately proved quite as instrumental in bringing his Irish administration to a speedy and abrupt end as did his attitude in respect of the Catholic Question. A few days only after his own arrival in Ireland, he had dismissed Sackville Hamilton the Under-Secretary, Cooke the Secretary for War, and John Claudius Beresford the Commissioner of Revenue. All three were, he knew, hostile to the Catholic claims. Beresford's case was by far the most important. The immense influence of his family rendered it highly dangerous to interfere in any way with one of its members. It was said that one-fourth of the public offices in Ireland were filled by a Beresford, or on the recommendation of a Beresford.

It is true that the dispossessed Commissioner was not to suffer pecuniary loss; his full salary was to be paid him as a pension—none the less the insult was keenly felt by the whole connection, and bitterly complained of to the English authorities. Pitt was highly indignant that the new Lord Lieutenant should have, by his high-handed proceedings, further complicated a situation already sufficiently difficult and stirred up a needless amount of hostility against his administration. This hostility spread to the other officials, and Fitzwilliam found himself to a great degree isolated.

Parliament Meets: The Viceroy is Ordered to Oppose the Catholic Claims.—On January 22nd (1795) the Parliamentary Session opened. At first the proceedings were harmonious to an extent which had lately not been common in that assembly. Approval of the war in which England was now engaged against the French Republic was expressed almost unanimously; the number of the forces was increased; on the

motion of Grattan, £200,000 was voted for the support of the navy. While the Money Bills were being considered, the extraordinary and "unexampled" prosperity of the country, a prosperity in which landlord and tenant, employer and employed had a share, was more than once alluded to. Fitzwilliam was still without positive instructions as to how he should act when the question of the Catholic claims came up for discussion, but the very fact that he was so must have left little doubt in his mind as to what these instructions would be when they arrived. A great number of petitions in favour of concession, some of which were largely signed by Protestants, had come to hand, whilst against it there had not been a single one. Indeed, outside of a very small clique, there appears to have been no opposition at all. Unfortunately, however, it was precisely this clique which had the ear of the British Government.

On February 9th the Lord Lieutenant received two letters; one from Pitt, expressing surprise and annoyance at the dismissals, and saying nothing about the more important matter; the other from Portland, warning him not to excite the hopes of the Catholics, and saying that the whole question had better be put off for the present. Fitzwilliam was even more amazed than disgusted by this communication of Portland. He made an angry reply, declaring that the result of the policy recommended would probably be to produce an armed revolt in Ireland.

Other communications followed on both sides. Arguments, founded entirely on alleged expediency, against the Catholic claims were reiterated in the letters from London; counter-arguments, remonstrances, and warnings filled the letters from Dublin. That a project for the destruction of the separate Irish Parliament by amalgamating it with that of England was, and had been for some years, in Pitt's mind, Fitzwilliam was well aware. "Will a rebellion," he now asks, "tend to further that end? Even if it is hoped that it might indeed do so, are the means risked such are as justifiable, or such as any man would wish to risk?"

Remonstrances were, however, of no avail. On February 20th Fitzwilliam received positive orders to withdraw all countenance from the Catholic Bill, leave to introduce which the Commons had accorded almost unanimously to Grattan more than a week previous to this, and to hinder its progress as much as possible. In this letter Fitzwilliam was severely censured for having allowed things to go so far. His recall was at once resolved on.

Rumours of what was in contemplation soon reached the ears of the chief political leaders in Ireland. In the Commons there was both indignation and alarm. Pitt's conduct was severely criticised. He had, it was said, induced the Parliament to vote for the expenses of the

Continental war the huge sum of £1,700,000, and was now, it seemed, about to refuse the measures on the faith of which this extraordinary grant had been made.

In a subsequent debate (March 2nd), when there was no longer any doubt as to the intentions of the English Government, Sir Laurence Parsons was equally emphatic in his condemnation. The Protestants of Ireland, he declared, were not now hostile to the Catholic claims: there had been no petition, no remonstrance received against them. It was understood that the British Cabinet had authorised the Irish administration in holding out to the Catholics the expectation that the measure would be carried. "The hopes of the public were raised," and "in one instant they were blasted." If the House did not resent that insult to the nation and to themselves, they would, in his mind, be contemptible.

Recall of Fitzwilliam.—Contemptible, indeed, the House proved itself. Parson's motion to mark its resentment by a short Supply Bill found but twenty-four supporters. On March 25th (1795) Lord Fitzwilliam left. Many Dublin traders closed their shops as his carriage moved through the streets of the mourning city, drawn by a number of citizens of good position, who thus marked, not alone their gratitude for the efforts which he made to promote the good of Ireland, but their approval of the policy which his appointment had been taken to represent.

Neither the recall of Fitzwilliam nor the change in the policy of the British Minister, if change there indeed was, nor the connection, supposing such a connection to exist, between these two events, has ever been satisfactorily explained. The recall was certainly disastrous, since its great influence in causing the Irish Rebellion of 1798 can scarcely be doubted.

Not only were the hopes which the Catholics had cherished of obtaining by constitutional means the object which they had in view completely shattered, and their minds, therefore, turned to methods of violence, but all belief in the good faith of the British Government was absolutely destroyed. Those who considered that Pitt had been guilty of deliberate treachery were well prepared to listen to men who urged that a bold attempt should now be made to shake off entirely the English power, and to establish in Ireland an independent republic, with the assistance and on the model of the Republican Government of France.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Earl Fitzwilliam comes to Ireland . .	(January) 1795
Recall of Fitzwilliam	(March) 1795

CHAPTER XIX

THE UNITED IRISHMEN. THE EVE OF THE REBELLION

Ireland Interested in the French Revolution.—The progress of the French Revolution was watched with great interest in Ireland. Many of the Catholic gentry had spent some years of their youth at one or other of the French colleges, or had relatives or friends serving in the Irish Brigade. These, as a rule, sided with the Royalists, especially when news reached them of the terrible excesses of which the extreme section of the revolutionists had been guilty. The bishops and clergy also, fearing the spread of the anti-religious spirit of the Republican Party, constantly warned their flocks against the wild and criminal ideas which prevailed in France. We have seen that the Irish Parliament, which may be regarded as voicing the opinions of the upper and middle classes of the Episcopalian Protestants, almost unanimously supported the British Government in its declaration of war against the Republic.

By nobody in Ireland was the new gospel of equality generally welcomed except by the Ulster Protestant Dissenters, whose religious faith inclined them to democracy, and to sturdy independence, and who felt themselves aggrieved in many respects by the English Government.

Foundation of the Society of United Irishmen.—In the case of the vast majority, of course, this feeling would never translate itself into action, but there were some enthusiasts whose passionate idealism raised them above fears of personal danger. The most prominent of these was a young lawyer, Theobald Wolfe Tone, then aged 28. Chiefly by him and his friend, Samuel Neilson, the Society of United Irishmen was founded in Belfast in the year 1791. The avowed object of the association, and probably, during at least the early years of its existence, the real one of the majority of its members was, as their first rule declared, to forward "a brotherhood of affection, a communion of rights and a union of power amongst Irishmen of every religious persuasion, and thereby to obtain a complete reform of the Legislature, founded on the principles of civil, political and religious liberty." Undoubtedly, however, even at first, many looked far beyond this, and dreamt of independence and an Irish Republic.

In Belfast sympathy with the French Revolution was openly expressed by large numbers of citizens of good position. On July 14th (1792), a banquet was held to commemorate the anniversary of the capture of the great State prison, the Bastille, by the Paris mob. On this occasion "the sovereignty of the people" was one of the toasts drunk.

At first the United Irishmen were an open society, pressing forward political objects in a constitutional manner. At that time the members were almost exclusively Protestants. In 1794, however, the association was repressed by Government, and next year it was reorganised as a regular secret society. Naturally it now became more extreme. Large numbers of Catholics joined, although none were very prominent. By the end of 1795 the policy of the United Irishmen had become distinctly Republican, and they looked to an armed insurrection as a means of obtaining their end.

The United Irishmen adopt Republican Principles: They Negotiate with the French Government.—Still, even then, had the English Government regained public confidence by promoting Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation, it is probable that very large numbers of the members who were hesitating would have decided in favour of law and order, and so would either have restored to the association its earlier character, or would have so reduced its strength by their defection as to make a rebellion evidently impracticable. This, as we have seen, was not done. After the recall of Fitzwilliam in 1795, and the rejection of Ponsonby's Reform Bill in 1797, thousands of Catholics were enrolled and branch societies were founded all over the country.

On paper, at least, the organisation was very perfect. There was a Central Executive of five members, and under this gradations of committees for the counties and districts. In 1796 negotiations with the French Government regularly began. That year Tone was in Paris, and saw some of the leading men in authority, with the object of obtaining military aid for the intended insurrection.

Two other prominent members of the United Irishmen's Society, Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a brother of the Duke of Leinster, and an ardent adherent to the new democratic principles, and Arthur O'Connor, were also, in frequent interviews, urging on the French authorities the expediency of an immediate invasion of Ireland. The Ministers of the Republican Government finally concluded to attempt a landing in Munster.

French Expedition to Ireland: Its Failure.—On December 15th, 1796, seventeen large warships and thirteen frigates, having on board about 15,000 men, sailed out of the harbour of Brest on their way to Ireland. The military commander was Lazare Hoche, one of the most able generals

that France then possessed. From the very first the expedition was unfortunate. In perfectly calm weather one of the large ships ran on a rock and sank with over 1,200 men. Four others collided with each other, and were badly damaged. Several, including that on which Hoche himself and De Galles, the Admiral, had embarked, went astray. Whether this series of misfortunes was due to accident or treachery has never been discovered. Finally less than half the vessels reached the Irish coast and anchored in Bantry Bay. A furious tempest now arose, and blew for days without intermission. Landing would have been extremely difficult; scarcely seven thousand troops now remained; all the money and most of the artillery intended for the expedition were in the ships which had missed their way, and whose arrival, considering the weather conditions, could not be counted on, at least for some time, if at all. Under these circumstances, Bouvet, the Vice-Admiral, decided, in spite of the remonstrances of General Grouchy, Hoche's second in command, to return to France. Hoche and the Admiral never even approached the Irish coast. After undergoing many perils, their ship also returned to Brest (January 14th). There is little doubt that, if the originally intended force of 15,000 men had succeeded in landing, the available English troops could not have offered any effectual resistance.

Methods of Exasperation employed in Ireland.—Meanwhile, the treatment of the Irish rural population by the authorities was calculated rather to exasperate than to appease their discontents.

In September, 1795, the Orange Society had been founded in the county of Armagh. From the first it was a secret and wholly Protestant association. Armagh had already gained for itself an unenviable notoriety through the bitterness of the religious animosities of its inhabitants and the continual outrages and frequent armed encounters between the opposing creeds which resulted. Scarcely was the new society established when a regular reign of terror set in. Lord Gosford, Governor of Armagh, in an address to thirty of the magistrates of the county, spoke with indignation of the state of affairs. "A persecution, accompanied with all . . . circumstances of ferocious cruelty . . . is now raging in the country," he declared. "Of late no night passes that houses are not destroyed, and scarce a week that dreadful murders are not committed." But though, in consequence of this terrible indictment, some efforts were made to bring the criminals to justice, and some persons were even punished, the Government was far from showing proper vigour in the matter. On the other hand, the Catholics were treated, often on small provocation or none at all, with frightful severity. Untried persons were transported; new Coercion Acts were passed; the Habeas

Corpus Act was suspended. General Lake proclaimed more than half Ulster, and ordered all arms to be surrendered (March, 1797). All sorts of licence was permitted to the soldiers, who tortured the peasants by "picketings," half-hangings and the pitch cap. The object generally was to make them reveal where stores of arms were concealed, and numbers of arms do appear to have been discovered by this means. It is certain, however, that hundreds of persons were subjected to cruel treatment who knew nothing of the existence of such stores, and had had no share in any revolutionary projects. Districts always hitherto perfectly peaceful were often provoked into retaliation by the brutalities of the soldiers sent among them.

Meanwhile, the United Irishmen were vigorously pushing on their preparations for an insurrection. They were collecting and storing arms; obtaining and noting information as to roads, the strength of garrisons, the means of supplying food for troops, and so forth. The first attempt made to bring aid from France had failed; they hoped that another and more successful one would soon be made.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
The Society of United Irishmen founded	1791
The Orange Society founded	1795
(*The Directory established in France*)	1795
Hoche's Expedition	1796

CHAPTER XX

THE INSURRECTION OF 1798

Leaders of the United Irishmen Arrested.—The plans of the United Irishmen were well known to the Government, which had spies everywhere, even in the innermost circles of the society. Nevertheless, the leaders were for several months permitted to enjoy a fancied security, and to mature their schemes at home and abroad without interference. At length, in March 1798, the blow was struck. A number of the chief men were arrested at the house of Oliver Bond, one of their number, in Bridge Street, Dublin. Other arrests followed, and depôts of arms were raided. Lord Edward Fitzgerald succeeded in remaining concealed till May 17th, when he was seized in No. 153, Thomas Street, Dublin. He resisted desperately, mortally wounded one of his captors, and received himself a wound, of which he died some three weeks later. His private character was extremely amiable; his courage and disinterestedness above suspicion, and his devotion to what he considered to be a sacred cause singularly lofty and unselfish.

By this time few of those who really held in their hands the threads of the conspiracy had escaped arrest; and those few had fled from the country. The entire machinery had been put out of gear; the arms had been seized. Nevertheless, the insurrection broke out, but in a form very different from what the leaders had intended. It took the shape of a number of local risings, practically unconnected one with another, and so foredoomed to failure. One, indeed, was formidable and lasted for some time; it might well have been more formidable still, and lasted longer. By a strange chance it was precisely this rising, that in Wexford and Wicklow, which in origin and aim least approximated to the National Insurrection of which Tone, Fitzgerald, O'Connor and the rest had dreamed.

The Insurrection Breaks Out at Three Points.—The Insurrection broke out at three different points: in mid-Leinster, that is to say in the counties of Kildare, Carlow, Meath and to some extent in Dublin; in the Ulster counties of Antrim and Down; and in Wexford and Wicklow. In Cork there was one encounter between a few hundred peasants and a

troop of yeomanry, but the rest of Munster, and the entire province of Connaught, remained quiet.

(A) *Mid-Leinster.*—As regards the mid-Leinster rising, disturbances began by the stopping of several mail coaches (May 23rd). There was no plan of concerted action between the different districts, and within ten days all was over. The most notable events were the routing of a body of some 4,000 insurgents at Tara by a small number of soldiers; the surrender of 2,000 near the Curragh to General Dunbar, and a massacre at Gibbet-Rath in the same neighbourhood. Rebels captured were, as a rule, instantly shot or hanged.

(B) *Antrim and Down.*—It was in Ulster that the United Irishmen were strongest and best organised. Nevertheless the rising was confined to two counties only. The chief leaders who commanded, Henry Joy McCracken in Antrim, and Henry Munroe in Down, were able men. Both were Protestants, both members of the United Irishmen Society, McCracken being one of the founders. Munroe was a linen draper in Lisburn; while McCracken was a cotton manufacturer.

McCracken, with a force of some 4,000 men, attacked the town of Antrim. The insurgents fought with great courage, but were eventually driven back. The remnant surrendered shortly afterwards (June 11th). McCracken was captured, tried, and executed in Belfast.

In Co. Down Munroe had at first some success. But his forces were finally defeated with great slaughter at Ballynahinch by Major-General Nugent (June 13th). The insurgents are said to have numbered about 5,000, mostly Presbyterians, the Catholics being very few. Munroe was tried by court-martial, and hanged before his own door in Lisburn.

(C) *Wexford and Wicklow.*—Wexford and south Wicklow in several respects differed from the majority of Irish counties. In Wexford especially, there was a strong admixture of Anglo-Saxon and Norse blood. The people were sturdy and generally prosperous; industrious farmers who tilled their lands with the help of their sons and a labourer or two. The United Irishmen's organisation was widely spread in Wicklow, but less in Wexford. There had been signs of sullenness and discontent, and the authorities considered it needful to take precautions against a possible outbreak. Unfortunately, one of the precautionary measures consisted in organising a search for arms conducted by the North Cork Militia. This regiment had already an unenviable notoriety, and the outrages inflicted on the peasantry, which included various forms of torture, caused the utmost indignation. In addition to this, there were frequent military executions; fifty-four prisoners were shot at Carnew within three days.

The regular outbreak of the insurrection is generally considered to have been caused by the burning of the little Catholic chapel of Boleyvogue, some five miles north-east of Enniscorthy. The parish priest, Father John Murphy, was so enraged at this wanton outrage that he urged his parishioners to resist, and placed himself at their head (May 23rd). Their first success was the defeat of a small body of yeomen, and encouraged by this recruits came from all the country round to swell their numbers. Very many of those who joined were the sons of the small farmers of whom we have spoken. Hardy athletic young men they were, grown strong by the practice of the country sports of hurling and "putting" the stone. For the most part they were badly armed, often only with scythes and pitchforks, though a good many had pikes, and perhaps one in ten firearms. Of military training they had either very little or none at all; but they fought with a "desperate courage," which excited the admiration even of their enemies.

The Insurgents take Possession of Enniscorthy and Wexford Town.—Father Murphy took up a strong position on Oulart Hill, and soon found himself at the head of 5,000 men. They repulsed with great slaughter an attack made on them by the North Cork Militia, and, advancing, captured without much difficulty the town of Enniscorthy. The garrison and many of the inhabitants with their families fled to Wexford. So much were the loyalist party discouraged that, after a fresh victory of the insurgents at a place called Three Rocks, they abandoned the town, of which the insurgents took possession (May 30th). The soldiers marked their line of retreat by the perpetration of disgraceful outrages on the unarmed peasantry; whereas the conduct of the victors at Wexford was, save in a few isolated instances, very creditable.

Almost the entire county of Wexford was now in the hands of the insurgents, and camps had been established in various places. The most considerable of these was on Vinegar Hill, overlooking the town of Enniscorthy. During the time that the rebels were encamped there —a period of nearly four weeks—a large number, certainly some hundreds, of Protestants whom they had captured were put to death, usually after some form of trial. A good many were flogged, and tortures are alleged to have been used, but this is not certain.

Meanwhile, the main body of the Wexford victors had left the town. They had elected as commander-in-chief a Protestant gentleman named Bagenal Harvey, who was a large landowner in the county and had been a prominent United Irishman. He had neither military experience nor any special capacity, and accepted the position into which he was thrust with the greatest reluctance. His constant aim was to prevent outrages, and to ensure the humane treatment of all persons captured.

Matthew Keough, another Protestant and an ex-army officer, remained in charge of Wexford town, and succeeded in keeping a fair amount of order. Though many Protestants were seized and thrown into prison, very little actual violence took place.

An attack made by about 4,000 insurgents on Newtownbarry was at first successful, but the yeomen returned and drove out the victorious insurgents. On the other hand, Colonel Walpole was defeated and slain near Gorey by a force commanded by Father John Murphy, and the town was captured.

The Battle of Ross.—On June 5th Bagenal Harvey, at the head of about 5,000 men, attacked the town of New Ross, which was defended by General Johnson with nearly 1,500 troops and some effective artillery, with which the insurgents were wholly unprovided. The battle that ensued was the most desperate and sternly contested of the whole rebellion. It lasted over twelve hours. The attacking forces fought with wonderful courage. As they rushed tumultuously towards the town gate, they were mowed down in dozens by the chain shot. "But others succeeded them," who "rushed on our troops with renewed ardour." At length the gate was carried and the insurgents poured into the town. When this much was achieved, however, they regarded the victory as won, and, behaving as undisciplined peasant forces always under such circumstances do behave, they dispersed in all directions; some to drink in the publichouses, some to plunder. General Johnson, seeing the state of affairs, rallied the British troops, and succeeded, after a desperate conflict, in regaining the town. The insurgents retreated, leaving the streets strewn with their dead. They are said to have lost almost 2,000 men.

On the same day as the battle of New Ross a lamentable incident took place at Scullabogue, some eight miles distant from that town. A number of prisoners captured by the insurgents were confined there, mostly in a large barn. False intelligence was brought by some runaways that orders had been given for a general massacre of these persons, in revenge for the murder of all prisoners who fell into the hands of the British soldiers. Some of the prisoners were dragged out and slain; then the barn was set on fire, and the remainder perished in the flames. Of the victims some were women and children. The number of the murdered is stated by some to have been 224; whilst some reduce it to less than eighty. Here, as elsewhere, figures given vary greatly, as a rule according to the political creed of the authorities, either eye-witnesses or writers, responsible for them.

The news of this massacre filled Bagenal Harvey with horror, and it was doubtless much to his relief that he was now superseded in the

chief command, which was given to Father Philip Roche, and was suffered to return to Wexford.

An Attack on Arklow Fails.—The army which had been repulsed from New Ross remained for some days inactive, but another and much larger body of insurgents, perhaps 20,000 strong, marched from Gorey to attack Arklow (June 7th). The garrison was not numerous, but their superior arms and training made them a match for their assailants, of whom only about a tenth possessed a gun, often one rusty and out of order, and with the use of which, even had it been efficient, its owner was very imperfectly acquainted. Still, there as elsewhere, the insurgents fought with a splendid courage, and even appeared for some time to have the advantage. They finally retired, leaving, it was said, more than a thousand dead strewn over the fields.

The Government, which at first had been disposed to underrate the importance of the Wexford rebellion, was now thoroughly alarmed. How far the movement would spread it was impossible to say, and the arrival of an expedition from France to aid the insurgents was not only possible, but highly probable. Every possible effort was made, and five regiments of regular troops, as well as a considerable force of militia, were sent across the Channel.

The Insurgents Defeated at Vinegar Hill: Wexford Surrendered.—The insurgents now concentrated their forces in the camps on Vinegar Hill and at Three Rocks, near Wexford. On June 21st General Lake attacked the former position. His forces amounted to about 15,000. The insurgents were certainly considerably more numerous, though the exact figures are impossible to ascertain. They were, at least, as badly armed as they had been in previous encounters, and had only a few small cannon, whereas Lake was provided with excellent artillery.

The ammunition of the insurgents soon gave out, and they were obliged to rely solely on the pike, or on the scythes and other improvised weapons. Still, they resisted stoutly for about an hour and a half, before they broke and fled. General Lake had intended to completely surround the hill and, had his directions been obeyed, it is probable that few of the insurgents would have escaped alive, for the order had been given to show no mercy. Needham, one of the subordinates, had, however, left a point, still locally known as "Needham's Gap," unguarded, and through it the main body of the insurgents made their way back to Wexford. The town of Enniscorthy was captured. Great ferocity was shown by the victors, and especially by a German regiment, usually spoken of as "the Hessians."

There remained to the insurgents now only the town of Wexford and the camp at Three Rocks. In the town Keough, seconded by

Edward Roche, had endeavoured to keep order, but on June 20th a ruffian named Dixon collected some hundred pikemen from the country round, took possession of the gaol, and induced his half-intoxicated followers to drag the prisoners in batches to the bridge, and there shoot or pike them. Probably nearly a hundred had perished before a courageous priest, Father Currin, assisted by Edward Roche, succeeded in stopping the massacre.

Keough was aware that three English armies were advancing on Wexford, and, judging the situation desperate, he released Lord Kingsborough, the most important of the prisoners, begging him to obtain such terms as might be possible for the insurgents themselves, and the preservation of the town and its inhabitants from the brutality of the soldiers. Lord Kingsborough appears to have done what he could, but General Lake declared that he would "enter into no negotiations, and consider no terms." Nothing was finally decided, but on June 22nd some yeomen and a detachment of regulars marched in and quietly took possession of the town.

The camp at Three Rocks, whither the main body of the Wexford insurgents had betaken themselves previous to the surrender of the town, now broke up, the leader, Father Philip Roche, having been captured and hanged.

End of the Insurrection : Fate of the Leaders.—Although isolated bodies of insurgents still held out, and resistance only ceased gradually, yet the insurrection might be regarded as over. Most of the surviving leaders fell into the hands of the Government, and almost all who did so perished on the scaffold. Father John Murphy, Keough, Bagenal Harvey, and great numbers of others suffered death; on Wexford Bridge alone sixty-five were hanged. Of the rank and file of the insurgents who were executed, and of the number of persons, some of whom had had no part in the insurrection, who were butchered by the soldiers, no estimate can be formed.

Towards the leaders of the United Irishmen who had been arrested before the outbreak of the rebellion greater lenity was shown. Some, as the two Sheares, Father Quigley and one or two others, were executed, but the lives of some of the most prominent, as Thomas Addis Emmet, McNevin and Arthur O'Connor were spared. These, after undergoing a long imprisonment, finished their lives in exile.

CHAPTER XXI

THE FRENCH EXPEDITIONS

We have seen with what confidence the United Irishmen counted on obtaining the aid of France for their projected insurrection.

In the year following the expedition of 1796, General Hoche died, and his death deprived Ireland of a strong advocate of her cause. Napoleon Buonaparte, now the most powerful man in France, had no great belief in projects for the invasion of Ireland. Tone and Lewines, the agents of the United Irishmen, succeeded, however, in inducing the French Government to order the preparation of several small expeditions, which were to land at or about the same time at various points on the Irish coast.

Humbert's Expedition.—As usual there were delays, and it was not till the August of 1798, when the Irish rebellion had been already crushed, that even the first of the projected expeditions set sail. It consisted of only three frigates, carrying a force of 1,036 fighting men, and arms and equipment for a much larger number. The General, Humbert, was skilful and experienced, and the troops for the most part veterans who had served in several campaigns, but it was evident that so slender a force could achieve nothing without powerful support.

When Humbert landed his men at Killala in Co. Mayo (August 22nd), and urged the inhabitants and the neighbouring peasantry to join him and strike a blow for the liberty of their country, comparatively few responded to the call. Had the French appeared while the flame of rebellion still burned, or had their numbers been sufficiently great to afford what appeared to be a reasonable hope of success, there is little doubt that their reception would have been different. But the people must have seen that from a mere handful of men, cut off from their base of supply by the ocean, not much could be expected. On the other hand, what the vengeance of the British would be on any Irishman who joined or helped the insurrection they had good reason to know.

The English Commanders, Lake and Hutchinson, lost no time in assembling their forces. These were sufficiently numerous, certainly double those of their enemies, but they consisted mainly of militia, and

their military quality was, as soon appeared, very poor. Humbert marched from Killala to meet the English, and the two armies encountered each other near Castlebar. The engagement, which has ever since been known as "the Races of Castlebar," lasted scarcely five minutes. On the British side the artillery alone attempted resistance. The others broke before the charge of the French and fled in wild confusion, strewing the roads with the muskets which, for the most part, they had not even discharged. Well might a historian of our own day (Lecky) ask himself: "What would have happened, if, at any time within the two preceding years, 12,000 or 15,000 French soldiers like those of Humbert had been landed?"

The success of the invaders could not be other than temporary. Ireland was full of British soldiers, many of them regular troops, of very different quality from the fugitives of Castlebar. No other French expedition came to support Humbert, and on September 8th he surrendered to Lord Cornwallis at Ballinamuck (Co. Longford). The French were treated as prisoners of war, but to their Irish allies no quarter was given. On September 23rd the little town of Killala was stormed, and the last embers of the insurrection were quenched in blood.

Bompart's Expedition: Capture and Death of Wolfe Tone: His Character.—A few days only after Hoche's surrender another French expedition sailed for Ireland. There was one large battleship, the *Hoche*, and eight frigates, under Admiral Bompart. Amongst the officers who embarked on the *Hoche* was Theobald Wolfe Tone.

On reaching the Irish coast close to the entrance to Lough Swilly, the French were attacked by a British squadron consisting of seven ships of war. The *Hoche* made a desperate resistance, and only surrendered when almost sinking. Some of the frigates succeeded in escaping and made their way back to France (October 12th).

The prisoners were landed, and the captured Frenchmen received the honourable treatment due to prisoners of war, but this was not given to Wolfe Tone. He was conveyed to Dublin, tried by court-martial, and sentenced to be hanged. He begged that this degradation might be spared him and that he might be accorded a soldier's death. Finding his request refused, he contrived to conceal a small knife, and with it inflicted on his throat a wound of which a few days afterwards he died (November 19th).

Of all the men with whose names the Irish Rebellion of 1798 is associated, Wolfe Tone is the one of whose abilities, as judged by his own writing, by the opinions of his contemporaries, and most of all by the impression made by him on the personages of distinction with whom he came in contact, we are inclined to form the highest estimate. He

seems to have been a man of keen perception, great capacity for contriving a practicable scheme, and immense energy in carrying it out. Nor is it fair to regard the failure of the invasions attempted by Hoche, Humbert, and Bompart as the measures of Tone's incapacity to estimate the facts of the situation. The chances of success he doubtless overstated, but this success he promised only for expeditions of effective size and sent at a proper time; that is, at least, while the insurrection was in progress, if not before it had actually begun. When these conditions were in no respect fulfilled, for the disastrous results which followed he cannot be held in any degree responsible.

PRINCIPAL DATES

		A.D.
Humbert's Expedition. "The Races of Castlebar"	(August)	1798
Bompart's Expedition. Death of Wolfe Tone	(October)	1798
(*Consulate established in France*)		1799

CHAPTER XXII

THE UNION.—PART I

The Project of a Legislative Union not Favoured in Ireland : Attitude of the Catholics.—It had already been mentioned (*Chap. XV*) that, for several years previous to the '98 Insurrection, the project of a legislative union between England and Ireland had been present to the mind of Pitt, and that this was well known to the authorities at Dublin Castle, though carefully concealed from the country at large.

It appears to have been generally believed, in the earlier part of the eighteenth century, that the Irish Parliament would regard a scheme for the merging of its existence in that of the Westminster assembly with favour. In 1703, and again in 1707, the Irish Houses actually petitioned for a Union, which the English Government absolutely refused to even consider.

A few generations later the ideas of the English colonists appear to have changed, or to be changing, and amongst the gentry over the country the project of a Union was viewed with no favour. In 1784 we find the Lord Lieutenant (Rutland) declaring that anyone who suggested a Union would be tarred and feathered ; while, then and later, other Irish officials advised the authorities in London not even to mention a scheme which would be so ill received in Ireland.

It may be that Pitt believed that, in the closing decade of the century, Irish public opinion had, in regard to this matter, undergone a change ; that the general unrest in the country, and finally the Rebellion, might have caused the Protestants to desire a closer connection with England, for the sake of their own safety ; while the Catholics, who were now clamouring for the removal of their remaining disabilities, might see in the proposed legislative union a means of attaining their object. At all events, he resolved, after the suppression of the Insurrection, to proceed with his scheme without delay.

On the support, or at least acquiescence of the Catholics, the English Minister relied much. He was aware that from the leaders of the Patriot Party in Parliament he had nothing to expect but the most determined opposition. The Protestant country gentry everywhere, and the Orange Lodges of Ulster, were known to be most unfavourable. The amount of support on which he could count amongst members of

Parliament reckoned as "independent" was small; his really disinterested adherents in the two Houses scarcely numbered a dozen. Lord Castlereagh, the Chief Secretary, certainly reported the cities of Cork and Limerick as favourable, and many of the merchants of Belfast were undoubtedly so. The hostility of Dublin was certain. The Corporation, the bankers, the merchants and the Bar vied with each other in the strength of the resolutions which they passed declaring their abhorrence of the attempt which was being made to deprive Ireland of her native Parliament.

While thus the opposition of the Irish Protestants was, taking them as a whole, likely to be decided and active, the support of the Irish Catholics was problematic, would be lukewarm at best, and might not impossibly be withdrawn entirely, if they should become convinced that the proposed measure would not be to their advantage. The members of the Catholic hierarchy generally favoured the Union project, hoping that its realisation would be advantageous to the members of their flock, and would ameliorate the position of their Church. Some supported very strongly, while none actually opposed. At this period, however, neither the Catholic ecclesiastical authorities nor the parochial clergy were in the habit of putting themselves prominently forward in public matters not directly concerned with religion.

Amongst the lay Catholics of the upper and middle classes there was decided hostility to Pitt's scheme. A few peers, as Lord Fingal and Lord Kenmare, indeed supported it, but they had little influence with their co-religionists, whose vews were voiced rather by the Catholic Committee. This body appeared not to have altered its views since the time when, after Earl Fitzwilliam's recall (1795), it declared officially that it would reject even Catholic Emancipation if a Legislative Union were to be the price paid for it.

Methods Adopted by the Government to Promote the Union Project.—From what has been said it will be clear that Ireland, so far from desiring a Union, was, on the whole, very decidedly opposed to it, and that, in order to carry the measure, Pitt would be obliged to make use of every means at his disposal, if not to alter the opinion of the country, at least to gain the votes of those who were supposed to represent it. Efforts were made to influence the public by means of the Press. Merchants were assured that trade would increase, that English capital would flow into the country. To the Catholics it was suggested that, since in a Union Parliament they would be always in a minority, the one great objection to their emancipation would vanish of itself; while Protestants were reminded that England was their only defence against the Catholic majority, and that, therefore, it would be advisable for them to bind Ireland as closely to her as possible.

It is doubtful whether much was gained by these methods. They would be of little value in obtaining votes, and on the votes of the actual Members of Parliament the fate of the measure would depend, since Pitt absolutely refused to "go to the country" by means of a General Election. He saw that, in order to achieve success, he must resort to coarser means of persuasion, and this he proceeded to do with a thoroughness and steady purpose which knew no scruple or hesitation.

Individuals who had made themselves prominent by writing or speaking against the proposed Union were marked out for punishment, when to punish lay within the power of the Government. This punishment was not limited to their own persons, but was extended to all their relatives, friends or protégés who had obtained a public office, however humble, through their influence. James Fitzgerald lost his Prime Sergeancy; Sir John Parnell the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Rewards were lavished on supporters with as liberal a hand. Posts in which the salaries were often high and the duties nominal, peerages and "steps" in the peerage, fell to the lot of those who adhered to the Government side. Of thirty-two barristers who, at the meeting of the Irish Bar in December 1798, voted for the Union, twenty-seven received places within two years. Of twenty-three lawyers who spoke in the Commons in favour of the measure, six were appointed judges. The legal knowledge of some of these "Union Judges" was so small that "able coadjutors" had to be provided to supply their deficiencies. The (State) Church Establishment itself was not sacred. Clerical "jobs," small and large, appear on the list of "Union engagements" which, after the measure had been passed, the Lord Lieutenant forwarded to the London authorities. George Beresford, of whose private character the Primate, Dr. Stuart, gave the worst account, was made Bishop of Kilmore. Livings were bestowed on the sons and sons-in-law of Government supporters, quite irrespective of the abilities or the personal character of the recipients.

Cornwallis, the Viceroy, heartily detested the work which he had been set to do, but, nevertheless, he bribed and punished as consistently as did the cold and cynical Castlereagh, who seems to have felt no scruples either of conscience or of taste. It is but fair to add that both of these men appeared to have honestly believed that the Union would promote what they considered to be the real good of Ireland—as a part of the British Empire.

The Question of the Union comes before the Irish and the English Parliaments.—In January, 1799, the Irish Parliament met. The King's speech asked for a discussion of the question of a Legislative Union. In the Commons there was a long debate, at the end of which the Government motion was carried only by a majority of two. This was

equivalent to a severe defeat, since nothing further than the consideration of the measure was proposed. Pitt, however, declared his fixed determination to go on with the scheme, and to lay it before the Irish Parliament every session till it was passed. Such a course was, it need scarcely be said, entirely opposed to the spirit of the English Constitution, and would never have been tolerated at Westminster.

In the same month the question of the Union was brought before the English Houses, where it found but few opposers. The English members for the most part appear to have believed that the union of the Parliaments would settle once for all the troublesome discontents of Ireland.

At the second debate in the English Commons (January 31st) Pitt delivered a long and carefully thought-out speech, in which he explained generally the nature of the proposed measure, and set forth his reasons for bringing it forward.

The Settlement of 1782, he declared, had never been intended to be final; the dispute regarding the Regency, and still more the Rebellion, had shown it to be a failure. A Legislative Union would be most beneficial to Ireland; it would increase her trade by opening the English markets to her without restriction, and English capital would flow into the country. Irish discontents would be allayed, and peace and tranquillity restored. In the English Upper House the Government encountered even less opposition than in the Commons.

Meanwhile, in the Irish Parliament, a Bill designed to prevent a recurrence of a Regency dispute at any time in the future was brought forward by the Opposition. It laid down that, in the event of a Regency, the person selected by the English Parliament to govern Ireland should become *ipso facto* Regent of Ireland. This, Castlereagh, in the name of the Government, opposed. The reason was obvious; if the Regency difficulty could be got over without a Union, one argument in favour of that measure would be destroyed. In pursuance of the same policy, the Irish Government was instructed to frustrate any effort which might be made by the Opposition to obtain a redress of the grievances of the Catholics.

During the Regency debate, Foster, the Speaker, in a speech of immense length, set forth the arguments against the proposed Union.* As a statement of the case against the Union it is unrivalled. It should be studied in conjunction with a speech made by Castlereagh in the same debate on the opposite side, and with that of Pitt which has been already mentioned. On June 1st the Session closed, the Regency Bill being postponed.

* *The position of the Speaker of the Irish House of Commons was entirely different from that of the Speaker in England; the latter is supposed to have no politics and does not speak in debates. The Speaker in the Irish Commons could do so when the House was in Committee.*

CHAPTER XXIII

THE UNION.—PART II

Efforts of the Government and of the Opposition.—During the seven months which intervened before Parliament sat again the Government was not idle. Every effort was made to influence public opinion in favour of the Union, or, failing this, to produce at least an appearance of acquiescence or even of desire for the success of the scheme.

The methods of direct bribery and corruption were continued. The Government party succeeded in gaining some notable accessions. Lord Ely, who had previously spoken of the Union as "a mad scheme in favour of which I have not heard a single argument adduced," now "came over" on the promise of a marquisate. Lord Powerscourt, however, refused to pay the same price for a similar honour.

On the whole the Viceroy, in spite of all his efforts, felt anything but confident that the passing of the Union during the coming Session was secure. The Government adherents were, he complained, languid. In fact a great many of them were far from desiring the passing of the Union at all. "Half our majority would be at least as pleased as any of our opponents if the measure were beaten," Cornwallis declared.

By the anti-Unionists some attempts were made at counter bribery, but their resources were, of course, small compared to those of their opponents. They could offer nothing but money from their own pockets, whereas the Government could quarter those whom it had bought on the Irish revenue, and thus make the country pay for its own betrayal. Castlereagh and Lord Clare (Fitzgibbon) expressed at the "Consular" corruption a degree of indignation which, under the circumstances, was ludicrous. When a circular was drawn up by (it is believed) Sir John Parnell, and sent round to the various counties, suggesting, or rather implying that petitions against the Union should be drafted, their anger knew no bounds.

Last Session of the Irish Parliament Opens.—On January 15th, 1800, the Irish Parliament met for what proved to be its last Session. The King's speech contained no allusion to the Union project, but Sir Laurence Parsons brought the matter forward, by proposing the insertion

in the answering address of a clause declaring that the Irish Commons were determined to maintain an independent Parliament. In the midst of the debate which followed, Grattan, who owing to ill-health had been long absent from the House, made his appearance, supported by two friends. Speaking by special permission without rising from his place, he attacked the proposed Union in a speech which lasted almost two hours. Other speakers on both sides succeeded, the debate continuing for eighteen hours in all. When the votes were taken it was found that Parsons' amendment was lost by forty-two votes.

This majority, especially considering how little reliance was to be placed on some of those who composed it, appeared to Cornwallis insufficient for complete security. Grattan's speech had had considerable effect throughout the country. Petitions against the project poured in, and the Government, trying to engineer others in the contrary sense, could not obtain " much more than one-twelfth of the signatures that were got, in spite of obstacles and discouragements, to anti-Union petitions " (Lecky).

Terms of the Proposed Act of Union.—In February there was a debate in both Houses, on a message received from the Lord Lieutenant, asking that the Lords and Commons should consider the question of a Legislative Union. In the Commons, Castlereagh rose to explain the Government scheme in more detail than had yet been done. It may be well, at this point, to briefly set forth the most important points in the chief clauses of the Act of Union, in the form in which they were ultimately passed :—

1. The Kingdoms were to be united for ever by the name of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.
2. The United Kingdom was to be represented by one and the same Parliament.
3. Ireland was to be represented in the Upper House by four Spiritual Peers (Archbishops and Bishops of the Established Church), and by twenty-eight Temporal Peers. The former were to sit by rotation, session by session ; the latter to be elected for life by the votes of all the Irish peers.
4. The Established Churches of England and of Ireland were to be united " into one Protestant Episcopal Church." The continuance of this Church " as the established Church of England and Ireland " should " be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union."
5. Ireland was to be represented in the Commons by 100 members, and this representation, as well as that in the House of Lords,

was to be considered as part of the Union (that is, as not liable to be afterwards changed).

6. There should be no duty charged nor bounty given on the export of the products of Ireland to England, or *vice versa*.
7. All products of either country, except those on a list given, should be imported free to the other.
8. There should be the same charges on foreign imports in both countries.
9. For the present, Ireland should contribute to the common expenditure of both countries in the proportion of two parts in seventeen (that is to say, of every seventeen pounds spent, she should contribute two). This arrangement might afterwards be re-adjusted.
10. The part of the revenue of Ireland which would remain over, after the two-in-seventeen charges had been paid, was to be used to pay the interest of the National Debt of Ireland, to reduce the debt itself, and for local needs.
11. No article was to be more highly taxed in Ireland than in England.
12. If the separate National Debt of each country should be liquidated, or if the value of the respective debts should become to each other of the same proportion as the separate contributions fixed for each country respectively—that is to say, two parts in seventeen, or as two to fifteen (at present the Irish Debt was to the English as one to sixteen and a half), it should be competent for Parliament to declare that all future expenses should be indiscriminate, or in other words, to order the amalgamation of the exchequers. When, or if, this happened, equal taxes should be imposed on both countries, "subject only to such abatements for Ireland as circumstances may seem to require."

As the representation of the Irish Commons in the Imperial Parliament was to be limited to 100, of whom sixty-four were to sit for the thirty-two counties, the majority of the 236 boroughs of the Dublin Parliament would be disfranchised. Of these, eighty-four were "nomination boroughs" (see *Chapter V*), and it was agreed that their patrons should be compensated. A regular Bill was passed for the purpose (after the passing of the Union Act), £15,000 being adjudged to be the value of each seat. Although the possession of this patronage at all was certainly an abuse, so that neither in law nor in strict justice could any claim be considered as existing for compensation for its loss, yet the practice of several generations had acknowledged it, and its workings had become a part of the regular Parliamentary system. At

any rate the open payment for the seats cannot fairly be regarded as bribery, especially as the money was to be given irrespective of whether the dispossessed patron voted for or against the Union.

Passage of the Act through Parliament.—After this digression we may return to follow to the end the fortunes of the Act of Union in its passage through Parliament. The debate which followed Castlereagh's speech ended, as it was bound to end, in a Government victory. At the Division the ayes were 158, the noes 115, giving a majority of 43. In the Lords the Opposition was much less strong. Lord Clare made, in favour of the Government Scheme, a long speech in which he contrived to insult with impartiality the Catholics and the Protestant opposers of the Union, styling the latter " a puny and rapacious oligarchy " and the former " deluded barbarians." It is scarcely likely that it influenced a single vote of the seventy-five given on the Government side, as against twenty-five only secured by their opponents. In the Commons there was another debate towards the end of February. Grattan, on this as on previous occasions, exerted all the powers of his eloquence in defence of a hopeless cause. A proposal by the Opposition for a General Election was defeated; there could now be little doubt as to the final result.

In March the measure was put before the English Parliament, and the Irish Houses adjourned to await their decision. The only serious opposition to the Union made at Westminster came from Lord Grey, but thirty members alone supported his motion.

When the resolutions of the English Houses were returned to Ireland the " Act for the Legislative Union of England and Ireland " (40 George III, Chap. 38.) was drawn up in its final form, and began its progress through the Parliament of which it was the death-blow. The first reading (May 21st) showed a Government majority of sixty. At the second (May 26th) this had fallen to forty, which even fell on a second division to thirty-seven, but the victory of Pitt was none the less sure. On this occasion there was not so full a House; the interest in an issue regarded as certain had flagged. The members who attended, however, were rewarded by hearing probably the most eloquent and certainly the most famous of Grattan's anti-Union speeches.

The Opposition attempted to carry an Address to the King, but only added one more to their previous defeats.

Extinction of the Irish Parliament.—The day had now come (June 7th) when the final step was to be taken; when the Bill for the Legislative Union was to be read a third time, and the Parliament of Ireland was to vote its own extinction. Before the report stage was reached, the majority of the anti-Unionist members, unwilling to actually witness the ruin of their cause, withdrew in a body. Thus, though the

galleries were crowded, there were many empty benches on the floor of the House itself, when Lord Castlereagh moved the third reading of the Bill. Amidst a dead silence, John Foster, the Speaker, rose and asked the will of the House in the usual form: "As many as are of opinion that this Bill should pass say *aye*." The answer was given without enthusiasm, but there could be no doubt as to its nature. "The ayes have it," Foster announced. Such was the end of the Irish Parliament.

The proceedings in the Lords were little more than formal. There the third reading took place on June 12th. When all was over, however, nineteen peers, headed by the Duke of Leinster, head of the great Anglo-Irish family of the Geraldines, entered in the Journals of their House their solemn protest against the Union, "the yoke which it imposes, the dishonour which it inflicts . . . the means employed to effect it, the discontents it has excited, and must continue to excite."

The passing of the Act of Union appears to have been received by the country at large with a tranquillity which was scarcely to be expected, and for which the Ministers had scarcely dared to hope. It is perhaps to be accounted for partly by the exhaustion of a struggle long seen to be hopeless; by weariness of a subject which now for almost two years had been constantly before the people; most of all probably by the fact that, though, during the last decades of the eighteenth century, the Dublin Parliament had become for the educated classes, both Protestants and Catholics, an ever-increasing object of national interest and national pride, yet the exclusion from a direct share in its activities of the members of the Church to which the majority of the people belonged, had prevented it from being regarded as the Parliament of the Irish nation. In August the Act of Union received the Royal Assent and became law. On the 1st of January, 1801, it came into operation. Guns were fired to commemorate the event, and a new standard, on which for the first time the saltire cross of St. Patrick, red on a white ground, was joined with the crosses of St. George and St. Andrew, floated from the Castles of Dublin, London, and Edinburgh.

CHAPTER XXIV

GAELIC LITERATURE OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Education Proscribed: The "Hedge-Schools."—The desolating peace of the Penal times was a more sinister peril to Irish literature than had been any of the devastating wars of invasion or spoliation that had plagued the country. Legislation which struck directly at mind and character was more deadly than the sword. With education denied to an entire people, and teaching made a criminal offence, there seemed to be little hope of literary activity. The great mass of the people belonged to the proscribed faith, and they were also Gaelic speakers, so that their language was penalised equally with their religion. Some of the well-to-do Catholics were able to send their sons to Douai and St. Omer and other centres on the Continent in defiance of the laws. But most of the people had to depend upon the learning they could obtain in the "hedge-schools." These seats of study, conducted—also in defiance of the law—by teachers with a price upon their heads, were the surviving representatives of the great scholastic establishments of earlier times. There were maintained to some extent the traditions of classical learning, and there also—and there alone—were cultivated the language and literature, the history and legends of the Gaelic race. In these illegal academies the peasantry got all that was left of native culture, while their more prosperous and leisured neighbours came back from their foreign schools with a foreign education.

Outburst of Song.—Yet the literary instinct which had flourished during wars of conquest and extermination also asserted itself amidst the blighting horrors of persecution. Of literature of a serious description there was indeed but little. Strangely enough, the creative genius of the down-trodden and almost hopeless people burst forth in song. "The Irish, deprived by the Penal laws of all possibility of bettering their condition, or of educating themselves, could do nothing but sing, which they did in every county of Ireland, with all the sweetness of the dying swan." * A great deal of the works of these numerous poets has been lost. Deprived of the advantages of the printing press, their poems were

* *Dr. Douglas Hyde, "Literary History of Ireland."*

preserved only in the tenacious memories of the peasantry, or in manuscripts copied in humble cottages by loving hands. But many have been retained, and in recent years some of them have been published.

The Poets and their Themes.—Many of the eighteenth century poets were schoolmasters teaching in the hedge-schools; most of them wandered from place to place; and the lives of some were not very edifying. Their themes are often political, deploring the downfall of the Gael, and hoping for the return of the Stuarts and the exiled chiefs. Ireland is frequently personified under poetic names—"Roisin Dubh," "Caitlin Ni Uallachain," etc.—and frequently the beauteous maiden who appears to the poet in an "*aisling*," or vision, reveals herself as "the maid Eire." The Saxon churls and "bodachs" who have taken the places of the courteous and liberal Irish gentry are bitterly satirised. Ardent love-songs and praises of the tavern are varied with humorous verses and with pieces descriptive of local scenes and local events. All these subjects are dealt with in the new verse forms which were brought by the poets of this period to the highest perfection of melody.

Significance of the Poetry.—The poetry which was produced in the Penal days, and which has only recently been saved from complete disappearance, possesses an interest distinct from the purely literary one. It portrays the social life and mental outlook of the people in a manner very different from that of the writers of English or the orators of the Irish Parliament, and indicates the existence of *a national consciousness* separate and distinct, and common to south, north and west. The frequent allusions to the characters of Greek mythology and Latin literature show that the traditions of the old scholarship were still, to some extent, retained in the so-called "hedge-schools." That the classical Gaelic literature was also cultivated is shown by the numerous references to the ancient mythology, legends, and history—references which continuously assume that they will be immediately understood by their hearers. These literary and historical allusions are so woven into the poems—the characters and events of legend and history, the native names of territories and districts, the famous ancestors of the great families are all dealt with so intimately—that these, the last of the "natural" writers of Irish, cannot be intelligently appreciated without a knowledge of the earlier literature and history of the country.

The Munster Poets.—Every part of the country produced one or more of these peasant poets, but the south was either more prolific than the rest of the country or more tenacious in preserving the poetry. In every county of Munster flourished poets of greater or lesser merit, the most prominent amongst them being the following:—* Clare,

* *The dates of their births and deaths—where known—and the names of their best known poems are put in brackets.*

Michael Cuimín (1688–1760: "Laoi Oiſín aſ Tíſ na nÓg"), and Brian Mac Giolla Meidhre (1750 (?)–1808: "Cuiſt an Meadoin Oidce"): Kerry, Eoghan O Ráthaille (*circa* 1680–1730: "Gile na Gile") and Eoghan Ruadh O Súilliabháin (1748(?)–1784: "Trát iſ mé coiſ leaſa"); Cork, Seaghan "Clarach" Mac Domhnaill (1691–1754: 'Seal do díoſ im Maigdin ſéim"); Limerick, Seaghan O Tuama (1706–1775: "Móiſín ní Chuilleanáin") and Aindrias Mac Craith — the "Mangaire Sugach," or "Jolly Pedlar"—(died about 1790: "Slán le Máig"); Tipperary, Liam "Dall" O h-Ifernáin (*circa* 1750–1800: "Bé n-Eiſinn í"); in Waterford flourished two celebrated poets, who were not, however, natives of that county, having been born, respectively, in Kerry and Clare—Tadhg "Gaodhalach" O Súilleabháin (died 1795 or 1800), and Donnchadh Ruadh Mac Con Mara (1738 (?)–1814: "Bán-chnuic Éireann Óig").

Poets of "South Ulster."—A district that was second only to Munster in the number of its poets, and in its preservation of their names and works, has been called—not very accurately—"South Ulster." This district includes the adjacent parts of North Meath and North Louth, South Armagh and South Monaghan—the territories of the Fews, Farney, and Ross. Here remained intact well into the nineteenth century the Gaelic literary tradition, preserved between the old Pale on the south and the new Plantation on the north. Here flourished Seamus Mac Cuarta (*circa* 1690–1740), Padraig Mac Giolla Fhiontain (died 1733), Peadar O Doirnin (1704–1768), Art Mac Cubhthaigh (1715–1773), and numerous lesser poets. In the other counties of Ulster, in Louth, and in Meath north of the Boyne, lived at the same time numerous poets whose names and, to some extent, whose verses have been preserved.

Connacht Poets.—In the west, as well as in the south and north, numerous poets of the same class expressed the feelings of the people. But Connacht has been less kindly to their reputations, for although much of the poetry of the time has been retained in oral tradition, the authorship of nearly all of it is now unknown. Only the names of a few such as Netterville, Cahir Mac Caba, Cormac "Dall" Cuimin and Mac Gabhrain, and—of a period stretching into the nineteenth century—Mac Suibhne, Risteard Bairead (1740–1819) and Antoine O Reachtaire 1784–1835) have been preserved.

The "Bardic Sessions."—Between the poets of the different districts, a spirit of fraternal intimacy seems to have prevailed. A number of the poems are addressed by the writers to brother poets, and are often facetious, while others are elegies on their deaths. This intimacy was definitely cultivated in Munster by periodic gatherings

called "Bardic Sessions," when the poets assembled under a recognised "Ard Ollamh" at gatherings to which only poets of accepted merit were admitted. The so-called "South Ulster" poets, also, had assemblies of a less formal nature, which continued to be held as late as 1818.

The Few Printed Books.—Thus, amidst all the bitterness of persecution, poets in every part of Ireland sang to the people in their own language. And the people found some comfort from their national woes and personal sufferings in listening to the songs. They passed them across the island; they cherished them in their memories, and handed them on to their children; loving scribes wrote them down, collected them, and laboriously copied them. Crushed politically, religiously, intellectually, in social and industrial life, the nation was permeated by this wonderful literary activity. But the fearful nature of the ban upon the national life is shown by the fact that during all this period the only books in the language of the people were printed in foreign countries, and consisted merely of sermons, a catechism and grammars and dictionaries. Aodh *Mac Curtain*,* a native of County Clare, published an Irish Grammar at Louvain in 1728, and a dictionary at Paris in 1732. Dr. *O'Gallagher*, Bishop of Raphoe, published a volume of sermons, and Father Andrew *Dunlevy* published an interesting Catechism in Paris in 1742, while another dictionary by Dr. John *O'Brien*, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, was published in Paris. The literature of the people was not to be printed until after the lapse of more than a century.

* *He also wrote some poems. His cousin, Andrew MacCurtain, was one of the last to write in the classical metres.*

BOOK VI

IRELAND IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER I

THE CATHOLICS

General Expectations of the Catholics that their Emancipation would Follow the Union: These Expectations encouraged by Government.—There can be no doubt that, amongst the Irish Catholics, it was the almost universal belief that the passing of the Act of Union would practically at once be followed by the removal of their remaining disabilities and their establishment on a footing of all-round equality with their fellow-subjects. It is equally certain that it was mainly this belief which prevented them from offering a steady and united opposition to a measure which very few of them really liked.

It is true that no public and official assurance of speedy emancipation had been given them, though it had been asserted that Pitt made positive promises of this in private letters and in personal interviews with those Catholics whose support was regarded as most important. Representations in the same sense were, moreover, made by persons of no less position than the Lord Lieutenant, Cornwallis, and the Secretary, Lord Castlereagh.

The extent of the King's hostility to the Catholic claims—he had, as long ago as 1795, positively declared that he would not under any circumstances concede what was asked—was carefully concealed. His expressed view was that the placing of the Catholics in regard to political status on the same footing as the Episcopalian Protestants would, in effect, be a violation of the Coronation Oath by which he had promised to maintain the privileges of the Established Church. Had this been known to the Irish generally, they would certainly have realised how small was the likelihood of shaking the determination in such a case of a man so dull, so obstinate and withal so conscientious as was George III.

In the pamphlets, the writers of which were paid by Government, the same argument was constantly used to win the support of the Catholics—that an Irish Parliament could not dare to grant them emancipation, but that, in an assembly representative of the entire British Isles, and consequently of a great Protestant majority, their case would wear a very different aspect.

Obstinacy of the King: Action of Pitt.—Pitt, when making his famous defence of the Union project in January 1799, had broadly hinted that, should success in this be achieved, the Catholic disabilities would probably soon be removed. That he really desired that this should be done, and done so quickly as to seem a direct result of the Union, there can be no doubt. He soon, however, realised that he had greatly underestimated the strength of the King's opposition and the difficulty, perhaps impossibility, of obtaining his consent. This discovery evidently disconcerted and even for a time alarmed him, as any violent display of hostility on the part of the Catholics would be most inconvenient, or possibly, even now, dangerous. His chagrin was shared by Castlereagh and still more by Cornwallis.

Whether from a conviction of the hopelessness of the attempt; from a personal sentiment which rendered him unwilling to trouble the mental repose of the King, or from some less worthy motive, Pitt made no steady and determined effort to carry out his policy. He simply resigned office (February, 1801), and was followed in this step by Cornwallis, and other important members of the Cabinet. In March he wrote to the King promising never more, as long as his reign lasted, to bring forward the question of emancipation.

In 1804 Pitt returned to office. England, faced by the full power of Napoleon, was then in sore straits, and a firm hand was needed to steer the ship of State, so that patriotism demanded the sacrifice of every consideration other than the country's safety. For this then he can scarcely be blamed, but in other respects his treatment of the Catholics on the question of their emancipation, and the little effort that he made to redeem what were practically, if not actually, pledges on the faith of which they had refrained from strong opposition to the Union, is highly discreditable and has left a stain on his public honour which cannot be effaced.

Catholic Petitions.—The Catholic question slumbered for several years. Not until 1805 was it revived. In that year an extensively signed petition for emancipation was presented to both Houses of the Imperial Parliament. Both in the Lords and in the Commons there were long debates. In the latter Grattan upheld the cause of the petition in a most eloquent speech. Pitt, however, had not only refused his

support on this particular occasion, but declined even to declare himself in favour of the principle involved. The petition was rejected by a very large majority.

After this the Catholics frequently renewed their attempts; so frequently indeed, and with such discouraging results, that Sir Francis Burdett once designated their petitions to Parliament as "the annual farce." Grattan steadily supported their cause till his death in 1820, but petitions and bills were alike rejected. It was not till Daniel O'Connell took the virtual command of the Catholic Committee that new vigour and hope were infused into the organisation, and new spirit into the Catholic community at large.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Pitt resigns office*)	1801
(*Peace of Amiens*)	1802
(*Peace of Amiens broken*)	1803
(*Napoleon, Emperor of the French*)	1804
The Catholic Question revived	1805
(*End of the Napoleonic Wars. Congress of Vienna*)	1814
Death of Grattan	1820

CHAPTER II

ROBERT EMMET'S INSURRECTION

Robert Emmet Plans an Insurrection.—In speaking of the Rebellion of 1798 mention has been made of Thomas Addis Emmet, one of the United Irishmen, who, arrested before the outbreak, escaped a capital sentence, and ended his days in exile. He had a younger brother, Robert, who in 1798 was a student of Trinity College, Dublin. Robert adopted with enthusiasm the French Revolutionary principles, and enunciated them so openly that he was expelled from the University and noted to the Castle authorities as a dangerous person.

He was admitted into the confidence of the United Irishmen, who still pinned their faith to an armed insurrection aided by the French. It was as their agent that young Emmet visited the Continent in 1800. While in France he had interviews with Napoleon, and with other men in authority, but the promises of assistance for an Irish rising which he received appear to have been vague. Nevertheless when, in 1802, he returned to Ireland he had already determined to risk all, and to prepare for another rebellion.

He appears to have believed that he might count on support from the Continent; but that any positive engagement was made as to when this support would be forthcoming, or any information given as to what would be its nature and extent, has never been proved.

The sanguine temperament of Robert Emmet led him, however, to assume that all would go as he wished, and soon after his return he began his preparations. The associates whom he gathered round him were not numerous, and those who were prominent were mostly people of comparatively humble condition. It is certain that other persons of more importance were involved in the plot, but, fortunately for themselves, their names did not transpire.

Preparations and Plans of Emmet.—In April, 1802, Dr. Emmet died, and Robert employed the small legacy of £2,000 which he inherited from him in hiring two houses in Dublin, to be used as depôts for arms, and in purchasing materials for their manufacture. Amongst those in his confidence were several skilled workmen, and by their help gunpowder, hand-grenades and particularly great numbers of pikes were made ready.

The plan was to seize Dublin Castle by surprise, whilst the Pigeon-house fort and some of the barracks were to be attacked at the same time by other parties of the Insurgents.

Emmet could scarcely have failed to be struck with the extent to which the United Irishmen's organisation had been honeycombed with spies, and to have drawn from this the lesson that the fewer persons admitted into the confidence of the leaders of a conspiracy the better. The secrecy which he maintained had, however, its disadvantages. It could hardly be expected that those who knew little or nothing beforehand of what was intended should be willing, when the insurrection actually broke out, to follow without question wherever they were led, and be ready to obey, like disciplined troops, the orders of almost unknown commanders.

To what extent the young leader succeeded in keeping his secret is not clear. There were certainly some spies amongst his followers, but, notwithstanding this, the information in the hands of the Government appears not to have been detailed. This was the case, even after an accidental explosion which took place at one of Emmet's depôts had put the authorities more on the alert (July 16th, 1803).

Attempts at organisation had been made in Dublin and the neighbourhood, and even in more distant parts of Ireland, but if the ultimate results can be taken as a criterion, the work had not been efficient.

The Insurrection: Its Failure: Trial and Execution of Emmet.—Emmet felt that, after the Patrick Street explosion, he must act quickly if he were to act at all. The evening of Saturday, July 23rd, was fixed for the rising. About nine o'clock Emmet, with some of his trusty lieutenants and followed by about a hundred men, of whom many had pikes, but very few firearms, sallied out into Thomas Street. Their young leader, waving his sword, called on the people to follow him and strike a blow for liberty. Great numbers of persons were in the street, enjoying the fresh air of the summer evening. Most of them merely stared. Those who listened and followed were chiefly loungers and vagabonds, ready enough for plunder, but little suited for any enterprise of regular or honourable warfare. Emmet realised that to attempt an attack on the Castle was impossible, and he proposed to the crowd to lead them out to the Wicklow mountains, where they might await reinforcements. But the city roughs had no mind to go to the Wicklow mountains. They would not go; they would not obey any orders; they were a mob pure and simple. They murdered an unfortunate orderly who happened to be riding by; they dragged Chief Justice Kilwarden from his carriage, and butchered him and his nephew. How much of this Emmet waited to see is uncertain, but at least he saw enough

to fill him with sorrow and despair. He fled back whence he had come, and then made his way to his own cottage at Rathfarnham, some three miles distant.

For a couple of hours the street remained in the hands of the mob Then a force of a few hundred soldiers came and dispersed the people. About twenty soldiers are said to have been killed, and perhaps fifty insurgents. In other parts of the city those who were to have aided Emmet waited in vain his message to join him with their followers. Finally they learned or inferred a failure and dispersed, to conceal themselves as best they could.

Numbers of persons were arrested, but Emmet himself was not captured for a long time. It is probable that he might have made his escape from the country, had not his affection for Sarah Curran, the lady to whom he was engaged, induced him to linger in the neighbourhood of Dublin to see and bid her farewell. He was traced finally to a house at Harold's Cross, just outside the city, and was there arrested on August 25th.

He was tried at Green Street Court by a special Commission, and was " defended " by a wretch named Leonard MacNally, a spy, as was afterwards discovered, in the pay of the Government. But, in any case, a defence, however skilful, would have been of little use ; the facts were too well known and too easily proved. In a speech, the touching eloquence of which has made it justly famous, Emmet explained the principles on which he had acted, the hopes which had inspired him, the goal at which he aimed. The darkness of the autumn evening had already fallen when the judge pronounced on the prisoner the sentence of death. At midnight he was escorted back to prison, and about noon next day (September 20th) he was hanged on a scaffold erected close to St. Catherine's Church in Thomas Street. He was only twenty-five years of age at the time of his death.

Of the nineteen persons tried for participation in the insurrection, seventeen were executed.

Robert Emmet achieved no material gain for his country ; rather the contrary, for severe Coercion Acts were the immediate consequence of his abortive rebellion. Nevertheless, in the hearts of the men and women of Ireland his name has remained enshrined, more intimately, and with deeper love than that of many who gave long lives of strenuous, self-sacrificing, faithful service to her cause. Around him is the halo which rarely anywhere, but most rarely, perhaps, amongst peoples whose national history has been predominantly one of defeat, is denied to youth made eternal by death, joined to lofty patriotism, and ending in tragic failure.

CHAPTER III

GENERAL STATE OF IRELAND IN THE EARLY PART OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

The Poor.—The population of Ireland at the time of the passing of the Act of Union is estimated as something between $4\frac{1}{2}$ and $4\frac{3}{4}$ millions. In spite of the wave of relative prosperity which marked the closing decades of the eighteenth century, there was much poverty, both in the urban and in the rural districts. The land laws, in many of their worst features, remained still unreformed, but long leases or freeholds could now be given to Catholics. A freehold of 40*s.* in annual value conferred the franchise on its possessor, and as Catholics were now (since 1793) voters, astute landlords considered it their interest to increase their own political weight by the multiplication of such tenures.

There was a good deal of tillage, and corn continued to be exported, till the abolition of the corn-laws in the 'forties produced its effect. The dead-meat trade and its subsidiary industries, such as tanning, as well as dairy-farming, occupied many. The casual worker, whether in town or country, suffered much from unemployment. During the winter especially there was, of course, little farm work. As the century advanced, the town artisan found the struggle for existence rendered harder and harder by the increasing pressure of population, and consequently of competition. No laws were in existence to protect him from the rapacity of employers in regard to hours, conditions of work or wages. Combinations of workmen for their mutual protection were illegal.

The Catholics.—The Catholics were no longer a negligible factor in public life. They had begun, with ever-increasing boldness, to demand their rights. Though little hampered now in their private affairs, they were still excluded from practically all important offices. In some cases, as in that of membership of Parliament, mayoralties, privy councillorships, etc., what was practically a positive law shut them out; in others, their exclusion was merely a matter of custom; thus, for many legal positions they were eligible, but we hear that, in 1826, of the 2,000 officers administering law in Ireland, only thirty-nine were Catholics. This state of things continued long after the "Emancipation Act" of 1829.

Education.—In some of the larger cities, as notably in Dublin and Cork, Catholic poor schools had been founded, which were attended by great numbers of scholars and seem to have been generally very well managed. Rural education remained, in fact, much the same as it had been in the darkest days of the penal laws; although it was now more diffused and was permitted by the law, instead of being merely connived at. Little or no attention was paid in the schools to the cultivation of the native tongue; nor was the case better in the new college of Maynooth. In the towns Catholic primary schools, mostly under the management of clerics, began to be founded. In 1814, the Jesuits opened Clongowes Wood, the first exclusively lay secondary school for boys in Ireland since the penal times. Maynooth College (founded 1796 with a State endowment of £8,000 a year) was primarily intended for the education of the clergy. Catholic girls were still, as earlier, generally educated by governesses at home, or in convents.

A goodly number of schools, such as the Royal Schools, Erasmus Smith's School, and others, many of them dating from the seventeenth century, continued to provide for the needs of the members of the Established Church. Trinity College, Dublin, remained, till the 'forties, the only University in Ireland.

Social Life: Secret Societies: The Police.—The social life of Dublin suffered severely by the withdrawal of the Parliament. Peers and commoners took up their residence in London during the sessions, spending the rest of the year in their country estates. The stately mansions in which they had lived remained unoccupied, until finally let for public offices or charitable institutions. Many even sank to the condition of tenement houses.

Still, in some respects, there was progress. Mail coaches, stage coaches and comfortably-fitted passenger boats on canals were at the service of travellers. Packet boats crossed almost daily to England and Scotland; the first steamer began to ply in 1816. The postal service was improved.

The prediction that, if the Union were once accomplished, Irish discontents would disappear of themselves, and the country settle down to peaceful industry, was not realised. Political and social unrest was rife in almost every part of Ireland, and, as a remedy, a long series of Insurrection Acts, Arms' Acts, suspensions of the Habeas Corpus Act and so forth, extended almost unbroken over the first forty years of the century.

Secret societies were active in many counties. Feuds of all kinds, sometimes between families or trades, sometimes between districts, led to furious encounters, especially at fairs, which often resulted in loss of life.

The police force was reorganised and improved. In 1814, Sir Robert Peel established the Royal Irish Constabulary, a semi-military body, which was to discharge the duties of police in country districts and in the smaller towns. He also appointed regular paid Resident Magistrates, to undertake part of the judicial functions hitherto discharged by voluntary Justices of the Peace.

Trade.—Another of the alluring prospects held before the eyes of voters, by those who desired their help in the destruction of the Irish Parliament, was that of increased trade and the pouring of English capital into Ireland; but this, too, proved an illusion.

The opening of the British markets to Irish goods was of no great benefit, except in the case of one or two articles, such as linen, where the Irish product was of especially superior quality. Other articles England could produce at home, and, as the cost of carriage was less, sell at a cheaper rate. Even in the case of linen, though the exports increased, they did so at a less rapid rate than during the years before the Union. Growing industries, which the Irish Parliament had fostered, were now let alone, and were obliged to enter into competition with more developed and wealthy rivals across the Channel. English stuffs, produced by expensive machinery, flooded the Irish markets; fancy cloths tempted the well-to-do; there was cheap ready-made clothing for the poor. The little Irish factories ceased to produce anything but the coarsest stuffs; then finally they closed, and except in a few districts, and on a very small scale, no more woollen cloth was made in Ireland. The cotton industry perished absolutely; so did that of silk weaving, which once employed thousands of workmen. The extension of machinery had ruined almost all the little cottage industries, by means of which the wife and daughters of the labourer or small tenant-farmer eked out the slender earnings of the head of the family.

Owing to the depression of trade, especially after the end of the Napoleonic wars in 1815, there was a great deal of emigration, especially from Ulster, but still the population continued to increase, though the people grew poorer and poorer.

CHAPTER IV

UNION FINANCE. THE AMALGAMATION OF THE EXCHEQUERS

Excessive Financial Burden imposed on Ireland.—The financial clause of the Act of Union, which fixed the amount of the contribution of Ireland to the common expenses of the United Kingdom at two parts in seventeen, had been sharply criticised even before the passing of the measure. Persons well competent to judge had declared that the figure had been arrived at by misleading methods of calculation, which had resulted in a very considerable over-estimate of the taxable capacity of Ireland, and the consequent imposition on her of an excessive burden.

The arrangement made could not have failed, according to this view, under the most favourable circumstances, to have had bad results for Ireland, but the fact that fifteen years of war followed the Union multiplied the evil tenfold.

England, engaged herself in the struggle with Napoleon, and rendering great financial aid to her allies, expended sums then regarded as immense, and of every £17 which she expended, Ireland furnished £2. The cost of the joint establishment had been far in excess of what had been contemplated, and beyond the abilities of even England to meet from revenue alone, but the resources which she possessed in her industries and trade were immense, and she was enabled to weather the storm without disaster; for her poverty-stricken partner the result was far different.

Before the Union the taxation of Ireland had been light; during the fifteen years that followed the passing of that measure it increased by 128 per cent. In the period 1785–1800 the sum of £31,000,000 was raised from Ireland by taxation; in the period 1800–1815 the amount was £78,000,000. During these years the taxation in Great Britain had not risen to at all the same extent. Even with this addition, however, the taxation of Ireland remained below that of England.

Increase of Irish National Debt: New Financial Arrangements Made.—In order to pay her quota of the joint expenses, Ireland was obliged to borrow very largely; her revenue fell short of the sum required by almost 50 per cent. The £78,000,000 raised by taxes (1800–1815)

was faced by an expenditure of £148,000,000; whereas the £31,000,000 revenue of the earlier period (1785–1800) had fallen short of expenditure by only £10,000,000; and that, too, during fifteen years, several of which were years of war, and one of which saw war abroad and rebellion at home. The interest on the money borrowed became an ever-increasing burden, and the final result was that Ireland's National Debt, which at the time of the Union was 32¼ millions, had reached by 1815, 112½ millions, or, in other words, had almost quadrupled. During the same period that of Great Britain wanted a good deal of having doubled. It will be remembered (*Chap. XXIII, Book IV*) that one of the clauses of the Act of Union set forth that, if and when the value of the respective debts of the two countries became to each other as two to fifteen, the Parliament might order the amalgamation of the exchequers. In 1815 it appeared that the condition had been fulfilled, and a Parliamentary Commission was appointed. Acting on its report, a Bill for the Financial Union of Ireland and Great Britain was introduced, and passed without protest. England took upon herself the National Debt of Ireland, joining it with her own. This debt had been, however, as has been pointed out, in a great part, incurred in a vain endeavour to satisfy the unreasonable demands made on the poorer country by the terms of the Act of Union.

Now (from January, 1817), all the Irish revenue would be paid into the general "Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom," and this would be charged with all the expenses connected with the Government of Ireland. The taxes were to be in general the same for both countries, but Ireland might obtain certain concessions in her favour. At first the concessions were considerable, some taxes not being imposed at all, and many articles being taxed at a lower rate. But these advantages were gradually withdrawn, and soon after the middle of the century, they became negligible.

The difference between the cost of the government of Ireland and the amount realised by her taxation constituted her contribution to what was described as "Imperial Expenditure"; such matters that is, as the upkeep of the army, navy and other Imperial services. This sum was at first considerable, but as Irish administration grew more costly, and as the population diminished, it became less; till finally, for some years before the outbreak of the war of 1914, Ireland cost more to administer than was raised from her taxes. The heavy war-taxation imposed on her, as on the rest of the United Kingdom, of course, put an end to this state of things.

CHAPTER V

THE VETO CONTROVERSY

The Government desire to Obain some Control over the Catholic Church in Ireland: Suggested Veto on Episcopal Appointments.—By the closing decades of the eighteenth century, it had become sufficiently clear to the Government authorities that the attempt to sever the connection of the bulk of the Irish people with the Church of Rome might, for practical purposes, as well be abandoned. This being so, the prudent course appeared to be to endeavour to establish such relations between the State and the Catholic clergy as would induce these to exercise their great influence over their flocks more or less in the Government's favour.

This relation could, it was considered, be established by a supervision of the education of the priests; by controlling, to some extent, the election of the bishops, and by a system of State-payment for the secular clergy. The permission accorded (1795) for the foundation of Maynooth College, and its endowment with an annual grant was, no doubt, influenced by these considerations. It soon appeared, however, that no control of clerical education by any outside body was possible. The history of the next century was to show that the Maynooth priest was even more whole-heartedly one with his flock, and more bold in standing by their side in the hour of their trial than had been the older generation of ecclesiastics.

In 1798, we find Castlereagh requesting the four Archbishops and six Bishops who were the clerical trustees of Maynooth College to try, at their forthcoming meeting (January, 1799), to suggest some scheme by which the Government might be satisfied of the loyalty of a person proposed by the clergy of a diocese to fill a vacant See, before the name was actually sent to Rome. The plan sketched in answer to this request would have accorded to the Irish Viceroy a certain right of objection to a proposed name, but of the validity of the objection the prelates of the ecclesiastical province would have been the final judges. In making this suggestion the Maynooth trustees spoke, of course, only for themselves. They had no authority to voice the opinion of the Irish bishops as a whole.

Moreover, they were careful to state that no change in the present mode of proceeding could be made without the consent of the Pope.

An influence over episcopal appointments was, as it was pointed out in debates on the Catholic Question, exercised by most Continental rulers in regard to the Sees within their dominions, even when, as in the case of the Czar of Russia and the King of Prussia, the monarch himself was not a Catholic. It had been also the acknowledged right of English Kings before the Reformation.

The circumstances of Ireland were, however, peculiar, and the Irish bishops soon made their position clear. In 1808, they issued an official declaration that they did not hold it expedient that there should be any change in the present mode of electing bishops, and, as the question of State-payment of the clergy had also been raised, they added that they desired that they and their priests should remain, as heretofore, dependent for their revenues on the voluntary offerings of their people.

The Catholic Relief Bill of 1813 contained a strong veto clause, and the Irish bishops declared that, if the Bill had passed, they could not have accepted this clause. Daniel O'Connell brought forward at the Catholic Board a resolution of thanks to the bishops, and this was passed. There were, however, many dissentients. Both sides now applied to Rome.

Pius VII was at this time a prisoner in the hands of Napoleon, and the conduct of affairs was in the hands of Monsignore Quarrantotti, Secretary of the Propaganda. The action which he took was in the highest degree injudicious. Writing in February 1814, to Dr. Poynter, head of the English Catholic Board, he stated that the question of the veto had been discussed at a meeting of "most learned prelates and theologians," and that the decision come to was that the Catholics should accept the Relief Bill, in the form in which it had been drafted the preceding year—that is to say, with the veto clause—and, moreover, should return hearty thanks to the King and Parliament for the favour shown them. (The assumption evidently was that the Bill would be reintroduced). Dr. Poynter was desired to communicate the contents of the letter to all bishops and Vicars Apostolic in the Kingdom.

When the text of the letter appeared in one of the Dublin news papers (May, 1814), it was received at first with incredulity, afterwards with amazement and indignation. The fact that it was not issued by the Pope himself, but by an agent, the limits of whose authority were unknown, was at once seized on by clergy and laity alike, and, at an indignation meeting held in Dublin, the announcement was made that the Archbishop (Dr. Troy) was perfectly willing that opinions against the veto should be freely expressed by Catholics. The plan set forth in the Relief Bill of 1813 directed that a Board of Commissioners should be

appointed by the King, to whom the names proposed for vacant Sees should be submitted, and without whose approval no appointment could be made. Furthermore, these same Commissioners should regulate communications between the Irish hierarchy and the Pope; no such communication being permitted without their knowledge and consent. This was widely different from the scheme sketched in 1799.

The Pope, on being released from captivity, disavowed the Rescript of Quarrantotti, and, some months afterwards (April, 1815), he instructed Cardinal Litta to communicate to the Irish bishops his directions regarding the matter involved. Regarding the acceptance or rejection of a veto the Pope gave no positive orders, but, should the bishops decide to accept one, they must go no further than this: When a list of persons judged suitable for election had been drawn up by the clergy of the diocese, this list should be submitted to Government, which might, before the names were forwarded to Rome, remove that of any person whom they regarded as "obnoxious."

The bishops were well aware of the great distrust of Government interference which ages of oppression had bred in the breasts of the Catholics of Ireland, so that it is not surprising that their final decision was against any form of veto. The Pope did not further interfere, and for several years the question was dropped.

It was revived for a short time in 1821, by the introduction into Parliament of a Relief Bill containing a strong veto clause. However, the Bill itself, having passed the Commons, was rejected by the Lords, so that its provisions were immaterial. This was the final stage of the controversy. When, in 1829, Catholic Emancipation was granted, no attempt was made to impose any Government veto on the election of bishops.

The Irish Catholic Church remained, as it had been since the Reformation, entirely free from the control or interference of the Government.

CHAPTER VI

DANIEL O'CONNELL.—THE CATHOLIC ASSOCIATION

Daniel O'Connell.—We have seen how discouragement had come upon the Catholics after the successive failures of the petitions which they addressed to Parliament in the first two decades of the century, praying for the removal of their remaining disabilities. They were now to find amongst the men of their own faith a leader, who, using methods not hitherto employed, would bring about the triumph of their cause.

Daniel O'Connell was born near Cahirciveen, Co. Kerry, in August, 1775. His family were landed gentry of good position, and he was given, first in Ireland, and later on the Continent, all the educational advantages then within the reach of Catholics. In 1793 he returned home and began to prepare himself for the legal profession.

While a student at the College of St. Omer in France, O'Connell had seen something, and heard much more, of the excesses of the French Revolution. The impression made on his young mind was so deep that it was never effaced. To the end of his career he expressed the utmost abhorrence of violent methods in politics.

With the Rebellion of 1798 he had no sympathy, but his detestation of the Union was whole-hearted and intense. Against this measure, when it was in contemplation, his first public speech was made (January, 1800), and to obtain its repeal were directed, when he was actually dying, the last efforts of his enfeebled mind and body.

O'Connell, however, saw clearly that, in a struggle for Repeal of the Union he would have, at least at first, practically all English opinion, both in Parliament and outside it, against him; and that, probably, even in Ireland, he would receive but languid support. It appeared then more prudent to begin by devoting his attention to another question, in which also he was keenly interested, which had a larger number of friends and fewer enemies, and a victory in which would, as he judged, increase the probabilities of triumph in the more difficult contest. He resolved then to enter on the struggle for Catholic Emancipation.

The Catholic Committee had sunk into a state of inertia, but

O'Connell reanimated it with new life and spirit. He was now a barrister in large and increasing practice, but he spared time from the duties of his profession to form new local committees all over the country, and to induce the leading Catholics, clerical and lay, to join them. The Government, alarmed, proclaimed the Emancipation meetings, and dissolved the Catholic Committee itself; relying on a law of 1793, which forbade representative bodies to be formed without authorisation from the State. O'Connell was not easily defeated. He now proceeded to found a new society—the Catholic Board, which, however, was not well supported, and did little.

The Catholic Association.—No real progress was being made, and in 1823, O'Connell resolved on a new policy. In conjunction with his friend, Richard Lalor Shiel, he founded the Catholic Association. The aim of this society was not limited to gaining for Catholics the right of sitting in Parliament. It purposed to bring into prominence the chief grievances from which the bulk of the Irish people suffered, with a view to their redress. The rack-renting; the confiscation of tenants' improvements; the jobbery in public life, were all to be attacked.

In order to provide funds a regular rent was established, to which every Catholic in Ireland was asked to contribute, the minimum being fixed at the rate of a penny a month, so as to be within the reach of the poorest. The clergy in each parish were invited to arrange the collections, which often took place at the chapel doors on Sundays. This, too, was a new departure. Since the far-off days of the Confederation of Kilkenny, the Catholic bishops and priests had not been wont to appear prominently in politics, nor had any effort been made by the leaders of the earlier association, the Catholic Committee, to induce them to do so. It was left to O'Connell to perceive that the parochial clergy of Ireland would furnish perhaps the only lever by which, in the then state of society, the mass of the people could be moved. All through the darkness of the Penal Days the ꝛaꝫaꞃꞇ had shown himself the friend of his oppressed flock. In a great measure he shared their poverty; yet, by virtue of his sacerdotal character, and of his better education, he was revered and looked up to, as well in temporal as in spiritual matters. In most rural districts the peasant knew no other man of social standing, and, as he presumed, of knowledge superior to his own, to whom he could go to be advised in his difficulties. Therefore, in the priest his trust was entire. If then the priests could be won over to the side of the Catholic Association, the people would follow them, and what Government could resist the determination of nearly five million souls?

The plan succeeded admirably; the clergy, convinced that the

spiritual and temporal interests of their flocks were at stake, took up the part assigned them. The "Catholic Rent" was punctually paid, and amounted to a considerable sum. Much of it was spent in exposing in the courts cases of illegal oppression and violence. O'Connell himself, whenever possible, put his great talents, eloquence and legal knowledge at the service of poor clients, free of charge. The Catholic peasant, who had been used to submit tamely to injustice, took heart. The bullying landlord; the oppressive middleman; the ruthless tithe proctor; the swaggering Orangeman began to see that, in his exactions and oppressions, he must take care to keep, outwardly at least, within the limits of the law.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Birth of O'Connell	1775
(*Death of George III. George IV succeeds him*)	1820
The Catholic Association founded	1823

CHAPTER VII

CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION

The Catholic Association Suppressed : The New Catholic Association Founded.—The success of the Catholic Association had caused the Government the greatest alarm, and some means of crushing it was eagerly sought. A pretext was, however, hard to find. Its activities were kept carefully within the limits of the law, and it made no attempt at introducing any kind of representation or delegation of authority; its meetings were public and open to all; so far from encouraging crimes or violence, it sternly suppressed them, so that, in districts where its influence was strong, outrages had almost ceased. It appeared that a direct application to Parliament was the only mode of attack possible. At the opening of the Session (1825), the King's Speech confessed that Ireland was tranquil; but it was "the more to be regretted that associations should exist irreconcilable with the spirit of the Constitution and calculated, by exciting alarm and by exasperating animosity, to endanger the peace of society and to retard the course of national prosperity." This statement did not meet with unqualified approval. Even in the Lords, the menaced Association found some defenders. One member (Earl Donoughmore) considered that, while the people of Ireland were submissive to the law, it would be prudent to let them alone. Nevertheless, when a Bill, evidently aimed at the Catholic Association alone, was introduced, it passed both Houses by large majorities. No association was now to be permitted to continue its meetings for more than fourteen days; to authorise anybody to collect subscriptions for its use; to administer an oath to its members; nor to exclude from its membership persons of any form of religious faith. By the two last provisions the Orange Society, which had never admitted Catholics, and which, at that time, imposed an oath on its members, was rendered illegal; but no attempt was ever made to enforce the Act against it.

O'Connell had already prepared his "coach-and-four," and lost no time in driving it through the piece of legislation intended to destroy

the society which he had founded.* He started a "New Catholic Association," ostensibly for the promotion of charitable and educational objects, but which was to hold large meetings from time to time, at which political questions could be considered. Each meeting was to last exactly fourteen days. There was to be no connection between the meetings in various parts of the country. When, on July 31st, 1825, there were meetings held in practically every parish in Ireland, it could not be proved that this was not a mere coincidence.

The Waterford Election.—In 1826 another Catholic Petition was presented, and met the same fate as its numerous predecessors. Direct political action was now resolved on. There was a Parliamentary vacancy in Waterford, and Lord George Beresford, brother of the Marquis of Waterford, expected to be returned unopposed. It was decided that Mr. Villiers Stuart, member of an old Protestant family, but a man of very liberal views, should be introduced as a rival candidate under the auspices of the Association.

At this time the majority of the electors in most rural districts consisted of "forty-shilling freeholders" (see *Chap. III*). It had always hitherto been considered that the votes of these men were at the absolute disposal of their landlords, and on this occasion the Duke of Devonshire issued a general direction to his tenants to abstain from voting for either party in the coming contest. The old order was, however, passing away. For several weeks before the election there was the fiercest excitement over the whole county. In every chapel the priest exhorted the electors to vote according to their consciences; to bear in mind the interests of their faith; and to strike a blow against the Ascendancy which had so long oppressed them. The Association's agents travelled from parish to parish, exciting enthusiasm, encouraging the timid, waking that love of self-sacrifice for creed and country which has always been a marked trait of the Irish peasant.

In truth, the consequences of following their consciences might well, for many of these poor men, prove serious enough. The voting was open, and he who dared at the poll to defy his landlord's will would be liable to become a mark for vengeance. Still, the courage of the peasants did not falter. On the day when the contest was to begin they marched in their thousands into the city of Waterford, barony by barony, each under its own banner. Four thousand soldiers had been sent by the authorities to keep order, but they had nothing to do, for there was not the slightest disturbance. Beresford had, by a silly and insolent speech, alienated much of the small amount of popular support on which he might other-

* *O'Connell had once boasted that he "could drive a coach and four" through any Act of Parliament*

wise have counted. After a few days he abandoned the contest in despair, and Villiers Stuart was declared to be duly elected.

Encouraged by its victory the Association intervened in other elections, and succeeded in placing its nominee in one of the two vacancies in Derry.

To the Ascendancy in Ireland, and their supporters in England, the result of the Waterford election caused the utmost surprise and anger. They cried out loudly against the influence of the priests, and tried, though in vain, to prove that they had coerced the voters by threats of spiritual penalties.

During the Session of 1828 the Test and Corporation Acts, which virtually excluded Protestant Dissenters from office and from the membership of Corporations, by requiring the taking of the sacrament according to the rites of the Established Church, were repealed.* The Catholics had backed up the demand of the Dissenters for relief, and had presented a petition in their favour signed by 800,000 persons.

The Clare Election.—A bolder stroke than any which they had yet attempted was now prepared by the Catholic Association. A Parliamentary vacancy had occurred in Clare, owing to the appointment of Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, the sitting member, to an office under Government, the holding of which forced him to seek re-election. The Association resolved to put forward a Catholic candidate—O'Connell himself. His election would bring the whole question of Emancipation to an issue, as he declared from the first that he would not take the oaths against the Mass, Transubstantiation, etc. O'Connell at first was rather reluctant to undertake the contest. Fitzgerald was himself a man of liberal views, and his father, who was now dying, had suffered for his opposition to the Union. When once, however, he had made his choice, he entered into the fight with the whole vigour of his nature.

A group of friends came to his aid—Shiel, "honest Tom Steele," Father Tom Maguire, young O'Gorman Mahon, noted as a duellist, who declared that he was ready to accept the challenge of any landlord who considered himself aggrieved by the canvass of his tenants.

The incidents of the Waterford election were practically repeated, with additions. The journey of O'Connell from Limerick to Ennis resembled the royal progress of a king. Nothing like it had been seen in Munster, since the days when Hugh O'Neill at the zenith of his fame traversed the province in triumph, over 200 years before. In Ennis streets the people camped—nearly 30,000—quite patient in spite of the falling rain, and touching no drop of intoxicating liquor, for all were under

* *The Test Act had been repealed by the Irish Parliament in* 1780, *but this was, of course, only for Ireland.*

a temporary pledge of total abstinence. Those who polled for Fitzgerald were not interfered with; his speech, in which he made a pathetic allusion to his father's services to Ireland, was not interrupted; but from the first his cause was hopeless. When the poll was declared, O'Connell was found to have won by a majority of over two to one (March 30th, 1828).

Difficult Situation of the Government: Debates in Parliament.—The victor, as he had said he would do, presented himself at Westminster, and was tendered the usual oaths. He refused to take them, and withdrew. All Ireland now stood in expectation, waiting for the next act of the drama.

The situation was, for the Government, an extremely difficult one. The Lord Lieutenant (Lord Anglesey) declared that the troops in Ireland could not be relied on. In some places the soldiers had cheered O'Connell. O'Connell was known to have great difficulty in keeping the people in hand, and inducing them to refrain from violence. George IV was, like his father, wholly opposed to the Catholic claims, as were also the Duke of Wellington, who was Premier, and Sir Robert Peel, the Home Secretary.

Both the Ministers, however, perceived clearly enough that concession was absolutely necessary, and they succeeded in persuading the King. When Parliament met (February, 1829), the King's speech requested both Houses to consider the civil disabilities of Roman Catholics with a view to their removal.

Catholic Emancipation Granted.—In March a Bill for this purpose was introduced. The speeches of Peel in the Commons, and of Wellington in the Lords on the Catholic Bill were about equally tactless. In both, expediency was the theme; neither contained either a word of sympathy for the Catholics, or any acknowledgment of the justice of their claim. Ireland, said Peel, had become impossible to govern; either it must be held down by mere force, which would be difficult and expensive, or there must be concession. Wellington's tone was similar. If Emancipation were not granted, it would take some 70,000 troops to hold Ireland, should England become involved in any quarrel on the Continent. The choice lay between concession and civil war, and of civil war he had seen too much elsewhere not to desire at any cost to avert it.

Catholic Emancipation Passed.—The proposed Bill was debated at considerable length. It deprived the forty-shilling freeholders of their votes, thereby enormously reducing the Irish electorate. The Bill passed both Houses by large majorities, and very reluctantly George IV gave it the Royal Assent (April, 1829).

Catholic Emancipation had been, as has been shown, torn from the reluctant hands of Ministers who disapproved of its principle. It had been accompanied by needless restrictions and irritating decrees. Its spirit was not honestly carried out; for Catholics continued to be, with few exceptions, excluded in practice from many of the positions and honours for which they had just been declared eligible. For example, the title of K.C. was refused to O'Connell, who stood at the very head of his profession in Ireland. For these reasons, the judgment passed on it and its effects, that it "earned no gratitude and deserved none," would appear to be fully justified.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
The Catholic Association suppressed. The New Catholic Association founded	1825
The Waterford Election	1826
Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts	1828
The Clare Election	1828
Catholic Emancipation carried	1829

CHAPTER VIII

AGITATION FOR REPEAL

O'Connell's Qualifications for the Rôle of a Popular Leader: The "Tribute."—The years that immediately followed the gaining of Emancipation saw O'Connell at the height of his power.

He was well fitted in every way to play the part of a popular leader; a part which demands almost of necessity the possession of certain physical, as well as certain mental gifts. With these gifts O'Connell was very specially endowed. He was tall and well made. His face, in spite of rather coarse features, was, as a whole, decidedly handsome. Like most men born with a genius for command, he had remarkably fine and brilliant eyes. The power and clearness of his voice was extraordinary; when speaking in an immense hall, he could, apparently without difficulty, make his words distinctly heard at its very furthest extremity. As an orator, he is entitled to take a high place, if not one of the highest. The most remarkable fact about him as a speaker was the ease and wonderful skill with which he could adapt himself, not only in style, but in subject matter, in his manner of reasoning; even, it has been remarked, in gesture to the audience which he happened at the moment to be addressing. Yet no man was more honest, more outspoken, less of a hypocrite. He merely presented different sides of his personality on different occasions.

We have already remarked that the chief aim of O'Connell's entire political life was the Repeal of the Act of Union, and to it he now turned, rendered confident by the victory he had won in the gaining of Emancipation. No doubt he was unduly hopeful, and failed to realise how strong would be the opposition in England to any scheme to revive the Irish Parliament. With all the vigour of his nature he plunged into the struggle.

Henceforth, all his time was devoted to politics, and the huge expenses involved, especially at elections, were met by a Tribute, collected all over Ireland and placed absolutely in his hands. From this fund also he drew sums freely for his own use and that of his family. The taunts and ridicule showered on him by his enemies, both in England

and in Ireland for this, were undeserved. He had abandoned a lucrative and growing practice at the bar to serve the cause of those who were, for the most part, too poor to individually reward him, and he was therefore entitled to take from their collective subscriptions an amount sufficient to maintain himself, and those dependent on him, in a position analogous to that in which his exertions would have enabled him and them to live, had he continued the practice of his profession. Moreover, he was not by any means the "beggarman" which the English Press delighted to represent him. His private means were considerable, and, although, as in the keeping of accounts he was extremely careless, it is impossible to say what proportion of the "Tribute" he applied to his own uses, and what to public work; there can be no doubt that the latter absorbed the enormously larger proportion of the money subscribed.

Repeal Associations Formed and Suppressed: O'Connell in Parliament.—The Catholic Association had been suppressed by Government at the time of the granting of Emancipation. O'Connell now founded "A Society of the Friends of Ireland," and then an "Anti-Union Association," and an "Association of Irish Volunteers for the Repeal of the Union." Each was, after a very short existence, proclaimed by the Lord Lieutenant; as were the "Repeal Breakfasts," at which many of the chief Repealers met once a week or oftener for discussion.

Still, O'Connell was not daunted. In the House of Commons he was recognised as a power, so that a certain fear mingled with the very hearty detestation felt for him by many. It was well known that his assertion that it was his influence alone that, on more than one occasion, prevented a widespread insurrection in Ireland, was no empty boast. The slight wave of gratification which followed the winning of Emancipation soon passed, and the Irish returned to the consideration of the many grievances which still remained unredressed. Moreover, no effort at conciliation was made, and the Catholics remained, contrary to the spirit of the Emancipation Act, almost as completely excluded in fact from all offices in the gift of the Government as they had previously been by law.

When the Reform Bill struggle was agitating England, O'Connell relaxed his efforts for Repeal, and devoted his energies to furthering the passing of the measure, so that his relations with the Government of Lord Grey were, for a time, intimate and friendly. His support was of extreme value, for the new Irish Members, who owed their seats to his influence, were completely obedient to him and gave their votes as he directed. With the Irish Reform Bill (1832) he was deeply disappointed. It gave only five additional seats to Ireland, instead of the seventy-two

to which he considered that her greatly increased population now entitled her.

The next year brought him even greater cause for indignation. Disturbances, due chiefly to opposition to the tithe system, were on the increase in Ireland. As usually happened where Irish questions of this sort were debated in Parliament, no attempt was made by the majority of the speakers to set forth or explain the nature of the social disease of which the evils complained of were merely the symptoms. All the efforts of O'Connell were powerless to prevent the passing of an extremely severe Coercion Bill by a large majority. His conviction that neither sympathy nor understanding of Irish affairs was to be hoped for from the Westminster assembly was strengthened, and he returned with renewed ardour to the struggle for Repeal.

His motion in Parliament to consider the means by which the Act of Union had been passed, and the effect of the measure on Ireland, was defeated by an immense majority, and no further direct action was taken for some years.

When (1835) the second Melbourne Ministry came into power, O'Connell's influence with the Government became very great, and he was generally, it appears, consulted with regard to appointments to offices in Ireland. He seems more than once to have contemplated taking office himself, but no post of very great importance was offered him, and had it been, it is not improbable that he would have finally decided to refuse it. It can scarcely be doubted that the acceptance of any Government position would have considerably hampered his activities, and must ultimately have diminished his popularity.

The new Melbourne Ministry, during its years of office, dealt with three Irish questions of capital importance—Tithes, Municipal Reform, and the Poor Law, and while the settlements arrived at in the case of the two first were far from being ideal, yet, on the whole, the effects were beneficial: as much cannot be said in regard to the third. These three matters must now be separately considered, and an account must also be given of the new system of Primary Education established in Ireland; although this last was the work, not of the Melbourne Ministry, but of the earlier Government of Lord Grey

CHAPTER IX

THE TITHE QUESTION AND ITS SETTLEMENT

The Tithe Grievance : Tithe Proctors.—Although in theory the tithes paid in earlier ages to the Catholic clergy had been assigned at the time of the Reformation to the Ministers of the State Church, yet it was not till after the Revolution that these were regularly and systematically levied from the masses of the Irish population. They must always have been regarded as a grievance by the Catholics, since it was obviously unjust that they should be required to pay to clergy of an alien creed, whose ministrations they refused, what was established as a salary for the discharge of spiritual duties in their regard.

The tithes were not uniform over Ireland ; various customs in regard to them prevailing in different districts. In some cases they were extremely heavy. As a rule the duty of valuing and levying the tithes was entrusted by the clergy to an official who paid his costs and salary by a percentage on the money collected. Probably no class of persons in Ireland was so cordially detested as the tithe proctors. It was always possible for them, if offended or merely spiteful, to revenge themselves on an individual tenant by such methods as neglecting to come to inspect and value the growing crop till the favourable time for harvest operations was passed, or valuing unfairly, so as to increase the amount to be paid.

As the position of the Catholics improved, they grew to resent more keenly the injustice of the tithe system. In 1827, an Act was passed by which tithes could be, at the request of either the clergy or the tithe-payers, commuted for a fixed annual payment.

This, though it possessed certain advantages, did little good to the poorer tenants, and an encounter between the people and police at Graigue-na-Managh, Co. Kilkenny, in which the help of the military was obliged finally to be invoked, began what is usually styled "the Tithe War" (1830). Conflicts took place in various parts of the country, and the payment of tithes was generally refused. The clergy of the Established Church, most of whom were far from rich, found themselves deprived of their chief source of income and were in great distress.

Attempts at Settlement : Thomas Drummond.—A Committee,

consisting wholly of Protestants, was appointed by Government to investigate the whole matter. They recommended in their report that a money payment in commutation of tithes should be made compulsory, and that £60,000 should be advanced to the clergy, to meet their immediate needs, by Government, which should itself undertake the collection of arrears.

These proposals were embodied in what is known as "Stanley's Act" (1832). The failure of the concluding portion of the measure was absolute and complete. Within a few months there were 12,000 attachments for tithes pending, and £12,000 of arrears had been collected at an expense to the public of £27,000. Besides this, there was widespread irritation and many disturbances. In 1834 at Rathcormack, Co. Cork, an attempt to collect tithes from a widow named Ryan ended in a regular battle, in which about fifty persons were killed or severely injured. This year a Bill for commuting tithes to a land charge of 80 per cent. of their value was passed by the Commons, but rejected by the Lords.

A debate in Parliament on tithes gave O'Connell an opportunity of speaking of the various injustices under which the Catholics still suffered. Catholic lawyers, or even Protestants who had signed addresses in favour of Emancipation, were, he pointed out, never promoted. Catholic names were noted on jury-lists and their bearers challenged by the Crown; proposed meetings of Catholics were prohibited for the most trivial reasons. The Church system, by which a miserably poor country was obliged to support a rich, and, to a great extent, useless Church, was in itself scandalous.

Peel, during his short Ministry (1835), made another attempt to settle the Irish tithe question on the basis of a rent charge, but a clause added to the Bill by Lord John Russell, by which the Irish Church surplus was to be devoted to secular purposes, caused the defeat of the entire measure.

In April, 1835, the second Melbourne Ministry came into power, and, with Lord Mulgrave as Lord Lieutenant and Lord Morpeth as Chief Secretary, Thomas Drummond was sent to Ireland as Under Secretary. This last proved a very important appointment.

Drummond soon decided that tithes collected by the aid of military and police were not worth the disorder and bloodshed to which their collection often gave rise. He, therefore, frequently refused to allow these forces to be employed, with the result that, in many instances, the tithes were not collected at all. On the other hand, he insisted that faction fights at fairs and conflicts between Orangemen and Catholics should be sternly repressed. The magistrates and the gentry generally regarded the new methods with utter disapproval. Hitherto, it had been

usual to employ the police freely in cases of tithe disturbances or of evictions, but, as a rule, to suffer rival factions to settle their differences undisturbed. When, in answer to a demand on the part of some Tipperary landlords for coercion measures against the tenantry, Drummond ventured to remind them that "property has its duties as well as its rights," the remark was considered "a direct incentive to outrage."

In 1835, and in 1836, the Melbourne Government introduced Tithe Bills, but again an "Appropriation Clause" wrecked one after the other.

Tithe Bill Passed.—The Bill introduced by Lord John Russell was different. It wiped out arrears of tithes and transformed the advance assigned to the clergy in 1833 into a gift. The tithes were to be lowered by a quarter, and the remaining 75 per cent. made a rent charge, to be paid by the landlord directly to the clergy. This Bill was finally passed (1838), and on the whole gave satisfaction. The clergy received their money more regularly, and, being no longer brought into disagreeable relations with their Catholic neighbours, they became much more popular. Many landlords paid a portion, or even the whole of the charge, without raising their tenants' rent; while others exacted from the latter the full amount. Owing to this, the general opinion of the Tithe Act varied considerably in different districts.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Death of George IV. William IV succeeds him*) . .	1830
(*Revolution in France. Abdication of Charles X*) .	1830
The "Tithe War" begins.	1830
(*The Reform Bill*)	1832
Stanley's Tithe Act	1832
Thomas Drummond, Under Secretary . . .	1835
Tithe Bill passes. End of the agitation . . .	1838

CHAPTER X

MUNICIPAL REFORM

Evils of Irish Municipal System : Suggestions for Reform.—Long before the period of which we are now treating, the need of reform in the municipal government of Ireland had been generally admitted. That the corporations, large and small, were practically exclusively in Protestant hands was, in the eyes of not a few statesmen, an advantage. But their narrowness in other respects ; the corruption and jobbery which resulted from their independence of outside control could scarcely be defended. Since 1793 Catholics were eligible for election on Irish Corporations, but it was stated in Parliament in 1836 that the number actually elected during the forty-three years which had elapsed since the passing of the Act was scarcely 200. Not a single Catholic had yet been admitted to a seat on the Dublin Corporation.

The scheme suggested by the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel for remedying the acknowledged abuses in the Irish municipal bodies had at least the merit of simplicity. They proposed to abolish these bodies altogether, and to substitute a direct government control of the affairs hitherto administered by them. This was to be carried out by officials nominated by the Crown. They opposed the (Melbourne) Government plan, which O'Connell supported, and which aimed at assimilating the municipal institutions of Ireland to those of England. The chief struggle took place in the Upper House, where great fears were expressed by many speakers of the increase of the authority, already too great, of the priests, and of the growth of "radicalism," which would result from such a reconstruction as was proposed by the Government. An "amendment" in accordance with the Peel-Wellington view was finally carried by the Lords, but it was rejected in the Commons, and the affair was, for the present, dropped.

Municipal Reform Act.—In 1837 another unsuccessful attempt to pass an Irish Municipalities Bill was made by Lord John Russell. Peel (1838) proposed a compromise by which the smaller corporations in Ireland should be suppressed, and only those of the twelve largest

towns retained. In these the franchise was to be fixed at £10. Some disputes with the Lords regarding changes which they desired to introduce caused this Bill also to be abandoned. Two years afterwards, however, it was passed, with merely the modification that two more corporations were cut off, leaving only ten.

O'Connell became, under the new system, the first Catholic Lord Mayor of Dublin. On entering into office he declared his intention of acting with absolute impartiality to all, without consideration of political or religious differences, and to this he strictly adhered. At the same time he well maintained the old traditions of the mayoralty, of which the historian, Campion, had said some 250 years before, that "for state and charge of that office and for bountiful hospitality (*it*) exceedeth any city in England, except London."

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Death of William IV. Queen Victoria succeeds him*) .	1837
Municipal Reform Act	1838

CHAPTER XI

THE POOR LAW

Absence of Poor Law Relief in Ireland : Destitution of a Large Proportion of the People.—While in England a form of Poor Law had existed since shortly after the Reformation, there was, properly speaking, none in Ireland up to the fourth decade of the nineteenth century. The Houses of Industry, which had been built in a few places, were intended partially as a kind of adult reformatories for idle vicious persons of both sexes, and partially as shelters for the old and infirm. There were also, in or near the larger towns, hospitals, alms-houses, lunatic asylums, orphanages, etc. All these, except the Houses of Industry, were maintained almost wholly by the donations and subscriptions of private individuals or of corporate bodies. For the relief of adults, whose only claim on benevolence was their destitution, no provision was ordinarily made.

Nearly everywhere beggars swarmed. Many were certainly worthless and idle, but others, probably the majority, had been reduced to poverty by misfortune, or, having been born in it, had had no opportunity to improve their condition. The agricultural labourer was often obliged, during the time of year when work was slack, to shut up his cabin and tramp the roads with his family, striving to support himself and them on the alms of the charitable. As his average weekly wage did not, at the best of times, except during harvest, much exceed 5*s*. it may well be imagined that no saving for the months of enforced idleness was possible.

As the nineteenth century advanced, and the population of Ireland rapidly increased in numbers, without any corresponding increase in the industries or means of employment, the destitution grew more terrible and more widespread, and it was felt that the State must intervene to deal with the problem of poverty on a scale never hitherto attempted.

Remedies Suggested.—In 1832, a Commission was appointed to collect evidence and suggest the lines on which a Poor Law should be drafted. Many of the members were Irishmen, well acquainted with the country and its needs, so that their decisions were likely to be of considerable value. They soon perceived that to apply a system similar to that which prevailed in England would, even if desirable, be impossible,

since the number of the poor was so great that to support them would ruin those now better off. The chief features of the scheme on which they finally decided were as follows: (1) A tax should be levied in each parish to support the sick and aged poor, and the proceeds administered by a voluntary committee. (2) There should be a special tax on absentee landlords. (3) Government should assist emigration. (4) Public works, such as the reclaiming of bogs, the making of roads, and so forth, should be started on a large scale. (5) A Board of Improvements should be appointed to decide on and direct such works, and to give grants in aid of fisheries, agriculture, etc.

The plan thus sketched was not without its defects. It would, however, if well and honestly administered, have secured the double advantage of relieving the actually existing poor, and, by increasing the prosperity and productivity of the country, have diminished the amount of poverty which would have to be coped with in the next generation. These blessings, however, were not in store for Ireland.

Nicoll's Plan: Its Defects: It is Adopted by the Government.—The Government elected to ignore the report of the Commission, and despatched to Ireland a certain Mr. George Nicoll, an English Poor Law Guardian, who was to re-examine the whole situation and recommend a scheme by which it could be dealt with. Nicoll remained in Ireland only a few weeks. This period, however, seems to have been regarded as sufficient to enable him to solve the many problems presented by the question of State Relief for the Irish poor. He proposed that a general tax or rate should be levied in each Poor Law District. Of these districts, a certain number should constitute a "Union," and be provided with a Workhouse capable of accommodating 1,000 persons. Relief was conditional on entrance into one of these "establishments," of which about 100 were to be built all over the country, but admission depended on the will of the Guardians who administered them, and they might refuse whom they pleased. No clergyman of any denomination might become a member of a Board of Guardians.

The disadvantages of this plan were sufficiently obvious—the difficulty was rather to discover its merits. By requiring the destitute to take up their abode in the Workhouse, those who might be only in need of temporary relief, to enable them to tide over a bad season, would be rendered paupers for ever. Their little homes would be broken up; their few possessions sold. The wives would be parted from their husbands; the children from their parents. The young would grow up in unnatural conditions, without family life, without intercourse with the world outside the walls that shut them in. When the time came for those who survived to take their places in that world, they would

be timid, helpless and awkward. Employment within could only be provided for a fraction of the inmates; the rest must remain in demoralising and weary idleness. The working of the Act would be enormously expensive, owing to the hosts of officials who would be needed to administer it.

Nevertheless, it was this scheme which found favour with the English Government. In spite of the opposition of most of those who had any acquaintance with Ireland, a Bill founded on Nicoll's report was passed through Parliament and became law (1838).

By 1840 fourteen Workhouses had been built. Four years later there were nearly sixty-eight thousand persons in receipt of relief. The evictions were more numerous than ever. The least deserving of the poor crowded into the Workhouses; many of the others preferred to starve outside, and, if they must die, to die at least in their own cabins and surrounded by those who were dear to them.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Commission on Irish Distress	1832
New Poor Law established	1838

CHAPTER XII

IRISH PRIMARY EDUCATION

State of Education in the Early Nineteenth Century: The Kildare Place Society.—Mention has been made in a previous chapter of the general state of education amongst the masses of the Irish people, in the closing years of the eighteenth century and the opening decades of the nineteenth. Much was done by the efforts of private charity for the most needy, while even poor peasants strove to pay the ten shillings or pound a year charged by some humble instructor for teaching reading, writing, and the simple rules of arithmetic to their children. Under such a system it was, however, inevitable that very large numbers—in fact, the great majority of even the boys, and still more of the girls—received no literary education at all. No aid was given by the State to any educational institution (save the clerical seminary of Maynooth) to which a conscientious Catholic could send his sons or daughters. Such money as was granted went to schools whose avowed aim was to alter the religion of the children and instruct them in the doctrines of the Reformed Church. Of such establishments there were many. The best known were the Charter Schools, founded early in the eighteenth century. On them a very large amount of public money was lavished. They continued till 1827.

In 1788, a Viceregal Commission was appointed to enquire into the state of education in Ireland, and to suggest reforms. The report which it issued proposed the extension of the system of parish schools, of which a good many already existed, all conducted under the supervision of the Protestant parochial authorities, and an alteration of their character, so that the religious teaching of the Protestant and of the Catholic children should be conducted apart by the clergy of their respective creeds. This advice was not followed, and public funds continued to be expended on the subsidising of institutions of the old type.

In 1811, a suggestion was made by Grattan that a system of instruction in the chief truths, regarding which all Christian denominations agree, and in the leading principles of morality, should be substituted

for the present Protestant doctrinal teaching in the parish schools. Of these, of course, a very much larger number would be needed, should the Catholics decide, as it might be hoped that they would, to avail themselves of the education which they afforded.

Grattan's suggestion very probably influenced the policy of the Kildare Place Society, which began its labours in 1812. In its schools "the Scriptures without note or comment" should be read aloud, "to the exclusion of catechisms or books of religious controversy." The arrangement was certainly not an ideal one, but the Catholics, eager to procure the benefits of education for their children, seem at first to have been inclined to accept it.

The subjects taught were no more than the reading and writing of English and the elements of arithmetic. Irish was, of course, ignored. A Parliamentary grant of nearly £1,000 a year was made to the Society, and for some years its schoolrooms were well filled. After a time, however, suspicions arose that the agreement with regard to the absence of doctrinal religious instruction was not being strictly observed.

Dr. McHale, Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, denounced the schools, and the same attitude was taken up by O'Connell. Owing to these circumstances, as well as to the opening of increased numbers of primary schools by religious orders, notably the Christian Brothers, the establishments of the Kildare Place Society began to be deserted by the Catholic pupils, so that it was felt that an attempt must be made to solve the Irish educational problem on other lines.

Stanley's Education Bill: Advantages and Defects of the "National Education System."—In 1830 Stanley, then Chief Secretary for Ireland, drew up a very extensive plan for Primary Education. A central Board was to be established in Dublin, consisting of Commissioners, of whom a third were to be Catholics. (This was subsequently changed to one half.) These were to administer the Government grant, and arrange all details regarding the schools. Primary schools were to be built all over the country. The cost of these, as well as the salary of the teachers, should be paid by the State. Children of all creeds should be received in the schools (it was not, however, till 1892 that the Compulsory Attendance Act was passed), and taught secular subjects together. At stated times, the ministers of each religion should attend and give religious instruction apart to the pupils of their own persuasion.

These proposals were embodied in a Bill, which passed successfully through Parliament (1831). On the whole it was well received, both by the authorities of the Catholic Church and by the laity. Its only serious opponent was Dr. McHale.

There can be no doubt that "National Education" has done much

good in Ireland. The proportion of illiterates amongst the population has steadily diminished, and the poor Irishman seeking employment no longer finds his chances of obtaining it diminished by his inability to read, write, or cypher.

On the other hand, the system had grave defects. The most serious of all was, not the lack merely to encourage, but the systematic attempt to discourage Nationality and Patriotism amongst the pupils. At the time of the foundation of the "National" schools, for at least a fifth of the children of school-age in Ireland, Irish was a mother tongue; for most of these it was the only one they knew. Yet the official attitude taken with regard to the ancient language of Erin was that it was a barbarous jargon, which, in the interests of "education," should be as soon as possible forgotten. The parents too often collaborated in this evil work with the teachers trained in the Government Colleges. In many schools it was usual to attach a wooden tally to a child's neck, on which a mark was cut every time that a word of the language, in which Patrick and Columcille and Bridget had taught and prayed, passed his lips. When these marks reached a certain number, a flogging was inflicted on the unfortunate little victim. Nor was this all. Many of the school-books used had been written in England for English children. One geography primer informed the Irish boys and girls that "the island in which we live was not always called England!" Even from those prepared in Ireland all allusion to Irish history or Irish literature, all lyrics breathing a spirit of Irish patriotism, were carefully excluded.

The aim of this policy was evidently to conquer the rebellious spirit which was supposed to exist in Ireland, and to produce, instead, a respectful admiration for the greatness and benevolence of England, and a wish to imitate her ways The desired end was not, however, achieved. It is true that the decay of Irish as a spoken language, which had already begun, became more rapid; and that generations grew up possessed of little knowledge of, and consequently little reverence for, their country's past; but that no love or admiration for England, no contentment with her rule followed, the history of the remaining decades of the nineteenth century was to show.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Kildare Place Society founded	1812
Stanley's Education Act	1821

CHAPTER XIII

YOUNG IRELAND. END OF O'CONNELL'S CAREER

The "Young Ireland" Party.—As O'Connell advanced in age, he tended to become more autocratic and less able to endure amongst his followers independence of views or divergence of method. Just at this time, as it happened, there was gathering round him a circle of young men who, while they admired and respected him, were too able themselves to be content to be mere echoes of his opinion or servants of his will. Amongst these "Young Irelanders," as they came later to be called, were several brilliant writers of prose and of verse, such as Thomas Davis, Charles Gavan Duffy and John O'Hagan.

For literary talent of this sort there was, in O'Connell's scheme of politics, no place. The ends he sought were immediate; the means in which he believed direct. His treatment of the Irish language may be taken as an example of the strange limitations of his mind. Speaking it fluently himself, he never—save once to trick some Government reporters—used it on a public platform, even when addressing an audience, many of whom were unacquainted, or very imperfectly acquainted, with English. In the ancient tongue of Ireland he saw not a valuable national asset, not a worthy object of national pride, nor even a useful barrier against the influx of English ideas. To him it appeared merely an obstacle to Ireland's commercial prosperity, and therefore a thing to be cleared as speedily as possible out of her path.

Very different from this was the view of the majority of the Young Irelanders. In *The Nation* newspaper, founded by some of the most prominent of them in 1841, the preservation and cultivation of Gaelic was urged on the Irish people as a duty. There were articles on Irish place-names; descriptions of historic sites; old legends and folk-tales; episodes of Irish history. Spirited poems were written; old airs revived. Present-day politics were not forgotten, but they were not treated quite as O'Connell would have treated them; there was more hostility to England, a bolder and more democratic tone. Nationality was more

strongly insisted on as the great bond of union amongst the people of Ireland.

O'Connell viewed all this with a good deal of distrust and even jealousy, although his own position was as strong as ever. To the people at large he was still "the Liberator," in whom their confidence was boundless. He told them that Repeal was at hand, and they believed him. He himself can scarcely have felt at all so certain of success as he strove to appear. Only by the will of Parliament could Repeal be peacefully obtained. Parliament had, however, so far declined, by a very large majority, to as much as consider the question of dissolving the Union.

The "Monster Meetings": Alarm of the Government.—O'Connell now (1842–1843) tried another method, and organised in various parts of Ireland huge assemblies, known as "monster meetings," to which the people came in thousands; at one held at Tara at least a quarter of a million persons were present. A platform was erected from which O'Connell spoke, but, wonderful as was the power of his voice, its tones could reach the ears of only a relatively small part of the vast multitude. All, however, stood quietly in their ordered ranks; never was there the least impatience, the slighest interruption or sign of disorder. O'Connell had impressed on them the necessity of avoiding any disturbance, and no one dreamt of disobeying him.

Meanwhile, the Repeal Association had been infused with new life, and at "Conciliation Hall," a building newly erected in Dublin, frequent meetings were held. Arbitration Courts were set up, to which persons were invited to bring their disputes for adjustment, instead of having recourse to the ordinary processes of law.

The Government, thoroughly alarmed, used severe measures. It was declared that, if other means failed, the Repeal Movement would be suppressed by force. O'Connell answered with words of defiance. For some time he had begun to depart, in language at least, from the peaceful and law-abiding attitude which he had hitherto assumed. "I belong to a nation of 8,000,000," he said. "If Sir Robert Peel has the audacity to cause a contest to take place between the two countries, we will begin no rebellion, but—if he invades the constitutional rights of the Irish people—then *vae victis* between the contending parties." This language, if it meant anything, meant that O'Connell was willing to approve of the use of physical force as a last resort, if the aim for which he strove could not be reached by other means. Yet all this while he was boasting, publicly and privately, of the completely peaceful character of the agitation, and constantly warning his adherents to abstain from violence or disorder. The people obeyed him, but the belief was

general amongst them that the time would come when "the Counsellor" would give the word to take up arms.

A situation had come about which could not long continue unchanged. The Government was by no means certain that O'Connell would much longer desire to restrain the people, and still less convinced that, even should he be willing to do so, he would succeed. What the real intentions of O'Connell were it is not easy to say. It seems most probable that he believed that the Ministers would fear to incur the risk of opposing a demand so general, so emphatic and so plainly supported by threats far from difficult to translate into actions. In this he was mistaken. Whatever the risk was, Peel resolved to face it. Large numbers of troops were drafted into the country, and in October (1843) the blow was struck.

The Clontarf Meeting Proclaimed: Arrest of O'Connell: The "Traversers" tried and Condemned.—A monster meeting, to be held on the 8th of the month at Clontarf, near Dublin, had been arranged, and preparations for it had been going on for some weeks. Only on the previous afternoon (Saturday, October 7th) was a proclamation, signed by the Lord Lieutenant (Lord de Grey), issued, announcing that the meeting would not be allowed. Thousands of people were already on their way to Clontarf, many from the most remote parts of Ireland. O'Connell at once decided that the proclamation should be obeyed. He sent in all directions duly accredited messengers to meet the bodies of people on the various roads and desire them to return home. The measures taken were successful. The troops massed about the site of the intended meeting-place; the war-ships which had come into Dublin Bay; the cannon of the Pigeon-house fort which had been made ready, found nothing to do. Quietly and without disturbance the multitude dispersed. It was the supreme test of their obedience and their confidence in "the Liberator," and they stood it well.

From the affair of the Clontarf meeting may be dated the beginning of the downfall of O'Connell's Repeal Movement. It was apparent to all thinking men, though not at first to the masses in general, that his sagacity had been at fault, and his estimate of the strength of the English Government's determination a wholly mistaken one. He had told the people again and again that the Monster Meetings were perfectly legal, and that the Government would not dare to forcibly repress them. He had repeatedly assured them that if they would only obey him, and limit their activities within the boundaries of the Constitution, Repeal would, within a few months, be theirs. Now the Government had actually suppressed a meeting, and had made every preparation to compel obedience to its decree by military force, if this were found necessary.

As the trusted weapon had broken in O'Connell's hand, till a new one could be forged, should this be possible, Repeal appeared to have receded into the distance.

The first blow dealt by the Government was soon followed by another. Before the end of October, O'Connell, with eight of his chief supporters, was arrested on a charge of "Conspiracy and other Misdemeanours." They were, however, at once admitted to bail, and their trial was not commenced till the January of 1844. In the composition of the jury great carelessness, or more probably great dishonesty, was shown. The names of over twenty Catholics were omitted from the panel, from which the names of the actual jurors were to be drawn.* When the names were drawn, they were found to include those of eleven Catholics. All these were challenged by the Crown, so that no single man of his own creed found a place amongst those before whom the great leader of the Irish Catholics was to be arraigned.

The result was, under these circumstances, a foregone conclusion. The charge of the Chief Justice showed the grossest partiality. The "traversers" were found guilty. In May (1844) the sentence was pronounced. O'Connell was condemned to a fine of £2,000 and a year's imprisonment; the rest to lesser fines and imprisonments of nine months.

The place of confinement assigned to the prisoners was Richmond Jail, Dublin, but they suffered nothing except the loss of their liberty. Comfortable quarters were given them, and a good-sized garden for exercise. They were allowed the visits of their friends, could read, write, and receive letters as they pleased.

The Verdict Reversed by the House of Lords: Release of O'Connell.—The evident unfairness of the trial had excited comment, not only in Ireland and in England, but in the Catholic countries of Continental Europe, where O'Connell's career had long been followed with interest. The matter was brought up in the House of Commons by Lord John Russell, and when, in the interval between the verdict and the pronouncement of the sentence, O'Connell visited England, he was received with the greatest honour at several large meetings.

The Repeal Association had at once begun proceedings for the reversal of the sentence, and in September the case opened before the Upper House. The judges were five "Law Lords." The points urged by the advocates of the "traversers" were the error—if error it was—in the preparation of the jury-list; the exclusion of all Catholic jurors; the length and vagueness of the indictment, and the evident partiality

** When a special jury is to be formed, the names of all those on the jury-list are written on slips of paper and placed in a box. Forty-eight names are drawn, and of these each side may challenge, that is object to, twelve. Of the remaining twenty-four, the first twelve who answer their names in Court constitute the actual jury.*

of the judge. Lord Denman, Chief Justice of England, was convinced by these pleas, and condemned the Dublin trial in strong language; two of his colleagues endorsed his views, so that, by a majority of one, the Irish verdict was set aside. The proceedings had cost the Repeal Association £50,000.

On September 13th, O'Connell left Richmond Prison in apparent triumph. Mounted on a car of great height, he passed slowly through the Dublin streets, looking down on the applauding multitudes, to his house in Merrion Square. As he moved through College Green, the gesture by which he pointed to the old Parliament House was observed and understood. Far away, in remote glens and on mountain sides, bonfires hailed the "Liberator's" release. Odes in English, and in the old Gaelic tongue which he had valued so little, welcomed him back to the leadership of his people.

In very truth, however, there was little reason for rejoicing. O'Connell was almost seventy years of age; he was already stricken with the brain disease of which he died; above all he was disheartened. His constitutional agitation had failed to produce the results which he had so confidently promised. He was too sagacious to believe that the reversal of his sentence by the House of Lords indicated any weakening in the resolve of the English Government to resist Repeal by all the means in their power.

Still, O'Connell allowed no sign of discouragement to appear in his public words or actions. No further attempt was made to hold Monster Meetings, but to Conciliation Hall crowds flocked to listen to speeches little less optimistic than those in which, a couple of years previously, a speedy triumph had been promised to the people's cause.

The Queen's Colleges.—Peel appeared now desirous of trying by conciliatory measures to calm the resentment felt by the Irish people at the continuance of a system of government wholly contrary to the wishes of the vast majority. A sum of £30,000 was voted for the enlargement of Maynooth Ecclesiastical College, the annual grant being also raised from £9,000 to £26,000. An attempt was made to establish a second Irish University, by founding three "Queen's Colleges" in Belfast, Cork and Galway, the two latter being intended especially for Catholics, who, as a rule, strongly objected to the exclusively Protestant tone of Dublin University. The colleges themselves were indeed to be undenominational, but on the senate of the "Queen's University" (founded 1850 as a link between the colleges), as well as on the teaching staffs of the colleges, Catholic prelates and priests were to be appointed.

To this scheme O'Connell was wholly opposed. His influence, no doubt, counted for much in the pretty general opposition to the colleges

which grew up. They were condemned by the Catholic hierarchy, and finally by Rome (1848). The Belfast College, intended for the education mainly of Ulster Presbyterians, attracted large numbers of students, but the two southern foundations dwindled more and more. They merely dragged on their existence, till the foundation of the Royal University in 1878 made them part of a new educational scheme, which itself endured no more than 30 years.

Growth of the Young Ireland Party : Its Final Split with the Old Repealers.—Meanwhile, O'Connell made no decided political move. The Young Ireland party grew in strength, although as yet its hold on the masses of the rural population was not great, and by their clergy it was generally opposed. New men, whose respect for the "Liberator" was less, while at the same time their hostility to England was greater, began to speak again of the "physical force method," now for almost half-a-century discredited in Ireland. Of these, John Mitchel, an Ulsterman and a Protestant, and Thomas Meagher were amongst the most notable. William Smith O'Brien, also a Protestant and a member of the family of Lord Inchiquin, joined later.

In April, 1846, they founded the "Eighty-Two Club," with the object of enlisting in the Repeal Movement the more educated classes, and especially the Protestants, whom they held to have been alienated by the too exclusively denominational tone of O'Connell's propaganda. O'Connell himself, who was tending towards an alliance with the Whig Party in England, viewed these proceedings with increasing jealousy and distrust. The death of Thomas Davis, in September 1845, had proved an irreparable loss to the Young Irelanders, of whom he was, as a politician, probably the ablest, although in the Ireland of to-day, he is remembered chiefly by the stirring rhetoric of his poems. Those who remained were little inclined to submit to the dictation of an old man, whose defects and present deficiencies were more before their minds than his merits and his past services to the cause of Ireland.

The crisis came in the summer of 1846. At a meeting in Conciliation Hall, O'Connell read aloud a series of resolutions, which he declared embodied the fundamental principles of the Repeal Association. One of these laid down that, never and under no circumstances, should physical force be resorted to in order to attain the political ends for which they strove. Some of the Young Irelanders, notably Mitchel and Meagher, opposed this, though they added that, for the present at least, the question was an abstract one, as they did not at all contemplate the attempting of an insurrection then or in the near future. They would not, they said, condemn the action in the past of such men as Tone and Emmet. It might have been more prudent

to have allowed the matter to drop, but O'Connell insisted, and the resolutions were passed. Shortly afterwards (July 27th) there was another violent debate, at the conclusion of which Mitchel, Meagher, Gavan Duffy and some others left the Hall. The split was now final. The Young Irelanders founded an Association of their own, called the Irish Confederation (January, 1847).

Death of O'Connell.—The closing year of O'Connell's life had been darkened by the Great Famine, and the shadow of it was still over Ireland when he quitted it for ever, to endeavour to restore his health by foreign travel. He set out for Rome, but did not reach it. He died at Genoa, May 15th, 1847, being then aged nearly 72 years. In accordance with his dying wishes, his heart was conveyed to Rome and there interred. The body of the Liberator lies in Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin, amongst the Irish people for whom he had laboured so long, and who had loved and trusted him so well.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
The Nation newspaper founded	1841
Clontarf meeting proclaimed	1843
Trial and sentence of O'Connell (May)	1843
Sentence reversed. O'Connell released (September)	1843
The Queen's Colleges founded	1845
Breach between O'Connell and the Young Irelanders	1846
The Irish Confederation founded	1847
Death of O'Connell	1847

CHAPTER XIV

THE FAMINE

Poverty in Ireland : The Potato Blight.—It has already been mentioned (*Chap. XI*) that during the earlier part of the nineteenth century a large proportion of the Irish people lived habitually on the verge of destitution. The food of about one-third of the population was almost exclusively potatoes, with which the better-off drank milk.

As the people thus depended for their subsistence on one crop alone, it may well be conceived with what dismay the appearance of a strange disease amongst the potatoes was observed in 1845. Within a few days fields which had been filled with promising green plants showed nothing but withered stalks, and under them roots reduced to a black and rotten mass. Luckily, the early crop had been raised before the disease appeared, so that the distress, although great, was less than it would otherwise have been.

When again the time for digging drew near; the peasants watched their little potato gardens with anxious eyes, dreading to see the withering of the leaves, and to notice the sickly smell which heralded the approach of the scourge. They had but too much reason for their fears. The potato crop of 1846 was practically a total failure ; the blight was nearly everywhere ; potatoes to the value of £16,000,000 were destroyed. The despairing people saw themselves menaced with the most terrible of all fates—death by hunger.

Patience of the People : Their Sufferings.—It is true that the country produced that year a supply of food far more than sufficient to feed the population, but it was sold and exported. Ships coming into the ports of Ireland laden with meal and flour, given by the charity of foreign nations to maintain life and barely life in the starving peasants, met other ships bearing from her shores the corn which these very peasantry had sown and cultivated and reaped ; the cattle which they had fed and tended. Lord John Russell, the English Minister, refused to close the ports. The starving people submitted and they died. Through villages where men, women and children were perishing of hunger went lines of carts laden with sacks of grain, but there was no attempt to seize them.

The famine grew and extended, affecting, first the labourers who

could find no work; the cottiers who had no savings. Then came the turn of the small farmers, who had relied on their patches of potatoes to support themselves and their families, and on their corn and their few head of cattle to pay the rent. The shopkeepers lost their customers; the servants were turned adrift by employers unable any longer to maintain them.

By the roadside the people lay down and died. Neighbours, entering a cabin, sometimes found within the corpses of all those who had dwelt there. Starving crowds made their way to the newly-built Workhouses, where the iron discipline parted husband from wife, parent from child; often to meet no more on earth, for, in the overcrowded buildings the "famine fever" raged, and every morning a cart-load of corpses was conveyed to the great pit dug in the churchyard to receive them. Soon the Workhouses were full; admission had to be refused to the numbers who clamoured for it.

Those who could in any way collect the needed passage-money, fled in thousands across the Atlantic. The wretched emigrants were crowded, men, women and children, into vessels, many of which were old and unseaworthy, so that not a few foundered in mid-ocean, and crews and passengers perished. Amongst those who came on board were generally some already stricken with fever, and the disease spread like wildfire. In some instances more than a hundred corpses were flung overboard in the course of the voyage. The survivors carried the disease with them when they landed, and the hospitals of New York, Montreal, and many other American cities were soon crowded with cases, very large numbers of which proved fatal.

Relief Measures.—It was long before the English Government awoke to a full realisation of the magnitude of the disaster which had overtaken Ireland. When at last it was understood that the problem of how to feed some 3,000,000 persons had to be faced, so many formalities were gone through before any action was taken that, by the time that the relief schemes were got into working order, thousands of those for whose benefit they had been devised were already in their graves.

The schemes were, moreover, faulty and unsuitable, badly conceived and badly managed, uniting a minimum of advantage with a maximum of expense. Contrary to the advice of many experienced Irishmen, and notably of O'Connell, Relief Works on a large scale were started (March, 1846), half the expense of which was to be borne by Government and half by the local rates. The works undertaken were, and were intended to be, for the most part useless. Roads were constructed which led into the middle of bogs and stopped there; piers stretched out into the ocean, opposing themselves to the fury of the Atlantic billows, which, in a few years or less, swept them away.

In the payment of crowds of officials a great part of the available funds were frittered away. Persons not in need of relief obtained employment by means of "influence," while the destitute and deserving were often refused. In some very poor districts no more than one man out of ten or twelve was taken on the works. Everywhere there was fraud, waste and demoralisation. Meanwhile, the famine continued to claim its victims; the little children especially perishing in huge numbers.

Of the resident landlords many did their duty nobly. Some were ruined by the lavishness of their charity. On the other hand, there were surprising instances of heartlessness, amongst the absentees especially. There were parishes in which practically the whole population was reduced to a state of utter destitution, while the lord of the soil, dwelling in London or in Paris, subscribed not a penny for their relief, and merely grumbled that his rents were not remitted to him as usual. Perhaps even, he desired his agent to serve notices of eviction on the starving peasants, and to fling them out to die on the roadside.

After about a year of trial, the Government at last decided that the Relief Works were a mistake, and adopted the plan originally suggested by O'Connell of simply distributing food. Local Relief Committees were formed, and those wholly destitute were given rations of food free. The number relieved is stated to have been about 3,000,000 persons in all. This scheme cost to carry out hardly a third of what had been expended on the Relief Works, and certainly did far more for the relief of the people. If it had been adopted earlier, the lives of thousands would probably have been saved.

Private charity and associations formed for the purpose contributed generously to the relief of the starving Irish. Religious communities also did their share. In England, too, much was done, and Continental countries instituted collections. A section of the English Press indulged in sneers at the "begging" of the Irish; forgetting that, for this "begging," the misgovernment of their own country was mainly responsible, and also that the famine was so far artificial that, had the food grown in Ireland been conserved by the State, and its export forbidden, the needs of a population considerably larger than the actual one could have been amply provided for.

By the closing months of 1847 the distress had greatly lessened. The harvest was a very good one, and, before the end of the year, the famine might be regarded as over. Its effects, however, long remained.

Results of the Famine.—The classes which had been the employers of labour had been greatly impoverished. The smaller farmers had been obliged to sell their live-stock, their implements, often even their seed-corn. They had no money to replace these, or to carry on agricultural

operations as before. The labourers who had worked for them found themselves without means of subsistence. Wages sank, and many were willing to give their services in return for mere food. Public works were started, an Act of Parliament voting 1½ millions for the purpose. Those of the exiles who had prospered in their new homes across the Atlantic sent large sums of money to their distressed relatives at home. Slowly the country began to recover. Other results of the famine there were, however, which did not so speedily pass; which, indeed, are still with us.

For over two centuries previous to 1846, the population of Ireland had been generally increasing; even the great famines of the eighteenth century had not checked, save very partially and temporarily, the prevailing tendency. During the years 1845, 1846 and 1847, probably at least a million persons had died of starvation or of disease resulting from it; more than as many had left the country, the vast majority going to the United States. The resultant diminution of population would, under ordinary circumstances, have been repaired in twenty years or less, but this was not to be. Owing to a variety of circumstances, the tide of emigration continued to flow. At length a custom was established. It became almost a matter of course that some members of every family amongst the small farmers and the labourers should, when eighteen or twenty years of age, cross the Atlantic to seek their fortunes. Those who went were generally the most vigorous and most intelligent of the sons and daughters. Very few of them ever returned to their native land; save, if they had prospered especially, for a passing visit. Owing chiefly to this constant drain, the population declined. Each census showed a considerable decrease. The 8,175,000 odd of 1841 had changed in 1857 to about 6½ millions. Thirty years later there were about 5,000,000 persons in Ireland. The last census (1911) shows not much more than 4¾ millions. The rate of decrease is however becoming less rapid, which is a hopeful sign.

The Irish emigrants who, during the famine years, left their native land for America, carried to their new homes a bitter hatred of England, to whose prejudices, injustices and, perhaps, deliberate malice and treachery they ascribed their sufferings. This feeling they have handed on to their descendants, and the Irish element in the United States has more than once influenced profoundly international relations and the trend of public feeling in regard to questions affecting the British Empire.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Beginning of the Famine	1845
Relief Works started	1846
State Scheme of Food Distribution	1847
End of the Famine	1848

CHAPTER XV

THE " FORTY-EIGHT " MOVEMENT

THE end of the famine found the masses of the Irish people reduced in number and depressed in spirit. Their great leader was dead. A sea of suffering divided them from the days of Emancipation and of the Mass Meetings.

Different Views of the Two Sections of the Young Irelanders.—On the Young Irelanders, on the other hand, the sight of the tortures and death of so many of their fellow-countrymen had produced a feeling of savage anger ; for to the action and the inaction of the British Government they ascribed much or all of the horrors that had taken place. In the Confederation, though those who inclined to moderate counsels were much more numerous, yet the extremists, of whom Mitchel was the most prominent, had the advantage of possessing a definite programme. They desired total separation from England, and the setting up of an Irish Republic on the lines indicated by the men of '98. For the present, resistance should be offered by the refusal to pay excessive rents, by opposing the export of food and so forth ; but, at the same time, arms should be collected, and the young men trained in the use of them, so that the country should be ready for an insurrection whenever an opportunity seemed to present itself.

To these views and to this programme the majority of the members of the Confederation refused to assent. Many, while unwilling to subscribe to the principle that force may never be resorted to in order to attain a political end, yet considered that to employ it in the Ireland of 1848 was neither justifiable nor expedient.

Though discouraged, they continued to believe that, by means of obstruction tactics in Parliament, Repeal or some other form of legislative independence could be attained, and this was the general policy of *The Nation* newspaper. From it Mitchel seceded, and founded a journal of much more extreme views, *The United Irishman.*

There were thus three distinct parties in Ireland to whom the title of Nationalist might be applied : the old Repealers, the Confederationists, and the party of Mitchel and *The United Irishman.* None of these

had the advantage which had belonged to the Catholic Association or the Repeal Association of O'Connell's day; that of possessing a recognised leader.

Revolution in France: Its influence on Irish Politics: Arrest, Trial and Transportation of Mitchel.—During the closing months of 1847, and the opening ones of 1848, a revolutionary spirit made itself apparent in Continental Europe. Hungary struggled to shake off the yoke of Austria; the states of Italy rose against their rulers. Most important of all for Ireland, Louis Philippe, King of the French, was driven from his throne (February, 1848). The ease with which, in Paris, a government generally regarded as strong had been overthrown, encouraged many of the Confederationists to hope that an Irish insurrection would be attended with similar success. The analogies between the situations of the two countries were insisted on, and the differences ignored.

The "physical force" party were far from imitating the methods of the United Irishmen of an earlier day. No concealment of either their aims or the means by which they hoped to attain them was attempted. Mitchel's journal, during its few months of existence, poured forth a continuous stream of ably written and fiery articles, in which open warfare against the power of England was advocated as the only means by which national freedom could be attained. The French revolution was pointed to as a model to be followed, and a deputation was despatched to Paris with a congratulatory address, which Lamartine, then head of the Provisional Government, received but coldly and replied to by vague expressions of good will.

The end of all this could easily be foretold. Soldiers were poured into Ireland from across the Channel, and, in March 1848, Mitchel, Smith O'Brien and Meagher were arrested. Two months later Mitchel was arraigned under the new Treason Felony Act, by which the use, in speeches or in writings, of language calculated to cause or encourage rebellion was made punishable by transportation. After a trial which lasted only four days, he was found guilty and condemned to fourteen years' transportation.

It had been generally believed by the adherents of Mitchel that the arrest of their leader was to be the signal for the beginning of the intended insurrection, the opening scene of which would be furnished by an attempted rescue. The bulk of the Confederationists, however, including even many whose political programme accorded with that of *The United Irishman* journal, considered that the proper time for the rising had not yet come, and made every effort to induce the more extreme Mitchelites to wait patiently a few months more. Their exhortations and arguments

were successful, and Mitchel was quietly placed on board a vessel and conveyed to Tasmania, the destined place of his exile.

The Attempted Rising in Munster: Arrest and Trial of the Leaders: They are Transported.—The trials of O'Brien and Meagher had ended in a disagreement of the jury and the discharge of the two prisoners, who were therefore free to develop their plans. A new paper, *The Irish Felon*, of even more revolutionary tendency than *The United Irishman*, appeared. The suppression of this was the first of the final blows struck by Government against the organisation. It was followed up in July by the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, and a proclamation ordering the arrest of the principal leaders.

Of the men named some concealed themselves, but the bolder spirits resolved to risk everything on the chance of an immediate insurrection in Munster. This province, being permeated by the political clubs on which the Confederation chiefly relied, was regarded as most suitable for the opening scenes of the hoped-for revolution. O'Brien and John Blake Dillon were to start the movement in the southern counties, but they everywhere met with discouragement. Nothing was prepared in the local centres. Leaders, supplies, and an adequate stock of weapons were alike wanting. The clergy in every parish warned the people not to court destruction for themselves and ruin for their families by engaging in an enterprise, the utter hopelessness of which was too evident to need demonstration.

Under these circumstances, the fact that O'Brien and Dillon succeeded in enlisting no more than a few hundred almost unarmed peasants is less surprising than that they secured any followers at all. The little troop reached Ballingarry (Co. Tipperary) and attacked a small body of police, who had taken possession of a farmhouse which they barricaded, and whence they fired on their assailants, of whom two were killed and several wounded. As O'Brien, from motives of humanity, refused to allow the building to be set on fire, the peasants renounced the enterprise and dispersed. The insurrection so long prepared was over in a few hours. The consequences were to follow.

A few days after the Ballingarry affray O'Brien was arrested in Thurles, but Dillon succeeded in making his escape to America.

Through the succeeding months a dreary series of state-trials dragged on. O'Brien, Meagher and two others were arraigned for High Treason, the rest on the lesser charge of treason-felony. The four former were convicted, and received the capital sentence.

They were not, however, to suffer death. The examples of 1798 and 1803 had, perhaps, taught the Government that, though the law may ignore the distinction, the public conscience and the public voice will

not place the man who acts, however mistakenly, from patriotic motives, on the same level as the ordinary murderer or the thief, and that the blood shed by the political, as by the religious martyr, benefits much the cause for which he dies, but not at all that of its enemies. The sentences on the four prisoners were commuted to transportation for life, and they were sent a little later to Tasmania.

Of these arraigned under the Treason-Felony Act, the greater number were convicted and sentenced to various terms of transportation. In the case of Gavan Duffy, the charge was altered to one of High Treason. His trial, however, proved abortive. He was tried no less than three times, but always with the same result. Finally, owing in a great measure to the public feeling raised by the persistent efforts of the Crown to secure by any means a conviction, he was released.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Revolution in France. Abdication of Louis Philippe*)	(February) 1848
Trial, Condemnation and Transportation of Mitchel	(May) 1848
Attempted Rising in the South . .	(August) 1848

CHAPTER XVI

LAND TROUBLES. THE TENANT LEAGUE

Discontent in Rural Districts : The Encumbered Estates' Act.—In the rural districts of Ireland there was at this time deeply-rooted discontent and indignation amongst the people. The famine had aggravated the land troubles, and evictions with all their attendant misery were terribly frequent. Much of this was due to the wanton greed of men who wished to re-let at higher rents the land whose value the toil of the poor peasants' hands had increased. But there were also numbers of landlords, naturally humane and anxious to do justice, whose estates were so much in debt that, when the interest on the various mortgages and so forth were paid, there remained but the narrowest margin for their own use. They were, therefore, faced with the alternative of either exacting their full rents or starving.

The British Government, considering this state of things, conceived a scheme for putting the lands of these practically insolvent proprietors in the market, hoping that those who purchased them would be able and willing to improve their estates, and consequently the condition of the tenantry.

The Irish Encumbered Estates Bill was introduced into Parliament in February, 1848. It met with little opposition, and passed into law in the following July. According to its provisions the debt-encumbered estates could, on the petition of either the owner or the creditors, be put up for sale and disposed of by a summary process.

Whatever were the intentions of the framers of the Act, the time chosen for it was extremely unfortunate. The impossibility of obtaining rents during the famine had sunk in debt many estates which, if time had been allowed, could have gradually recovered and discharged their liabilities. This delay was not granted. Great quantities of land were hurried into the market, so that prices fell, and what was realised barely sufficed, in numerous instances, to pay off the charges, leaving practically nothing over for the former proprietor.

Neither did the tenants, as a rule, derive much benefit from the Act. Often, indeed, they found themselves in worse case than before. The new landlord, not unnaturally, desired to make a profit on his outlay, and frequently did so by a general raising of rents.

"The Ulster Tenant Right": The Tenant League.—As the new legislation, therefore, scarcely at all diminished the grievances under which the people suffered, the discontent continued to grow, and soon a great outcry arose all over the country against the injustice of the Land Laws, accompanied by an insistent demand for their alteration. In the Northern Province a custom prevailed by which a tenant acquired what was called an "interest" in the land which he cultivated, and could dispose of this when he vacated the farm. The value of this "Interest" varied largely, according chiefly to the amount of "unexhausted improvements" made by the seller, but even when no improvements had been made, something was paid. The land was disposed of often without consulting the landlord, whose only concern was considered to be that he should receive his rent as originally fixed. As long as a tenant paid this rent he had practical fixity of tenure. This was, in truth, a survival of the old Irish system of land tenure; but, as it had remained only in Ulster, it came to be known as "Ulster Tenant Right." At the period of which we are speaking, it was a custom only, unrecognised by law, and enforced merely by public opinion and the inconvenience, or even peril, which might result to any person violating it.

It is not to be supposed that, even in Ulster, many grievances did not exist in connection with land tenure, and we find northerns now joining with the more oppressed tenants of the south in a general demand for redress. At a Conference held in Dublin in 1850, Catholic priests and Presbyterian clergymen, landlords and tenants met. Resolutions were drawn up and agreed to, demanding such alterations in the Land Laws as would establish a fair rent for agricultural holdings; protect the tenant from eviction as long as he paid this rent, and enable him to sell his "interest" at its full value when giving up the land. In order to carry out this programme by the exercise of pressure on Parliament, a society to be called "The Irish Tenant League" was founded.

The movement spread rapidly, and grew in strength month by month. Unfortunately, the forces which were to destroy its power were already at work.

The Ecclesiastical Titles' Act: Ruin of the Tenant League.—In the autumn of 1850, the Pope (Pius IX) issued a Bull directing the Catholic Archbishops and Bishops of England to use the titles of the Sees which they administered. The change was merely as to name, for they

already performed all the functions appertaining to their office, each in a diocese assigned to him. Nevertheless the order received from Rome produced a regular burst of anti-Popery fury in England, to which Lord John Russell, the Premier, pandered by the introduction of his "Ecclesiastical Titles' Bill" (February, 1851), by which any ecclesiastic of the Catholic Church was forbidden to assume a title from any place in the United Kingdom. The Bill passed, but was, from the beginning, a dead letter. No one took any notice of its provisions; no one was punished for disobedience to them. In Ireland, however, the effects of the measure were important and disastrous.

The comments of the English Press on the Papal Bulls, which were echoed by the Orange journals, still more than the action of the Parliament had excited great indignation amongst the Irish Catholics. Some were really fearful of possible injury to the interests of the Church. Others merely desired to make capital for themselves out of the situation, and acquire a cheap popularity. Of these latter, two, William Keogh, a barrister by profession, and John Sadleir, a Tipperary banker, were the chief. Both were men of undoubted ability, and Sadleir was supposed to possess great wealth. As a result chiefly of their efforts, a Catholic Defence Association was formed.

In vain such men as Gavan Duffy pointed out that this movement would endanger the work of the Tenant League; that a renewal of sectarian animosities would dissolve that union in it of men of different creeds which alone made it formidable, and gave it hopes of success. "The Pope's Brass Band," as the Sadleir party was nicknamed by its opponents, succeeded in a great measure in turning the people's attention aside from the real and formidable foe of landlordism, and inducing them to expend their energies in attacks on a mere phantom.

In spite of the division in its ranks, the League was still strong. At the General Election of 1852, almost half of the members returned for Irish constituencies were pledged to support the resolutions of the Dublin Conference. It appeared as if nothing further was needed to insure success than an independent policy in Parliament. Scarcely any Government would be strong enough to resist the force of a solid band of fifty who steadily opposed it; scarcely any would deem its support too dearly bought at the price of agrarian reform. But defeat came when triumph seemed at hand. When the list of appointments made by Lord Aberdeen, the new Premier, appeared (January, 1853), it was read in Ireland with rage and horror. The "Brass Band" had sold itself to the Government—Keogh was Solicitor-General for Ireland; Sadleir was a Lord of the Treasury; some of their followers received minor appointments.

By this treachery the Tenant League was ruined. The peasants whose cause it had championed remained without defence. Disunion and disaffection spread. Of the members who entered Parliament pledged to support the League, more than half deserted it. In 1855, Gavan Duffy, who, with the assistance of a little band of patriots, had struggled on so far, abandoned the contest in despair and left Ireland for Australia.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
The Encumbered Estates' Act	1848
The Tenant League founded	1850
The Ecclesiastical Titles' Act	1851
The Catholic Defence Association	1851
Ruin of the Tenant League	1853

CHAPTER XVII

THE FENIANS

FOR the next few years there was tranquillity in Ireland. The activity of the constitutional politicians had ceased; the "physical force" party gave no sign of life. Within a decade each had made a great effort; both had failed. The English people in general believed that the Irish were at last "settling down," and that agitations and rebellions would be heard of no more. In truth, however, the apparent peace was but "smothered war."

The Phœnix Clubs.—Under the surface and little extended at first, a new revolutionary movement had begun. In Skibbereen, Co. Cork, a few young men founded, in 1856, a club, half literary, half political, to which they gave the name of the "Phœnix." The moving spirit was one Jeremiah O'Donovan, later to be known as "Rossa," from the place, Ross, where his family resided. The "Phœnix" men might have done little were it not that their activities came under the notice of James Stephens, who had taken part in the '48 rising, and had afterwards escaped to France, where he gained much information of the methods of secret conspiracy. In 1858, he visited Skibbereen, and aided O'Donovan to reorganise the club as a secret society. Branches were formed in many places in Cork and Kerry, and secret drilling was begun. Stephens had had opportunities of gauging the hatred of England which filled the hearts of those whom the Famine and the "clearances" which followed had driven across the Atlantic, and which their children had imbibed. He now confidently promised that, if a new rising were attempted in Ireland, American aid would not be wanting.

The Government, through its spies, became acquainted with every detail of the new movement, and in December 1858 it struck its blow. The "Phœnix" clubs were raided, and many of the most prominent members arrested.

They were tried with great solemnity at Tralee, but nothing further than membership of a secret society and engaging in secret drilling

could be proved against them. Acting on advice privately conveyed, they pleaded guilty, and were released. This episode, in itself unimportant, was the beginning of the Fenian movement.

The Fenian Brotherhood.—The idea of engineering an Irish revolution by means of American help was too promising to be easily abandoned. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Ireland had looked to Spain. In the eighteenth she turned to France. Now she held out her supplicating hands to America, but with a surer hope, for those whose aid she sought were not strangers, but her own exiled sons.

The actual originator of "The Irish Republican Brotherhood," founded in New York in 1858, was John O'Mahony, who, like Stephens, had joined in the '48 rising, and had been obliged, in consequence, to fly from Ireland. He was the first "Head Centre" or chief. A translation which he had once made of Geoffrey Keating's History had interested him in the Fianna, the militia of ancient Ireland, and he adopted as a title for the new society that of the "Fenian Brotherhood," by which it is still generally known and remembered.

The Fenian organisation resembled greatly that of the United Irishmen. The members in each district formed a "Circle," presided over by a "Centre." Unlike the earlier society, this was from the first a secret oath-bound association, of which the avowed objective was to achieve, by force of arms, the complete political independence of Ireland. It differed, too, in pushing its propaganda chiefly amongst the lower and lower-middle classes. The task of establishing the Brotherhood in Ireland was confided to James Stephens. He found plenty of material ready to hand. He established numbers of Circles, and in the towns especially, the movement spread rapidly. He was ably assisted by O'Donovan Rossa, John O'Leary, Charles Kickham, Thomas Clarke Luby, and many others; most of them young and inexperienced men, but all filled with the spirit of the purest patriotism, and ready to sacrifice all their possessions, and even their very lives, for what they believed to be the good of Ireland.

Across the Atlantic, too, the Fenians enlisted, especially after 1860, huge numbers of recruits. When the American Civil War broke out in 1861, it was said that in some of the Irish regiments practically every man was a sworn member of the Brotherhood. Even in Ireland and in England something of the same sort occurred, though to a much smaller extent. There were Fenians in the army, the navy, the civil service, some even of the jailers and warders of the prisons had taken the oaths. It was this more than anything else which disconcerted the British

Government and the English people. Fenianism was a hidden force, a secret mine; no one could tell how far it had extended its ramifications.

In the Catholic Church, Fenianism found its most dangerous foe. As regards secret societies, that Church has always been uncompromising. She condemns them both on moral and on social grounds. Fenianism was denounced from the altars, and individuals were refused Absolution, if they declined to withdraw from the Brotherhood. The Fenians retorted by condemnation of clerical interference in political questions, or by sneers at the timidity of the ecclesiastical authorities. Undoubtedly, the attitude of the bishops and priests deterred great numbers of Catholics from joining the organisation. The hostility of the Constitutional Nationalist party in Ireland, though much resented by the Fenians, had less influence. The failure of the Tenant Right movement had discredited it with the country, and the new " National League " did not find much favour.

In 1863, a weekly paper called *The Irish People* was established in Dublin, for the purpose of propagating the principles of Fenianism. Its literary quality was by no means so high as that of earlier publications of a similar kind. The men who conducted it had amongst them no writer to compare with Davis or Mitchel; but its circulation was considerable.

In April, 1865, the American Civil War ended. The Transatlantic Irish of the North and of the South, victors and vanquished, shook hands at the end of their long strife, and many of them, turning their thoughts to their motherland far across the ocean, resolved on striking a blow to wrest the old country from the power of England.

Soon the British Government learnt, through its spies, that almost every ship that crossed the Atlantic brought to Ireland men of military experience, the motive of whose coming was scarcely concealed. In Ireland itself there was said to be a force of some 75,000 men, well drilled and fairly well armed. It was evident that the intended rising would not long be delayed.

Arrest of the Fenian Leaders: The Canadian Raids.—As in '98, the Castle authorities were beforehand. In September 1865, O'Leary, Luby, O'Donovan Rossa and several other prominent Fenians were arrested. The office of *The Irish People* was raided, and the paper was suppressed. James Stephens eluded capture till November. He was lodged, when at last seized, in Richmond Prison (Dublin), but, by the aid of some of the warders who were themselves sworn members of the Brotherhood, he escaped and got safely out of the country. The others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment.

The Fenian organisation was less dependent than most of its predecessors in Ireland had been on a small group of leaders. The loss of those who lay in prison was little felt, especially as Stephens, who, though perhaps inferior in sincerity and in courage to most of his companions, surpassed them all in organising power, had regained his freedom.

In May, 1866, an attempt was planned to cross the frontier of the United States and attack the British power in Canada. The Washington authorities, after remaining for years conveniently deaf and blind to preparations which had been going on, suddenly roused themselves, seized the arms stored at the depôts, imprisoned several of the Fenian leaders, and ordered the St. Lawrence to be strictly guarded. Two bodies of Irishmen did succeed, however, in reaching Canadian territory. Col. John O'Neill, with some 1,400 men crossed to the village of Fort Erie, and defeated a troop of "The Queen's Own Volunteers." He was, however, obliged soon afterwards to surrender. A body from the State of Vermont had still less success. The Canadian troops drove them back across the frontier. Nothing further of importance was attempted in America.

Risings in Ireland: They are Suppressed.—Amongst the Irish Fenians there was profound discouragement. They had built much of their hopes on the American aid, and of its coming there was no sign. Still they would do something. They would, however desperate were the odds against them, try the chances of war.

As a result of their deliberations, risings in various parts of the country were decided on. One broke out (prematurely) in Cahirciveen (Co. Kerry) in February, 1867. Others followed (March) in several of the southern counties. At Tallaght, near Dublin, there were some slight skirmishes between the police and the insurgents.

All these movements were speedily suppressed. The insurgents scattered all over the country, and were arrested in hundreds. The rebellion, if such a name can be given it, was over. The price of it was to be paid. A greatly exaggerated account of the happenings in Ireland had reached the United States. A party of American officers and soldiers started from New York, towards the end of April. Their boat, *The Jacknell*, was loaded with arms and ammunition for the Fenians. These, however, they failed to land. They themselves got ashore in a fishing boat, but were immediately arrested.

The trials of the captured Irish and American Fenians now began. Severe sentences were passed on many. Some were even condemned to death, but all these had the death penalty commuted.

The "Manchester Martyrs": Clerkenwell Explosion.—Two of the Fenian leaders named Kelly and Deasy had been arrested in Manchester. As they were being conveyed to Salford gaol, an attack was made on the prison van by a band of Fenians (September, 1867). The prisoners were rescued, and not recaptured, but several of the assailants were secured. In the struggle a police-sergeant named Brett, who was on guard within the van, had been mortally wounded, and five of the captured Fenians were tried for his wilful murder.

All the witnesses save one, a fellow-prisoner, whose character was not such as to render her unsupported testimony of much weight, agreed in declaring that the pistol-shot by which the sergeant was killed was fired to blow off the lock of the van door. Thus the slaying could not fairly be described as "wilful."

This was in vain pointed out by the prisoners' Counsel. All England was crying for vengeance, and the din drowned, even in the courts of justice, the few voices that demanded at least fair treatment for the accused. One of these, Maguire, denied that he had formed part of the attacking party at all; the other four admitted and gloried in their share in the rescue, but solemnly declared that the death of Brett was an accident which they deeply regretted.

All five were condemned and sentenced to death. Afterwards, earnest representations were made to the authorities of the unreliable nature of the evidence on which Maguire had been condemned, with the result that he was pardoned and released. Edward Condon was also reprieved. The other three, Allen, Larkin and O'Brien, were executed (November 23rd, 1867).

The executions roused much angry feeling in Ireland. Articles in the Press denounced the injustice with which "The Manchester Martyrs" had been treated. Processions and mock funerals were held. The articles and the demonstrations were regarded by the authorities as "seditious," and writers and participants arrested, tried and imprisoned. This did not, as well may be imagined, calm the indignation or alter the opinion of the country.

One more event, the last notable one in the history of the Fenian Movement, may be briefly mentioned. In December, 1867, an attempt was made to rescue two Fenian prisoners, who were confined in Clerkenwell prison, by blowing down the outer wall with gunpowder. The Fenians happened, at the time of the explosion, not to be, as they usually were at that hour of the afternoon, in the exercise yard. This was fortunate for them, as they would otherwise assuredly have fallen victims to the efforts of their friends. A portion of the wall of the prison was

blown in, and several adjacent houses wholly or partially destroyed. Twelve persons were killed and more than fifty others seriously injured. Several arrests were made, but against only one of the prisoners, a man named Barrett, was the evidence sufficient to warrant his execution. By the Fenian leaders in general this dastardly outrage was condemned.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
(*Revolution in France. Napoleon III Emperor*)	1852
(*The Crimean War*)	1854–1856
The Phœnix Clubs	1856–1858
The Fenian Brotherhood founded	1858
(*The American Civil War*)	1861–1865
Arrest of the Fenian Leaders	1865
The Canadian Raids	1866
Attempted Risings in the South	1867
The Manchester Rescue	(September) 1867
The Clerkenwell Explosion	(December) 1867

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DISESTABLISHMENT OF THE IRISH CHURCH

THE Fenian outbreak had both enraged and astonished the English people. They had believed that the Irish had no longer any cause to be discontented with the rule of the British Government; that, in point of fact, they were not discontented.

At first indignation was the more prominent feeling, but, when this had had time to cool, the more thoughtful began to seek an explanation, not chiefly of the actions of the Fenian themselves, but of the general sympathy with which they were regarded by huge numbers of people in every part of Ireland who had been in no way connected with the rebellion.

The most probable explanation appeared to be that there were still grievances unredressed; the most obvious course was to endeavour to redress them.

State of the Irish Established Church: Projects of Disestablishment. One institution there certainly was in Ireland which was an anomaly; even, viewed in some aspects, an absurdity. This institution was the Protestant Established Church. This Church had been set up during the century which followed the Reformation, on a scale which would enable it to provide for the spiritual needs of the entire population of Ireland. It was provided with a sufficient number of archbishops, bishops, rectors, other ecclesiastical dignitaries, and curates. Churches for its services were built; tithes and dues should be paid to it by all; yet, of the 5¾ million persons or thereabouts who lived in Ireland in 1861, not much more than one out of every ten desired or would have accepted the ministrations of the Church of Ireland clergy. Four and a half millions were Catholics; of the remainder, more than half a million were Dissenters, chiefly Presbyterians.

There had been hints of Disestablishment as early as 1835, and these had been repeated in 1844 and in 1849. The project, however, met with little favour, and nothing more was heard of it for several years.

Amongst the masses of the Irish people there was not the smallest hostility felt towards the clergy of the Established Church, now that the Tithe Act had made them no longer the collectors of a detested impost.

On the contrary, they were often very popular in their districts, where priest and parson were frequently close friends. Many had generously spent themselves in work for the relief of the victims of the Famine, and this was remembered with gratitude. That much public money was spent on episcopal salaries and so forth was a matter too remote from the cognisance of the ordinary man to arouse in him any keen feeling of injustice.

Thus, if the British Government selected the Irish Church Establishment as the grievance first to be attacked, its selection was certainly not due to any special insistence by the Irish themselves on this particular point.

In 1867, Earl Russell moved for a Commission to enquire into the property of the Irish Church and its condition generally. Nothing was said of Disestablishment, but the intention of the motion was obvious. The Commission was appointed, and in the following year made its report. The state of things revealed undoubtedly showed need for reform. Of the 1,478 parishes into which Ireland was divided, only 181 showed a resident Protestant Episcopalian population exceeding 1,000; in 201 there were less than forty; in ninety-one of these less than twenty of that creed. This last category included several parishes in which there was not a single Protestant. The incomes attached to most of the Sees were high, but those of the parochial clergy were the reverse. Some of the incumbents were very badly paid, and this was still more the case with the curates. The net income of the Established Church was declared to be £580,000 per annum; the value of its property £15,000,000.

There could be no doubt that a determined attack on the Establishment was intended. An attempt to unite all the Protestants of Ireland in defence of the menaced Church met with little success. The Dissenters; Presbyterians, Methodists, Quakers, and the rest could not easily or rapidly forget the treatment meted out to their ancestors by the ecclesiastical authorities of the Established creed, in the old days when the ascendancy of that creed was unchallenged, and the fierce opposition offered when the removal of any of their grievances was proposed. At most, they faintly opposed or remained silent.

One very strong, and indeed unanswerable, argument the defenders of the Irish Church could certainly advance. The fifth article of the Act of Legislative Union had declared that the Churches of England and Ireland, as by law established, should be united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, and "the continuance and preservation of the said United Church as the Established Church of England and Ireland shall be . . . an essential and fundamental part of the Union." Logically,

the removal of a "fundamental" part of an Act would seem to involve the rescinding *ipso facto* of the Act itself; so that, if the Establishment fell, the Union fell with it.

For such reasonings the politicians who were resolved on Disestablishment cared little. Times and circumstances changed, they said, and laws must change with them.

The fate of the Irish Church was one of the questions put before the electors at the General Elections of 1868, and when these resulted in the triumph of the Liberals, headed by Mr. Gladstone, the doom of that Church was sealed.

The Disestablishment of the Irish Church: Arrangements regarding the Property of the Church.—In March, 1869, Gladstone introduced in the Commons his Bill for Disestablishment. Several long debates followed, and great eloquence was displayed on both sides; but the majority of the Members evidently sided with the Government. In the Lords a stouter defence was made, and some of the spiritual peers fought a losing battle with spirit. It was, however, in vain. The Bill passed the Commons by an overwhelming majority, and the Upper House did not dare to oppose the people's will.

The Act received the Royal Assent in July, 1869. An interval for the making of needful arrangements was accorded, and then, on January 1st, 1871, the Irish Reformed Church ceased, as a State Establishment, to exist.

The task of dealing with the vast property of the late Establishment was handed over to a Commission. About half was formed into a fund to be used, as circumstances should determine, for charitable or educational purposes. The bulk of the remainder was to compensate the prelates, incumbents, curates and minor office-holders of the Church who were actually in possession, as well as the lay patrons of livings. A newly-created Board, "The Church Representative Body," dealt with the annuities, the capitalised value of which was passed over to them by the Commission. Arrangements as to the amounts to be paid by each diocese and each parish for the support of its prelate and clergy, and for the upkeep of the churches are also made by this body.

The doctrine and discipline of the Disestablished Church is under the care of a General Synod, consisting of an Upper and Lower House. In the former sit the archbishops and bishops; in the latter, elected representatives of the lower clergy and of the laity.

PRINCIPAL DATES	A.D.
Commission on the Irish Church	1867
Disestablishment Bill passes	1869
The Irish Church disestablished	1871
(*The Franco-German War*)	1870–1871

CHAPTER XIX

LAND LEGISLATION. THE HOME RULE MOVEMENT

SINCE the overthrow of the power of the Tenant Right League the Irish Land Question had lain more or less dormant, though the agrarian conditions were as unsatisfactory, and the discontent excited by them as great as before, and outrages following evictions continued in numbers.

The Land Act of 1870.—Some very bad cases of wholesale clearances, and especially certain incidents connected with the estate of a Mr. Scully, a Tipperary landlord, were commented on in the English Press, and excited a good deal of interest in England. It began to be understood that, in the words of a Tudor statesman, "the same order suiteth not for Ireland as for England," the conditions of the two countries being so different, and to be confessed that laws, the results of which were so deplorable, should be changed.

Gladstone, who considered that by the Disestablishment of the Church he had triumphantly and finally settled one Irish question, was confident of equal success in dealing with another. In 1870, he placed his Land Bill before Parliament, and with little opposition it passed into law. This measure legalised the Ulster Custom; entitled all tenants, if evicted for causes other than non-payment of rent, to receive both "compensation for disturbance" and the value of their improvements, empowered them to sell their "interest" with the landlords' consent, and arranged for advances of money, to be given through the Board of Works to those anxious to purchase their holdings.

Owing to a variety of causes the Irish Land Act of 1870, while it cannot be fairly described as an actual failure, by no means achieved the beneficial results confidently expected from it. The intense attachment of the Irish peasant to the soil which he, and perhaps his fathers before him for many generations, had tilled, had not been sufficiently considered. The assigned "compensation" for disturbance or improvements could only be obtained when he was actually evicted, and rather than be evicted he strove to pay excessive rents. At first he perhaps succeeded, often by borrowing a part of the money. Then he fell into arrears, and so was evicted finally without compensation. The Land Question was not yet solved.

The Home Rule League: Isaac Butt.—In the account of the Fenian Movement given in Chapter XVII, mention was made of the small success of the efforts of the Constitutional Irish Party to propagate their own principles, as opposed to those of the Republican Brotherhood, by the foundation of a new organisation called "The National League." By the end of the 'sixties, however, the aspect of things in Ireland had considerably changed. The failure of the Fenian risings had discredited the doctrine of Physical Force, and an opportunity appeared to be afforded for inducing the country to return to the methods of agitation within the limits of the law.

By the efforts of a small body of men, a semi-private conference was arranged, which met in Dublin in the May of 1870. The most notable figure was Isaac Butt, and it was by him that the most important resolution, which pledged the meeting to the view that "the true remedy for the evils of Ireland" was "the establishment of an Irish Parliament with full control over all domestic affairs" was proposed. Butt was at this time no longer young. Born in 1815 in Donegal, the son of a Protestant rector, he had early attained success at the Bar, and afterwards no little reputation as a politician. At first he was a strong supporter of the Union; it was as a Unionist that he entered Parliament in 1852. His political opinions, however, modified and finally changed. To his skilful defence of Gavan Duffy in 1848 was generally ascribed the failure of the Crown to secure a conviction; later he defended the Fenian prisoners. In some respects he greatly resembled O'Connell; in general appearance even, and in manner he was not dissimilar, but he lacked the versatility, the force, the personal fascination of the Liberator.

The programme of the "Home Rule League" differed considerably from that of O'Connell. Not "Repeal," or a reversal of the Act of Union, was sought, but the creation in Ireland of a subordinate Parliament which, with limitations and under conditions to be afterwards arranged, should deal with affairs affecting Ireland alone, while Imperial matters remained under the control of the Assembly at Westminster. This scheme had the advantage of enlisting the support of many whom a more ambitious project would have alarmed, for it appeared not incompatible with the maintenance of some part of the "Act of Union."

The Home Rule propaganda spread rapidly, and within the next few years its adherents gained several seats in Parliament. The Ballot Act of 1872, by which secret voting was established, robbed landlordism of much of its political power, and it began to be possible for the tenants, without risk to themselves, to give expression at the polling booth to their real wishes and opinions.

Home Rule Conference: Home Rulers in Parliament.—A great Conference in Dublin was arranged. In November 1873, the Rotunda, which had witnessed the meeting of the Volunteer Conference in November 1783, and seen it end in disaster and defeat, was now, after ninety years, the scene of another assembly, which, in different ways and by different means, sought, like the earlier one, a remedy for the ills of Ireland, but of an Ireland real and national, not merely of the narrow community for whom mainly, if not exclusively, the men of 1783 had interested themselves. The outcome of this conference was a decision that all the forces of the League should be employed to contest every possible constituency at the next General Election, and that the Members returned should band themselves together in Parliament in a solid body, independent of British Parties and intent only on obtaining, from Conservatives or from Liberals, the object for which they strove.

A General Election came sooner than was expected. In January, 1874, Gladstone dissolved Parliament. The Home Rulers' success at the polls exceeded anything for which they had dared to hope. Sixty members pledged to their principles were returned. It is true that, even then, not all those who triumphed under the aegis of the League genuinely wished for the success of the cause for which they were supposed to fight. In the bye-elections of the next few years this was still more the case. Many gentlemen, at heart Unionists, considered "Home Rule" merely a convenient cry by which the votes of the Irish people might be secured.

In England, naturally, the Home Rule cause found few friends; in Ireland even, it had many enemies. Besides the Unionists, it had against it the believers in "Physical Force," the remnants of the '48 men and the Fenians, or the inheritors of their traditions.

The fortunes of the Home Rulers in Parliament were, during the next few years, not such as could afford much encouragement to their friends. Keeping together and voting on important Irish questions as one man, they were yet constantly defeated by a British majority. Session after session the story was the same. Even the most hopeful began to lose heart. Whether at Ballingarry or at Westminster; whether with gunpowder or with words the battle was fought, the result for Ireland was, it seemed, the same. Generation after generation of her sons went out to combat for her cause, but victory was never theirs.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Gladstone's Land Act	1870
The Home Rule League founded	1870
(*Republic established in France*)	1871
The Ballot Act	1872
Home Rule Conference	1873

CHAPTER XX

PARNELL AND THE NEW PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS

Charles Stewart Parnell: The Obstruction Policy.—In 1875, a new member, recently elected for Co. Meath, and who had contested the seat on Home Rule lines, made his first appearance in the House of Commons. This was Charles Stewart Parnell, then a young man of 29, the great-grandson of Sir John Parnell, whose opposition to the Legislative Union had cost him his post. Parnell may be considered as having inherited a tradition of Irish public service, but most of his own childhood and youth had been spent in England or abroad. In spite of the physical advantages of a fine figure and a handsome face, he seemed very little fitted for the part of a popular leader anywhere, and least of all in Ireland. His manners were cold and distant; his style of speaking a measured statement of facts or arguments, in no way appealing to passion or even to imagination, and accompanied by few gestures. Yet, such as he was, he was destined to become, for a time, the most powerful and most trusted Irish political leader since the days of O'Connell.

At first Parnell did not take an active part in the work of Parliament. He employed himself in studying his future battle-field and the forces arrayed both for and against the party to which he belonged. He was not long in perceiving that, if the Irish cause were to make any headway, new tactics must be pursued. To enable an Irish vote, which, even if unanimous, most of necessity be in a minority, to prevail over that of the representatives of the rest of the United Kingdom was evidently impossible. Some means to induce a considerable number of the latter to alter their position in regard to Home Rule must, therefore, be found; that they could, as Butt still hoped, be convinced by the force of mere reason, Parnell did not for a moment believe.

Already (1875) the Member for Cavan, Mr. Joseph Biggar, had inaugurated a method of procedure from which something might be hoped. Unable to prevent the passage of an Irish Coercion Bill, he had aimed at delaying it, and at the same time punishing its authors, by talking about it at enormous length, while the House listened, enraged at the waste of time, but unable to prevent it, for the Honourable Member afforded no opportunity, either by irrelevancy or the use of "unparliamentary language," to those anxious to have him "called to order." This performance he later repeated in regard to other measures.

Parnell, noting and adopting the new tactics, made them his own by the introduction of improvements. Mere "obstruction" he did not indeed abandon; it continued to be employed frequently, both by himself and by those who ranged themselves under his command; but often, too, he conferred a real benefit on the people of England, by insisting on discussing at length important pieces of legislation which the Government desired to rush through the House.

Hitherto it had not been customary for the Irish members to interfere to any great extent in purely English matters. The improvements which often resulted from their amendments were ignored, and their "meddling" keenly resented. The House was now face to face, however, with a growing party, which was perfectly indifferent to its wrath or its approval. Evidently what it aimed at was to convince the Parliament, and through it the people of England, that the task of legislating with due care for three Kingdoms was too heavy for any one assembly, and also that to restore the Irish Parliament would enable the business at Westminster to be more rapidly and satisfactorily concluded, by removing to Dublin an obstructive, irritating and discordant element.

A band of helpers soon rallied round Parnell. Few were men of any particular ability, but all could talk at length; all could and did obey the orders of their chief. Long speeches, amendments, motions of adjournment followed each other in weary succession. "All-night sittings" became common; on one occasion the House was in session for twenty-two consecutive hours. It began to appear as if the chief qualification for a legislator was a capacity for enduring strain, and for abstaining for long periods from sleep and food.

All through the Session of 1878 and 1879 the conflict raged. By the older members of the Home Rule Party, and by Butt in particular, the tactics of their colleagues were regarded with no favourable eye. Their remonstrances were, however, ignored; and Butt was pushed aside. In 1877 Parnell became the acknowledged leader of the Home Rule League.

The Irish people were weary of the old policy; they hoped much from the new. The mantle of O'Connell had fallen on Parnell. He was "the uncrowned King of Ireland." Butt's services to the National cause were generally forgotten; his limitations, his timidity too clearly remembered. When, in May 1879, he died, it was felt by all but a few, and must have been realised even by himself, that he passed to his rest from a place that needed him no more.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Parnell enters Parliament	1875
(*Treaty of Berlin*)	1878
Death of Isaac Butt	1879

CHAPTER XXI

MICHAEL DAVITT. THE LAND LEAGUE AND THE LAND WAR

Michael Davitt : Distress in Ireland : Foundation of the Land League.— In 1846, there was born to a small farmer named Davitt in Straide, Co. Mayo, a son destined to play a leading part in the history of the Irish Land Agitation during the closing decades of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth. Before he was five, the young Michael saw his parents evicted and cast on the road-side, and the cabin which had been their home, levelled to the ground, owing to the failure of his father to pay the impossible rent which the landlord demanded of him. The scene which he then witnessed engraved itself indelibly on the child's memory, and translated itself later into a resolve to make the destruction of the system under which such things were possible his lifework. His youth was passed chiefly in a manufacturing town in Lancashire, and he became involved in the Fenian movement, which was being actively propagated amongst the Irish workmen there. Arrested in 1870 on a charge of buying and distributing arms to be used for illegal purposes, he was tried, convicted and sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. In 1878, however, he obtained his liberty on a " ticket-of-leave " and at once returned to Ireland.

This year was one of sore distress amongst the agricultural population of Ireland. In the later 'Sixties, and the early 'Seventies, the harvests had been remarkably good, and the country was, in consequence, prosperous. Rents, even when unreasonably high, were generally punctually paid, and landlords profited by the prevailing " land hunger " to raise them, whenever an opportunity for doing so presented itself. In 1876 the upward movement was checked ; in 1877 the decline began. The crops that year, and especially the potato crop, still the most important in all Ireland, were extremely poor.

The savings of the previous period were used by the tenants in the payment of rent for lands which, in countless cases, had scarcely yielded sufficient that season to cover the bare expenses of their cultivation. This resource being exhausted, the poor farmers waited with anxiety to see what the harvest crop of 1878 would bring. It came, and again

there was disappointment; superior to that of 1877, it was yet far below the average. On all sides there was uneasiness. Debts had been contracted, there was no means of paying them; above all, there appeared to be no prospect of being ready, when the dreaded rent-day came, to meet the demand of the landlord. It seemed as if the famine times were about to return.

It was at this juncture that Michael Davitt returned to Ireland. In his prison cell he had reflected long on Irish problems, and had come to the conclusion that an agrarian system, bad in itself and wholly unsuited to the circumstances of the country, was the source of most of the troubles of Ireland, and that there would be neither peace nor quiet till landlordism was abolished there.

At Irishtown, in Mayo, a meeting was called together in the April of 1879, to protest against the action of a local landlord, Canon Burke, who had refused to reduce his excessive rents. The resolutions passed had been drawn up by Davitt, and indicated the boldness of his views. From the Irishtown meeting the beginning of the Land War dates, though it was some months later (October, 1879) when Parnell, who had at first held aloof, had been persuaded to come into the new movement, that the Land League was officially founded. The avowed object of the organisation was to reduce rack-rents, and "to facilitate the obtaining of the ownership of the soil by the occupiers." Parnell's adherence practically involved that of the Home Rule Party, and Parnell himself was elected president of the League.

Sufferings of the People: "Boycotting."—The summer of 1879 had been cold and wet. Most of the crops were extremely poor, and the potato crop practically a total failure. This, of course, meant for the rural population of a great part of Ireland nothing short of famine. Amongst the despairing peasantry, the advice of the Land League to consider the needs of their families before satisfying the claims of the landlords, and, at the same time, to "keep a firm grip on their homesteads," found ready acceptance.

In many cases, however, all the money which the people possessed or had been able to borrow had been expended, so that even for food nothing remained, and only by means of charitable relief could they be saved from actual starvation. Parnell, accompanied by John Dillon (son of the John Blake Dillon of 1848), betook himself to America, and collected, chiefly from the Irish of the United States, over fifty thousand pounds, to be used partly to feed the starving people, and partly for the carrying out of the political programme of the Land League. Other funds were started in Ireland, and great quantities of food and clothes were distributed.

Still, the sufferings of the people, especially in the south and west, were very severe, and numbers died of actual hunger, or of diseases produced by lack of proper nourishment. Rents could not, of course, be paid, and too often the landlords, deaf to all entreaties for, at least, delay, evicted without pity. That in consequence outrages took place was far from surprising. These the leaders of the Land League denounced, as not only in themselves criminal, but as likely to prove most detrimental to their cause. At the same time, they took care to give as much publicity as possible to any particularly flagrant cases of eviction.

The Conservative Government which had been in power was defeated at the General Election (March, 1880), while the triumph of the Home Rulers in Ireland was complete; sixty-five members pledged to their policy were returned to Parliament.

The new Liberal Government included, besides the Premier, Mr. Gladstone, several other Ministers favourable to the Irish cause, and much hope was entertained that at least the hand of the evictor would be stayed. The Upper House had, however, to be reckoned with. A very moderate "Disturbance Bill," designed to entitle those who could clearly prove that the arrears of rent for which they were to be evicted were due to the prevalent state of distress, to receive some "compensation for disturbance," though passed by the Commons, was rejected by the Lords (July, 1880). It was about this time, and on the advice of Parnell himself, that the method afterwards called, from the name of the landlord (Captain Boycott) against whom it was first employed, "boycotting" began to be used by the adherents of the Land League. Any person who took or even bid for a farm from which another was held to have been unjustly evicted was to be ostracised. No one should hold social intercourse with him, serve him, buy from him or sell to him. This was a terrible weapon, and those who wielded it could not be expected to be free from prejudice. Inconvenience, loss and annoyance, amounting to positive persecution were inflicted, in not a few cases, on persons who had done little or nothing to deserve it.

The Irish Chief Secretaryship, an office which had come to be considered as of much more importance than the Viceroyalty itself, was then held by Mr. William Forster. He had all an Englishman's respect for the law in and for itself, and he was perplexed when faced with a state of affairs in which it was constantly ignored or broken, while the public voice approved and encouraged law-breakers. An attempt to convict the chief Land League leaders of a conspiracy to incite the tenants to refuse the payment of their just debts, that is to say, of their

rents, ended in the disagreement of the jury, and the prosecution was, for the present, abandoned.

The New Land Bill and the Coercion Bill.—To the Chief Secretary and to many of the English Ministers it appeared almost self-evident that offences with which the ordinary law was clearly unable to deal, must be repressed by the passing of special enactments, that is, by a Coercion Bill. Gladstone was but half convinced. He saw that to the application to Ireland of an agrarian system unsuited to the circumstances of the country the prevalent disorders were mainly due. This he proposed to remedy by means of a comprehensive Irish Land Bill. Unfortunately, however, a Coercion Bill was to precede the remedial measures.

That the effects of the latter in Ireland would be lamentable was pointed out by many of the Irish members, and notably by Parnell himself. Their efforts to impede its passage were vain, and in March, 1881, the Coercion Act became law.

The powers which this Act gave to the Irish authorities were very extensive, and in times of political excitement especially, very liable to be abused. This in fact happened. Men, often of good position and of the highest private character, were thrown into jail and kept there without trial. At length the number of such prisoners reached nearly a thousand. Ridiculous charges were made by the police, sometimes against women and even children, and were not always laughed out of court with the contempt which they deserved. At the same time the real outrages, so far from diminishing, greatly increased; the state of the country was worse than before.

The activities of the Land League had been hampered by the imprisonment of many of the leaders, but the Ladies' Land League, an organisation of women, founded mainly by Michael Davitt, carried on much of its work, and ample funds were furnished by the Irish in America.

Little more than a month after the passing of the Irish Coercion Bill (April, 1881), the Land Bill, which was to be its corrective, was placed before Parliament by Mr. Gladstone. It arranged for the setting-up in Ireland of Land Courts, to which tenants could apply to have their rents fixed. The land involved was to be examined by experts, and in accordance with their reports of its value, a "judicial rent" would be fixed, more than which could not be charged by the landlord. On agreement to pay this, the tenant would, under certain conditions, obtain a lease.

In estimating the value of the holding, and consequently the rent to be paid for it, no account was to be taken to the landlord's profit of improvements made by the tenant at his own expense.

In August the Bill received the Royal Assent.

Meanwhile in Ireland coercion continued. The Land League was declared to be an illegal body, and its meetings were broken up by the police, often with wholly needless violence. In October, Parnell himself was imprisoned for a speech made in Wexford, and he was soon joined in Kilmainham Jail by John Dillon and others of his party. Michael Davitt had already, some months previously, had his ticket-of-leave cancelled, and was in Portland Convict Prison. The outrages increased in number and audacity, the perpetrators being rarely discovered.

At length the English Government began to realise that nothing but disaster was likely to be the outcome of the course they were pursuing. The Land League, exasperated, was entering into the ways of actual Socialism, and had issued a manifesto advising the people to pay no rent whatever to the landlords.

Gladstone, and some other members of the Cabinet, began unofficial negotiations with Parnell, who, on condition that coercion should cease, that those imprisoned under the recent Acts should be released, and that certain arrangements favourable to the tenants should be made in regard to arrears of rent, agreed to withdraw the "No Rent Manifesto," and generally to restrain the Land League from extreme courses. In consequence of this arrangement, Parnell and his political followers were set at liberty (April and May, 1882). Earl Cowper, the Viceroy, and Forster resigned, their places being taken by Earl Spencer and Lord Frederick Cavendish. It appeared as if brighter days were about to dawn for Ireland.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Foundation of the Land League	1879
Coercion Bill passed.	(March) 1881
Gladstone's Second Land Bill	(August) 1881
Land League Leaders imprisoned	(October) 1881
Release of Land League Leaders	(April) 1882

CHAPTER XXII

THE RENEWAL OF COERCION. GLADSTONE'S FIRST HOME RULE BILL

The Phœnix Park Murders: A New Coercion Bill.—Never, perhaps, even in the tragic history of Ireland, has a more unexpected catastrophe than that of May 1882 come to dash to the ground the national hopes. On the 6th of the month, the new Viceroy and the new Chief Secretary entered Dublin in state—the heralds, as it appeared, of the new régime of conciliation. Late that afternoon, as Lord Frederick Cavendish was walking across the Phœnix Park in company with Mr. Burke, the Under Secretary, they were set on by assassins armed with knives, and brutally murdered. The criminals escaped, and for a considerable time all efforts to trace them failed. Over the whole of the British Isles there was horror at the news of this terrible outrage. In England there was blind rage, which made no distinction between millions of innocent Irishmen and a mere handful of miscreants. That the Irish Party as a whole, or any single member of it, approved of the deed—still less had any share in it—probably no British statesman believed. Parnell condemned and lamented the murders in a speech in the House, showing an emotion which he rarely displayed. A manifesto was issued, signed by him and by Dillon and Davitt, declaring that they would not be satisfied till the stain on their country had been wiped out by the capture and punishment of the assassins.

Nothing, however, could still the cry for vengeance which arose from the masses of the English people. Under a democratic government no party will long resist the popular will. Only a few days after the Phœnix Park murders, a Crimes' Bill, exceeding in severity anything that the generation then alive could remember, was put before the House of Commons by Sir William Harcourt in the name of the Government. Under it a large number of offences were to be tried, not before a jury, but by a Commission of Judges. Meetings could be dispersed and newspapers seized. In "proclaimed districts" the police were empowered to enter houses at any time to search for arms or incriminating documents. They might also question any persons found abroad

between sunset and sunrise, and, if their explanations were unsatisfactory, arrest them.

This Bill was strenuously resisted by the Irish Party, but their efforts failed to even delay its passage. In July (1882) it became law, and was at once put into operation. Outrages and murders did not, however, decrease.

New Rules in Parliament: Punishment of the Phœnix Park Murderers: The Ashbourne Act.—During the Autumn Session of Parliament, new rules were drafted and passed to circumvent the obstruction tactics of the Irish Party. Additional powers were given to the Speaker to bring about the close of a debate, when satisfied that "the sense of the House" on the subject under consideration had been ascertained, and to check irrelevancy in the speeches. The right of speaking in adjourned debates was also limited.

In Ireland the Crimes' Act was rigorously enforced by Earl Spencer and by Trevelyan, the Chief Secretary. In order to aid its operations, a statute of Edward III, designed to allow of the arbitrary imprisonment of rogues and vagabonds, was drawn from the seclusion of centuries and used for the incarceration of political opponents of the authorities.

Meanwhile, the Phœnix Park murderers had at last been traced and arrested. They proved to be members of a small secret society called the "Invincibles." All those concerned in the crime were persons of humble station, with the exception of James Carey, who occupied a respectable position, was a Dublin Town Councillor, and had been generally regarded by his neighbours as a well-conducted and even highly religious man. In February, 1883, the trials began. Carey turned informer, and mainly through his evidence the four actual perpetrators of the crime were convicted and hanged, while several of their accomplices were condemned to long terms of imprisonment. The Government gave to Carey a free pardon, and sent him out of the country to South Africa. He was, however, pursued by an agent of the "Invincibles" named O'Donnell, and shot dead. O'Donnell was executed, but no sympathy was felt for Carey, who was rightly considered as in fact far more guilty than the ignorant men whom he had first instigated to crime and then betrayed. It appeared from the evidence that, contrary to what had been at first believed, the design of the assassins had been directed against Mr. Burke, whose severity had rendered him very unpopular. Lord Frederick Cavendish was only included because he happened to be in company with their intended victim. They did not, till afterwards, even know who he was.

Parnell's power in Ireland was now immense. No man since O'Connell had been so revered and trusted by the people. When a

collection was organised to pay off a charge on his property, a Papal Rescript, obtained against the " tribute " by British influence at Rome, did not prevent the large sum of £37,000 from being subscribed. The Irish Party in Parliament, as one man, moved according to his orders. It now comprised in its ranks a remarkable number of men of very fine ability; brilliant orators, keen debaters, learned lawyers. Outside Parliament, some, as T. P. O'Connor, were journalists, or, as T. D. Sullivan, poets, or, as Justin McCarthy, novelists and historians. As a whole, no other group in that historic chamber could match them. They were listened to, courted by some, feared by most, and, in their corporate capacity at least, detested by almost all.

The Irish Party could not, on their side, be expected to feel much affection for the Government which had passed and continued to retain the hated " Crimes' Act." Parnell began to contemplate the possibility of concluding some sort of bargain with the Conservatives, and, when a favourable opportunity presented itself, lending them the support of the Irish vote to oust the Liberals.

In 1885 the desired opportunity came. There had been disaster in the Soudan, culminating in the massacre of General Gordon and the English garrison at Khartoum. Justly or unjustly, the blame fell on the alleged vacillation of the Government. The Irish Party united with the Conservatives, and, in June, Gladstone's Ministry fell. Lord Salisbury came into office as Premier.

The new allies whom Parnell had chosen did not at once or entirely disappoint his expectations. The Crimes' Bill was not renewed; a Land Act, known afterwards, from the name of its introducer, Lord Ashbourne, as " The Ashbourne Act," was passed, by which a sum of £5,000,000 was to be lent to the Irish tenants at an interest of 4 per cent. to enable them to purchase their holdings. The money was to be paid back within 49 years, both principal and interest.

Parnell welcomed the benefits, but he was not satisfied. Like O'Connell, he had come to the conclusion that no gift short of the restoration of her native Parliament could bring to Ireland lasting prosperity and content.

Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill.—The time for a General Election was close at hand, and the leader of the Irish Party made it clear to both Conservatives and Liberals that Home Rule was the price at which the votes of his supporters could be bought. Neither Conservatives nor Liberals, however, dared to risk the alienation of their constituents in England by an express promise. Parnell had, therefore, to decide between probabilities, and his ultimate choice was that the Irish support should be given to the Conservatives. These were, in the event, defeated, but

the Liberal majority was, owing to the force against them of the Irish vote, a comparatively small one, which hampered Gladstone's policy and finally caused his downfall.

In Ireland the Home Rulers were triumphant. The lowering of the franchise by the Act of 1884 had greatly increased their power. They held more than half the seats in Ulster, while, in the other three provinces, the adherents of the two great English parties not pledged to Home Rule captured only two out of a total of seventy.

Gladstone was now Premier. It soon became known that he intended to introduce a measure of Home Rule for Ireland. Such a policy was extremely distasteful to many of the Liberal party, and by adopting it Gladstone severed himself from not a few of his oldest and most trusted political adherents. Those, however, whose knowledge of Ireland was most intimate, generally supported the veteran Statesman.

Early in April (1886), before a House full to overflowing, Gladstone, in a speech of remarkable eloquence, introduced his Home Rule Bill. According to its provisions, the Irish representatives should withdraw entirely from Westminster. In Ireland, a legislature, consisting of one House only, should be set up. But in this House should be two orders, who would usually indeed vote together, but, on the demand of either, separate voting on any question was to be permitted. The lower order was to consist of 203 members, elected for five years; the upper, of twenty-eight representative peers, and seventy-five other members, elected for ten years, by voters possessed of a higher property qualification than that entitling to a vote for the members of the lower order. The Lord Lieutenant could veto any Bill passed by the Irish Parliament, if its contents appeared to him prejudicial to the interests of the Empire. In regard to the local affairs of Ireland itself, the Lord Lieutenant should act according to the advice of his Council, which was to be constituted in harmony with the principles held by the majority of the Irish Parliament as then in being. Thus, there would be a Ministry responsible in some sort to the Legislature; an advantage which Grattan's Parliament had not enjoyed. Customs and Excise were to remain in the power of the Imperial Parliament, the proceeds to be used for Imperial purposes. Ireland was to make a contribution to Imperial expenditure of one-fifteenth. This Home Rule Bill was to be followed by a Land Purchase Bill, which aimed at buying out the Irish landlords at about twenty years' purchase of their rentals, and making the tenants proprietors of their holdings.

Both these measures met with violent opposition. The English landed proprietors denounced the intended robbery of their class in Ireland. The Conservatives cried out against the proposed dissolution

of the Empire. Many of those who hitherto had been adherents of Gladstone went over to the ranks of his opponents, calling themselves "Liberal Unionists."

The Irish Party and the British Home Rulers fought well, but the force of the coalition against them was too strong. On June 7th the motion for the Second Reading was to be voted on. The moving eloquence of the speech with which Gladstone closed the debate could not avert disaster. Only 275 supported the measure, while 393 opposed it—the Home Rule Bill was lost. Before the end of the month, the defeated Minister dissolved Parliament.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
The Phœnix Park Murders . . . . (May)	1882
The Crimes' Bill . . . . . (July)	1882
(*Fall of Gladstone's Ministry*)	1885
The Ashbourne Act	1885
(*Gladstone returns to power*)	1886
Gladstone's First Home Rule Bill	1886

CHAPTER XXIII

THE PERPETUAL COERCION BILL. THE CONSERVATIVES IN POWER

The Conservative Government: "The Plan of Campaign": The Perpetual Coercion Bill.—The General Election of 1886 was fought in Ireland, as that of 1885 had been, almost solely on the question of Home Rule, and with results practically similar. Eighty-six members of the Nationalist party were returned. Conservatives and Liberal-Unionists together gained but seventeen seats. With no uncertain voice Ireland had made known her desire.

In England, while the main issue was the same, the result was very different. The mass of the English people had long been accustomed to regard the Irish as semi-barbarians, enslaved by their priests and filled with unreasoning hatred of England, who would be sure to employ any new powers given them to bring about the destruction of the British Empire. These ideas were fostered by the Unionists, who well understood the art of appealing to the prejudices of the millions of ignorant men on whom the Franchise Act of 1884 had conferred the vote. The Unionist majority was over 100. Lord Salisbury became Prime Minister.

What policy the new Government would pursue with regard to Ireland was uncertain. Against Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Bill they were undoubtedly pledged, but that this pledge implied disapproval of any scheme of Irish self-government was far from clear. The same was the case in regard to Land Legislation. They had rejected Gladstone's scheme. Were they prepared to bring in one of their own?

The Government showed no desire to move in the direction of either of the measures desired. The need for some additions to the previous Land Acts was pressing, owing to the great number of tenants whose rents were in arrears, and the consequent increase in evictions. Certain members of the Irish Party devised a scheme to which they gave the name of "The Plan of Campaign." If a landlord refused to accept from a tenant the rent which had been decided by a committee of the tenants themselves to be reasonable, nothing was paid him, but the reduced rent was placed in the hands of the committee, from whom the landlord could obtain it when he was disposed to concede the tenant's demands. The whole of the money from each estate thus lodged formed

a fund, which was used to support evicted tenants and to pay any law expenses incurred.

Parnell had not been consulted regarding "The Plan of Campaign," and did not at all approve of it. It certainly, he saw, placed in the hands of the tenantry a power which could not but be at times abused—that of being judges in their own case. Still, he was unable to check the movement, except at the cost of arousing ill-feeling against himself, not only amongst the people, but in the ranks of his own Parliamentary followers.

The "Plan of Campaign" was extensively adopted, and it resulted in some good certainly, but perhaps in more evil. One of its evil effects was the introduction by the Government of a new Coercion Bill (March, 1887). At the time of its introduction there was little crime in Ireland, and outrages were few, much fewer than they had been in 1885, when the party now in power had declined to renew the Crimes' Bill, yet that measure was less drastic than that which they now proposed, and moreover was only temporary, while this was to be perpetual!

Only by this feature and by its severity was the new piece of legislation differentiated from very numerous predecessors. Of the eighty-six years which had elapsed since the legislative Union, only thirteen had been unmarked by some special repressive enactment for Ireland. None of the Acts had effected any good worth mentioning.

Lord Salisbury's Government, however, persevered. The Perpetual Coercion Bill was introduced in March (1887), and, in spite of all the efforts of Irish Nationalists and English Home Rulers, in spite, too, of the proved inaccuracy of many of the statements made in order to show the "lawless" condition of Ireland, it passed by a majority of eighty-seven in July.

Working of the Coercion Act: The Mitchelstown Affray.—By the powers vested in the Lord Lieutenant under the new Act, the Irish Land League was suppressed, its meetings forbidden, and its papers seized. Some of the prosecutions were absurd in the extreme. A boy of ten was summoned for whistling a tune called "Harvey Duff" in the street, with such a threatening air as to "intimidate" a magistrate. An Italian organ-grinder who had taught his monkey to draw a little toy pistol and fire it in the air, was prosecuted under the Arms' Act, and the weapon confiscated. Unfortunately, there was a more tragic side. At a political meeting held in Mitchelstown (Co. Cork) a Government note-taker tried to force his way through a crowd of some 8,000 people. This he failed to do, although no hostility was displayed towards him, as the people were tightly packed and could not move. The police who accompanied the note-taker began to use their batons on the heads of the crowd, who retorted with their sticks. Finally the police retreated

to their barracks and fired from the windows, killing three men. Were it not for the priests and a small band of soldiers, who happened to be in the town, and whose officer drew a cordon between the contending parties, many more lives would have been sacrificed, and not improbably the whole body of police been massacred.

The jails were filled with persons indicted for breaches of the new regulations. At one time or other a great number of the Home Rule Members were incarcerated, usually for utterances in political speeches. Still the country became neither more quiet nor more contented; much less more loyal. From the celebrations in honour of Queen Victoria's Jubilee, Ireland stood aloof, feeling that she had little reason to rejoice. As time went on, bringing no improvement, the faith of the English people in the virtues of Coercion became less—Gladstone denounced the proceedings of the police at Mitchelstown; English societies sent resolutions of sympathy to the political prisoners in Irish jails.

The Papal Reseript: "Parnellism and Crime": "The Times" Commission.—It now struck the Government authorities that the power of Rome might be enlisted on their side. Negotiations were opened with the Pope (Leo XIII) through some secret agent, and as a result, a Papal Rescript appeared in April, 1888, condemning the methods of the "Plan of Campaign" and the practice of boycotting, as immoral, unjustifiable, and incompatible with the laws of Christian charity. This pronouncement produced little effect. Now, as in the days of O'Connell, the Irish Catholics refused to accept Vatican dictates in affairs other than spiritual.

The increasing friendliness of a large section of the English Liberals with Parnell and his followers was a source of no little annoyance to the Conservatives of the Old School. Their organ was *The Times*, a newspaper which had always shown itself virulently anti-Irish. During the time that the Coercion Bill was before Parliament, that is to say in the spring of 1887, *The Times* had published, under the title of "Parnellism and Crime," a series of articles in which it endeavoured to connect the Irish Parliamentary Party, at least indirectly, with the perpetration of outrages in Ireland. On the very day that the Bill was to be read for the second time, it printed what purported to be a letter written by Parnell himself to a friend, in which he excused himself for his public condemnation of the Phœnix Park murders, as being a necessary piece of policy, but added that, in his opinion, Mr. Burke, at least, had got "no more than he deserved." That same day Parnell himself, speaking in the House of Commons, declared the letter to be a forgery. *The Times* however, insisted on its authenticity, and was pretty generally believed. Other letters were produced or stated to exist.

At first Parnell did not appear inclined to take much notice of the

affair, but finally he applied (July, 1888) for a Parliamentary inquiry. His request was granted, and the Commission began its sittings in October 1888, and continued them for over a year.

It was not long before, by the aid chiefly of Michael Davitt, the true origin of the letters became known to Parnell. The agent of *The Times* had, it appeared, bought them for the sum of £2,500 from a certain Richard Pigott, who had formerly been the proprietor of an Irish paper of extreme views, but who had got into pecuniary difficulties, and had lived for years by the writing of begging letters and kindred devices. Pigott was known to be a man of low character and in desperate straits for money. The story which he told of the manner in which the letters had come into his possession was improbable to the verge of absurdity. The letters themselves were not convincing; they contained mistakes in spelling unlikely to be made by any man of education. All these circumstances should have made those acting for *The Times* at least wait for some proof of authenticity, but this they did not do. When (February, 1889) Pigott was placed in the witness-box, his story did not long withstand the cross-examination of Sir Charles Russell. His confusion, his contradictory statements, soon made the true state of the case apparent. Finally, during an adjournment, he betook himself to the house of Mr. Labouchere, a leading Liberal journalist, and there, in the presence of a witness, made a full confession of his guilt, telling how he had forged the letters, copying, so far as he could, the handwriting of Parnell and of Egan, Secretary of the League. The confession was written out by Labouchere and signed by Pigott. The wretched forger fled to the Continent; a warrant was issued for his arrest, but he shot himself in an hotel in Madrid (March, 1887).

The Commission continued its sitting for several months.

Early in 1890 it issued its report, exonerated "Parnell and the other respondents" from the charge made against them of complicity with the Phœnix Park murders or connection with the Invincibles. It added, however, that they did "enter into a conspiracy by a system of coercion and intimidation to promote an agrarian agitation against the payment of agricultural rents." That they had done this was scarcely denied or deniable, and their acquittal on the other charge was regarded as practically a complete victory. That it was so regarded in England was evident from the enthusiastic reception accorded to Parnell in the House of Commons on his first appearance there after the verdict had been made public. Against *The Times* he threatened an action for libel, which the proprietors settled out of court by the payment of £5,000.

PRINCIPAL DATES	A.D.
The Perpetual Coercion Bill	1887
The Times Commission	1888–1889

CHAPTER XXIV

THE PARNELL "SPLIT"

The O'Shea Divorce Case: "Split" in the Nationalist Party.—It appeared as if the triumph of the Home Rule cause could not much longer be delayed. Its enemies had been discredited, and the meanness of their devices revealed in all the baseness of dishonour. Not only was Parnell supreme in the whole of Ireland, with the exception of the Unionist counties of North-east Ulster, but he counted his admirers in England by thousands. The sky was serene; a glorious day seemed to be at hand.

But again the cup was to be dashed to the ground; again Ireland was to go out weeping into the desert, to mourn her departed hopes.

In December, 1889, Captain O'Shea, a member of the Home Rule Party, applied for a divorce from his wife, alleging her misconduct with Charles Stewart Parnell.

At first it was generally considered in Nationalist circles that this was merely another conspiracy to overthrow the Irish leader, and that the charge would prove as baseless as that founded on the Pigott letters had done. A conspiracy it certainly was, for the motives which induced Captain O'Shea to take his belated action were assuredly political, but there, unfortunately, the resemblance ended.

Amongst Parnell's own Parliamentary followers there was consternation. They remembered how strange had been their chief's conduct of late years; how often, at the most critical junctures, when his presence was especially needed, he had disappeared for days or weeks, and could not be communicated with. Still, they hoped and tried to believe. Soon there was an end of doubt. The divorce proceedings came on in November, 1890. There was no defence. The truth of the story told by the accusing side was tacitly admitted. The decree which marked the court's conviction of Parnell's guilt was pronounced.

The situation being now clear, it remained for the Nationalist Party

to consider what should be done. Parnell was no ordinary leader, no general easily replaced. Amongst his followers were several greater than he, as orators, as debaters, as political philosophers perhaps, but he was the ideal pilot to guide the ship of his country's destiny. If his hand were taken from the helm, whither would the vessel drift?

There was no doubt, however, that the O'Shea scandal had enormously increased the difficulties of the situation. Both in Ireland and in England there were many who had been deeply shocked at the outcome of the divorce case, and a still greater number who, from various mean motives, affected this attitude of mind; while those who had long been the enemies of Parnell and of the cause which he championed were encouraged to renew their attacks. Parnell's own attitude was in no way apologetic or conciliatory. His haughty silence implied that he considered his political position as in no way compromised by the stain on his private character. He issued orders to his followers as usual to attend in their places at the opening of the Parliamentary Session.

It appeared at first as if he would prevail. A few days only after the close of the divorce proceedings (November 25th), the Home Rule Party almost unanimously re-elected him as their Chairman. They would probably have adhered to their choice had not external influences been brought to bear on them. On November 24th, Gladstone had sent to John Morley, a prominent Liberal member, a letter the contents of which he desired him to communicate to Parnell. In this he stated that, if the Irish leader would not consent to retire for the present, it would be impossible, in his opinion, to induce the British Parliament to consent to a Home Rule Bill, and, therefore, futile for the Liberals to introduce one. A message to the same effect was to be conveyed to the Irish Party at their meeting. This message was not, however, received till after the re-election of Parnell, and when they became aware of it their consternation was extreme. Rightly or wrongly, they had come to deem Gladstone their chief reliance, and to consider that only through him could the cause of Home Rule triumph.

On the day following the election, Gladstone caused his letter to be published in the Press, and the Irish Party assembled in "Committee Room, No. 15" of the Parliament House at Westminster to consider what should be done. The sittings dragged on from day to day, but nothing was achieved. Parnell declared that, being the duly elected Chairman of the Party, he would not retire except on the stipulation that a satisfactory Home Rule Bill should at once be introduced by the Liberal leader, and that the lines on which this Bill was to be drawn up should be made known in advance to the Irish Party. Gladstone refused the

information sought, and things remained as before. At length (December 6th, 1890), the "Anti-Parnellites" withdrew to another Committee Room, and elected Mr. Justin McCarthy as their Chairman. The "Split" was an accomplished fact.

Those who repudiated the leadership of Parnell were not only in the majority, but they included most of the hitherto most prominent members of the party.

The events of the next nine or ten months were such as no Irishman can remember without feelings of shame and sorrow. All over the country there was dissension. The Catholic Bishops declared in an official pronouncement that Parnell, by reason of his moral offence, was no longer fit to head the Irish Party. Most of the clergy naturally followed the lead of their superiors, and gave their great influence to those whom Parnell himself termed "The Seceders." Still, Parnell was supported strongly, and was enthusiastically received in many parts of the country. Naturally, there was considerable disorder, and not a few more or less formidable riots marked the elections at which Parnellites and anti-Parnellites confronted each other. At the polls the Parnellites were heavily defeated. An attempt at negotiations with Parnell, made by Messrs. Dillon and O'Brien, who crossed to Boulogne to interview him, ended in nothing (February, 1891).

The Land Purchase Bill: Death of Parnell.—Meanwhile, in Parliament the Conservatives continued to rule. On the question of Home Rule they were obdurate, but Irish agrarian problems they dealt with in a not illiberal spirit, passing a Land Purchase Bill, by which an additional sum of £30,000,000 was to be advanced to tenants to enable them to purchase their holdings, and setting up a Congested Districts' Board to develop the resources and improve the industries of certain backward districts in the west of Ireland.

In and out of Parliament, Parnell toiled; wearing himself out by incessant work; often rushing to Ireland, after a long debate in the House, to address a meeting or to receive a deputation in some remote rural district. How it would, in the ordinary course of events, have ended none can say. As it was, the end, at least of the first phase of the struggle, came swiftly and tragically. In September (1891), Parnell fell ill; on October the 6th he died at Brighton.

Dying at 45, an age when many statesmen had scarcely more than started the careers which were to make them famous, Parnell's memory might have been hallowed with the regret which is given to those who seem, to our human understandings, to have been called away prematurely from a task but half fulfilled. But a tragedy far darker has caused this lesser one to be forgotten, and those who most honoured the great leader

have regretted, not that his life was so short, but that it was lengthened by the final years which dimmed its glory.

Parnell's body was laid in the Catholic cemetery of Glasnevin, Dublin, near the stately monument which a grateful people raised over the Liberator's place of rest. This later champion of Ireland's cause was deserving, too, of her gratitude. Future generations of his countrymen will remember the great services which he rendered to Ireland, and will allow the waters of time to gradually efface the record of his weakness and his faults.

PRINCIPAL DATES

		A.D.
The O'Shea Divorce Case		1890
Split in the Home Rule Party		1890
The Land Purchase Act		1891
Death of Parnell	(October)	1891

CHAPTER XXV

THE DIVIDED PARTY. GLADSTONE'S SECOND HOME RULE BILL

The "Split" Continues: Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill: It is Rejected by the Upper House.—It might reasonably have been hoped that over the grave of Parnell those who adhered to his leadership, and those who rejected it, would have been reconciled, since both pursued the same object, and the one question which had divided them was at an end. Such was, unfortunately, not the case. As hotly as ever the strife went on. The Parnellites declared that a union with those who, at the dictation of the clergy and of an English party, had deserted their chief and broken his heart, was impossible. The Anti-Parnellites retorted by reproaches that to serve one guilty man's ambition and pride, their opponents had ruined the National Party and betrayed Ireland's cause.

In July 1892 there was a General Election. The Irish seats were fiercely contested. The Anti-Parnellites were generally successful, and in the end returned seventy-two members, while the Parnellites secured only nine.

In England the great issue was Home Rule, it being generally understood that Gladstone, if successful, would introduce another Bill. He was victorious, but his majority was small, and it did not seem probable that he would succeed in piloting his intended measure safely through all the obstacles sure to beset its course.

Still, the aged Statesman did not lose heart, and in February, 1893, he laid his scheme before Parliament. In its general lines it did not greatly differ from the Bill of 1892, except that it proposed the retention of eighty Irish Members in the Westminster Parliament. The division of the Upper from the Lower House in the Irish Parliament was to be complete.

The first reading of the Bill passed smoothly enough. At the second the strife really began. The opposition was of two kinds. First was that of the determined Unionists, representing generally either English constituencies or those of the part of North-east Ulster which is wont to take to itself the name of the whole province. These refused to entertain the idea of any form of Home Rule. Less candid foes were those, many of them once followers of Gladstone, who condemned errors of omission

and commission in this particular measure, which would, they considered, render it destructive of Imperial Supremacy, detrimental to Ireland as a whole, and ultimately unworkable.

The Irish Nationalist members of both sections considered the Bill as far from perfect, and some pointed out certain weaknesses; but they announced their intention of giving it their entire support.

The Bill passed its second reading, and survived the dangers of the Committee Stage. On August 30th, the debate on the third reading began, being opened by Mr. Gladstone. It lasted for two days only, and ended in the passing of the Bill; 267 voting against it, and 301 in its favour.

The Nationalist members sprang to their feet and cheered. After ninety-three years of struggle, they had obtained the reversal of the measure which Pitt and Castlereagh, against the will of Ireland, had forced into law. The Commons had voted for the restoration of their own native Parliament.

The victory was, however, more apparent than real. The Bill was to go before the bar of another House, whose members did not represent the people, or depend on their support, and whose prejudices and whose interests would alike urge them to reject the measure.

Had the majority in the Commons been the overwhelming one for which Gladstone had at first hoped, the peers might have hesitated before the possible consequences of opposing the nation's will. A bare preponderance of thirty-four votes had in it nothing formidable.

Down to their gilded chamber came the Lords. Some had so rarely troubled themselves previously to attend there that their appearance was completely unknown to the door-keepers. Not a few were so aged and feeble that they tottered with difficulty into their places. One or two, it was afterwards declared, had long lost whatever measure of intelligence they originally possessed. Before this assembly the Home Rule Bill was arraigned. Its trial was short and its doom certain. On the second reading (September 8th) it was rejected by a majority of 378, finding only 41 supporters.

Gladstone, disheartened at a failure which he ascribed largely to the effect produced in England by the dissensions amongst the Irish Nationalists, retired from politics in the following year (1894), and in 1898 he died at the age of 88. Ireland should remember with gratitude the Statesman to whom she owes the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, the first important Land Bill, and the two attempts to restore her legislature, to which he devoted so much of the evening of his days.

PRINCIPAL DATES	A.D.
Gladstone's Second Home Rule Bill	1893
Retirement of Gladstone	1894

CHAPTER XXVI

THE LAST YEARS OF STRIFE. THE REUNION

Hopes of Home Rule become Fainter: "Convention of the Irish Race." After the defeat of Gladstone's Bill, and the retirement of its author, the hopes of Home Rule suffered almost complete eclipse. The new Liberal Premier, Lord Rosebery, was at most a theoretical upholder of the policy. Only by curbing the power of the Upper House could the dissolution of the Legislative Union be attained, and to attack the Upper House Lord Rosebery had no desire, nor did he possess the needful strength for any such enterprise. As it turned out, his reign was short. In June, 1895, his Government was defeated on an Army Reform Scheme, and a dissolution and a General Election followed. The result of this was a triumph of the Conservatives, so complete, and with so large a majority, that the new Premier, Lord Salisbury, and his Cabinet, found themselves freed from the necessity of purchasing the support of the Irish Nationalist Party, and were able boldly to declare that they would absolutely oppose any form whatever of Home Rule.

The results of the General Election in Ireland did not greatly alter the relative strength of the two divisions of the Nationalists.

Some attempts at reconciliation were made, and, with the view of promoting this end, a general Convention of the Irish race was held in Dublin in September 1896. Over 2,000 delegates assembled. Some had journeyed from distant Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and Canada; some were from the various provinces of Ireland itself. The spectacle was impressive and interesting, but the very constitution of the assembly rendered it practically impotent to effect any positive good or even to make any suggestion of value. The delegates from abroad found it impossible to understand the complicated political situation at home. Resolutions regarding Home Rule, the Agrarian Question and so forth were passed, but no man experienced in public affairs believed for a moment that they would produce the least effect on the Government.

Land Bill of 1896: Report of the Financial Commission: The Local Government Act.—This year (1896), Mr. Gerald Balfour, then Irish Chief Secretary, introduced a Land Bill, by which the tenants who had purchased under the Act of 1883 were placed in a better position, and the time allowed them for repayment of the money which they

had borrowed (see *Chapter XXII*) was extended to 70 years. This Bill, though not received with enthusiasm by the Nationalists, was accepted and passed into law.

In 1897, the Royal Commission, which had been appointed as far back as 1894 to inquire into the financial relations between England and Ireland, made its report. Considerably to the surprise of the English public, it declared that Ireland had long been loaded with a burden far beyond her fair taxable capacity, and was actually then paying £3,000,000 yearly in excess of her just quota. This report excited a great deal of comment, but no effort was made by the Government to remedy an injustice so clearly proved.

Still, good was achieved. It was brought home to the public conscience in Great Britain that some grievances far from imaginary still survived in Ireland, and this was bound to react on legislation. In 1898, the Local Government Act was passed, which took the administration of the affairs of the counties out of the hands of the Grand Juries named by the sheriffs, and placed them in those of Councils elected by the people on a franchise similar, in the case of men, to the Parliamentary one, but which was also extended to women whose qualifications were the same as those of the male voters. In the following year an Irish Department of Agriculture was established.

End of the "Split."—It had by this time become sufficiently plain that neither section of the Irish Nationalist Party could hope for a complete triumph over its opponents. This being so, the most far-seeing leaders on both sides began earnestly to work for reunion.

In 1898, Mr. William O'Brien had founded a new association, the United Irish League, and invited the co-operation of all Irish Nationalists in its work. This society seemed to afford a nucleus round which a re-organised Nationalist Parliamentary Party could be gathered, and which would enlist the sympathies of many who were wearied and disgusted with the undignified and suicidal squabbles of the last ten years. At length the negotiations were successful, and in 1900 the "Parnellite Split" came to an end. The Irish Home Rulers stood united on the platform of "The United Irish League," under the leadership of Mr. John Redmond, one of the most prominent of those politicians who throughout had adhered to Parnell. So, with revived hopes, Ireland faced the new century which was dawning.

PRINCIPAL DATES

	A.D.
Irish Convention	1896
Balfour's Land Act	1896
Local Government Act	1898
(*Death of Gladstone*)	1898
The United Irish League founded	1900

CHAPTER XXVII

RECENT EVENTS, 1900–1920

WITH the opening of the new century, our sketch of Irish History should properly end. On the numerous events of importance which have since taken place no considered judgment can yet (1920) be passed. We shall merely relate them in chronological order.

SECTION A.—1900 TO 1914

From 1899 to 1902 England was at war with the two Boer Republics of South Africa, which were, by her victory, annexed to the British Empire.

The General Election of 1900 gave a great majority to the Conservatives. Lord Salisbury became Premier, but was next year succeeded by Mr. Arthur Balfour. In January, 1901, Queen Victoria died. Her eldest son succeeded her, under the title of Edward VII.

In December, 1902, a Land Conference, consisting of representatives of both landlords and tenants, met in Dublin, and agreed to certain recommendations in regard to land legislation for Ireland. In 1903, an Irish Land Purchase Act (generally known, from the name of its originator, Mr. George Wyndham, as "The Wyndham Act") was passed. By its provisions, £100,000,000 was to be advanced on favourable terms to Irish tenants to enable them to purchase their holdings; while a bonus of £12,000,000 was to be given to Irish landlords to induce them to sell.

At the General Election of 1906 the Liberals were victorious. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman was Premier till 1908, when Mr. Asquith succeeded him.

In 1907, the Irish Chief Secretary, Mr. Augustine Birrell, drafted a Bill by which a Council should be established in Dublin, which should control Irish education and several other important departments of the administration, but which should have no legislative power. Its members were to be elected in much he same way as Members of Parliament. The Council Bill was, however, rejected by a Convention summoned by the Irish Parliamentary Party (May, 1907), and was not, therefore, proceeded with.

In 1907, an Evicted Tenants' Bill was passed, obliging landlords, in certain cases, to sell their lands to the Estates' Commissioners for distribution amongst evicted tenants. In 1908 a new settlement of the Irish University Question was accomplished. The Royal University (founded 1879), which had been merely an examining board, was to be abolished and two new teaching universities established. Of these, the National University was to have three constituent colleges, in Dublin, Cork and Galway respectively. The Queen's University in Belfast was to consist of a single college only. Both universities were to be non-sectarian.

About this time a new party, which took the name of Sinn Fein (We ourselves), began to make itself felt in Irish politics. The Sinn Fein Movement, which had been originally an industrial one, aiming at the support of Irish manufactures, gradually took a political complexion, and began to recommend the withdrawal of the Irish Members from Westminster, and the establishment in Ireland of a voluntary council to regulate the affairs of the country.

The General Election of 1910 continued the Liberals in power. In the May of this year King Edward VII died, and was succeeded by his son, under the title of George V.

The Irish census of 1911 showed a population of 4,384,951 souls, being a decrease of 1.7 per cent. on the population of 1901. This was the smallest decrease recorded between two census years since the Famine times (1846–1847); 73.9 per cent. of the population were given as Catholics. The prospects of Home Rule seemed to brighten; the Premier, Mr. Asquith, declared himself in its favour. The Parliament Act (1911) would facilitate it, since it removed the absolute veto of the Upper House on legislation. According to its provisions, a Bill which had been passed by the Commons at three sessions and as often rejected by the Lords, could be presented for the Royal Assent, and the opposition of the Peers ignored. The Irish Unionist Party, much alarmed, re-organised itself, and announced its intention to resist Home Rule to the end.

Early in 1912, a Home Rule Bill was laid before Parliament by Mr. Asquith. It proposed to establish an Irish legislature of two Houses. The Senate or Upper House was to consist of forty members. Matters concerning the army, the navy and foreign relations, as well as certain "reserved" services, should continue under the control of the Westminster Parliament, to which Ireland should send forty-two representatives. A veto on the legislation of the Irish Parliament was given to the Lord Lieutenant. The Bill passed its readings in the Commons.

In North-east Ulster the Anti-Home Rule agitation continued to grow. In July a Solemn Covenant was drawn up and signed by

471,414 persons, who, while declaring themselves loyal subjects of King George, pledged themselves "to use all means which may be necessary to defeat the present conspiracy to set up a Home Rule Parliament in Ireland." "In the event of such a Parliament being forced on us," they continued, "we pledge ourselves to refuse to recognise its authority."

In June, 1913, the Home Rule Bill was sent to the Lords, who rejected it by a large majority. It now, in accordance with the Parliament Act, returned to the Commons, where it again passed, to be again rejected by the Lords.

In North-East Ulster a Volunteer Army was being prepared to resist Home Rule, while a Provisional Government, under the Presidency of Sir Edward Carson, was organised to take over the administration of the Unionist counties in the event of Civil War. In September it was announced that all was ready; there were 60,000 Ulster Volunteers (increased later to 85,000), who were being rapidly provided with arms and military equipments of all sorts. The Nationalists were beginning to imitate the example set them. Captain White and Sir Roger Casement were organising and drilling bodies of men, but as yet they numbered only 25,000.

In March, 1914, the Home Rule Bill came again before the Commons. The Premier announced that, as a concession to North-east Ulster, an arrangement might be made by which any Ulster county might, on the result of a referendum to its electors, vote itself out of the operation of the Act for a period of six years. This proposal Sir Edward Carson, speaking in the name of the Ulster Unionists, refused even to consider.

This month there occurred an episode commonly (though, as afterwards appeared, erroneously) designated "The Curragh Mutiny." Sir Arthur Paget had been instructed to convey to certain officers stationed at the Curragh (Co. Kildare) that it was the intention of the Government that they, with the troops under their command, should march into North-east Ulster to suppress by force the "Provisional Government" there established. He was, however, to intimate to them that if they objected to undertake this duty, they were at liberty to resign their commissions. Fifty-eight of them embraced the alternative, and tendered their resignations, saying that they would never consent to bear arms against the loyalists of Ulster. They were afterwards induced to withdraw their resignations, and the whole scheme was abandoned by the Government.

The situation did not improve. The Unionists demanded the permanent exclusion of the whole province of Ulster from the authority of any Dublin Parliament which might be established; while the

Nationalists considered that the proposal made in Parliament, regarding the temporary exclusion of any Ulster county desiring it, marked the utmost limits of possible concession. A cruiser, *The Fanny*, had, meanwhile, landed in Larne (Co. Antrim) a cargo of 35,000 rifles and great quantities of ammunition, stated to have come from Hamburg. The importation of arms without a licence was illegal; but no arrests were made.

In May (1914), the Home Rule Bill passed its third or final reading before the House of Commons by a majority of 77. In June, an "Amending Bill" was placed before the Upper House. It embodied the Government's proposal regarding the temporary exclusion of one or more of the Ulster counties at their own desire; but the Peers altered this so as to involve the permanent and necessary exclusion of the whole of Ulster, and passed it in this form, which the Commons were certain to reject.

Preparations for Civil War appeared to be in progress amongst both the Orange party and the Nationalist Volunteers. The latter had now been placed under the control, to a great extent, of Mr. John Redmond and the Parliamentary Party, but a section who disapproved of this arrangement seceded, and began to form themselves into what was afterwards called the Sinn Fein Volunteers.

In July, the King made an abortive attempt to settle the Irish Question by means of a small Conference held at Buckingham Palace. At this the Government, the Opposition, the Unionists and the Nationalists were each represented by two members of Parliament. It sat four days, but arrived at no agreement.

About the same time, an attempt made by the Nationalist Volunteers to land a consignment of rifles near Dublin led to a conflict between the people and the military and police. Three of the crowd were killed, and a great many, as also several soldiers and police, were injured. A Commission subsequently appointed to inquire into the affair censured the action of the Police Commissioner in calling out the military without authority.

Section B.—1914 to 1920

On the 4th of August, 1914, England declared war on Germany and Austria, and a great contest, which subsequently involved almost all the powers of Europe, and finally the United States of America, began.

In September, Parliament re-assembled. The Premier declared that, though the Home Rule Bill would now pass automatically into law

on receiving the Royal Assent, its operation would be suspended till after the war, and that the Government would pass an Amending Bill before it became actually operative.

In the May of the following year (1915), the Government was reconstructed on a " Coalition " basis, eight Unionists, of whom one was Sir Edward Carson, being admitted into the Ministry.

Early in 1916, an Act was passed making military service compulsory in England, but its provisions did not extend to Ireland.

The Sinn Fein Party had, since the outbreak of war, increased greatly in numbers and influence. To a large extent it coalesced with the Dublin Labour Party led by James Connolly. Of the Sinn Feiners, Patrick Pearse was the most prominent.

On April 24th (Easter Monday), 1916, an insurrection, arranged and carried out by these two parties jointly, broke out in Dublin. Several of the public buildings were seized by the insurgents, who issued a Manifesto in the name of " The Provisional Government of the Irish Republic." There were outbreaks also in some other places, mostly in the neighbourhood of Dublin. Troops were poured in from England, and on April 30th the insurgents surrendered. Sixteen of the leaders, including Connolly and Pearse, were shot, and over fifty sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. About 1,000 individuals, suspected of favouring or supporting sedition, were deported to England, and there imprisoned without trial. All Ireland was placed under Martial Law. It is stated that during the insurrection there were 512 casualties amongst the military, and 791 amongst civilians ; 170 of the former and 180 of the latter being killed. In Dublin, nearly 300 buildings, and property to the estimated value of about £3,000,000 were destroyed.

Sir Roger Casement, who had returned from Germany and landed on the Kerry coast, was put on his trial for an alleged attempt to induce the Irish soldiers captured by the Germans to renounce their allegiance to England and form an Irish-German brigade. He was convicted of high treason and hanged (August).

In December, a second Coalition Government was formed, Mr. Lloyd George succeeding Mr. Asquith as Prime Minister.

The New Premier proposed the calling together of a Convention of Irishmen of all parties, to endeavour to find some solution of the Irish question which would be satisfactory to everyone. This suggestion was favourably received.

Arrangements for holding the Convention in Dublin were at once made. It was to consist of 101 members, embracing representatives of County Councils, Trade Councils, the Catholic and the Protestant hierarchy and all the Irish political parties. The Sinn Fein organisation

refused, however, to send delegates. In order to create a favourable "atmosphere," all those still remaining in prison for their real or supposed share in the insurrection of Easter, 1916, were released (June).

In July, the Convention began its sittings, under the Presidency of Sir Horace Plunkett; the proceedings being strictly private. The Irish Chief Secretary (Mr. Duke) declared in Parliament (October) that, if substantial agreement were reached by the Convention, the Government would introduce legislation on the lines of its proposals without delay.

No event of special importance took place in the remaining months of 1917, nor in the opening ones of the following year. In March (1918), Mr. John Redmond died, and Mr. John Dillon succeeded him as leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

In April, the Convention ended its session and issued its reports. No agreement had been arrived at, and five separate reports embodied the views of the various sections of its members. The Nationalists declared their desire of a settlement which would give Ireland an independence within the British Empire (the question of absolute independence had been expressly excluded by the Government from discussion by the Convention), as like as possible to that enjoyed by the self-governing colonies (*such as Canada, Australia, etc.*), with full control of Customs and Excise. They did not wish for representation in the Westminster Parliament. They declared themselves willing to agree to concessions to the views of the Ulster Unionists, such as giving them additional representation, and suspending the Irish control of Customs and Excise for the duration of the war.

The representatives of the Southern Unionists were willing to agree to a scheme of Home Rule, to be applied to the whole of Ireland, but wished that the Customs and certain "reserved" services should be controlled by the Imperial Parliament.

Another section of Unionists, chiefly representatives of North-East Ulster, declared in their report that the degree of legislative independence asked for by the Nationalist members far exceeded anything which they had contemplated, when agreeing to take part in the Convention, or anything to which they could give their support.

Five Labour members signed a short report, in which they announced in general terms their adhesion to the principle of self-government for Ireland; while the Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and the (Protestant) Primate were responsible for yet a fifth document, setting forth their belief that no satisfactory scheme of Home Rule was possible, and that the present Legislative Union had better be adhered to.

Almost at the same time that the Convention concluded, an Act was passed through Parliament extending compulsory military service

to Ireland. No attempt was made to put the decree into force immediately, but the whole country was thrown into the wildest agitation; meetings were held, and the greatest indignation expressed, both by Sinn Feiners and by Constitutional Nationalists. The two parties united in a conference held at the Mansion House, Dublin; a determined resistance was resolved on, and a collection to meet the necessary expenses inaugurated. The Catholic Hierarchy met at Maynooth College, and declared the conscription decree "an oppressive and unjust law, which the Irish people have a right to resist by all means consonant with the law of God" (April). Collections for the "Anti-Conscription Fund" were made in each parish, and over £250,000 subscribed.

In May, Lord Wimborne, the Lord Lieutenant, and Mr. Duke the Chief Secretary, resigned, and were replaced by Lord French and Mr. Shortt respectively. Some weeks after his arrival, the new Viceroy issued a proclamation, declaring that the Government had discovered the existence in Ireland of a "German Plot," in which many prominent members of the Sinn Fein organisation were implicated. About 100 persons were arrested and confined in prisons in England. No specific charges were made against any of them; they were not brought to trial; nor were particulars of the alleged plot published. Another proclamation was made, that voluntary recruiting was to be attempted throughout Ireland, and that, if before October 1st, 50,000 men were raised by this means, and an average of 10,000 a month continued after that date, the Conscription Act would not be enforced.

During the summer some 10,000 recruits only were obtained, but all question of conscription was put an end to by the virtual termination of the war. An armistice, the terms of which showed the victory to lie with England and her allies, was proclaimed on November 11th.

In December there was a General Election. The Sinn Fein or Irish Republican Party gained an almost complete triumph over the Constitutional Nationalists, returning seventy-three members, while but seven of the latter were victorious. Ther emaining seats went to Unionists. This was the first election in which women, enfranchised by Act of Parliament some months previously, recorded their votes. The Sinn Fein members announced their intention of not attending the Westminster Parliament. The English Prime Minister, Mr. Lloyd George, continued to hold office, as the "Coalition Government," of which he was the head, obtained in the new Parliament a very large majority.

CHAPTER XXVIII

LITERATURE AND LANGUAGE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

A. Literary Movements.

Extinction of "Natural" Literature.—The early part of the nineteenth century witnessed the practical extinction of "natural" Irish literature. That flame which had, amidst many vicissitudes, illuminated the national life for over ten centuries was extinguished for a period until it was re-lit by a flash of national enthusiasm. Literature using Irish as the natural and spontaneous mode of expression ceased: it was to be renewed by those who to a great extent adopted the language consciously and deliberately and for the purposes of propaganda. The burst of song which the Penal days had witnessed prevailed for only a short period of the new century, and practically ended with the Great Famine.

Destruction of Social Life.—The Famine of 1847, and the clearances which soon followed it, completed the destruction of literary activity, and almost brought about the extinction of the language itself. The poetry of the preceding century was the outcome of an intense and vivid *social rural life*, to which, indeed, it was one of the great stimulants. Both the fabric and the spirit of that social life, however, were swept away by the disastrous famine and the desolating clearances. Neither the creation of, nor an interest in, literature was possible amidst the broken and scattered remnants who still remained in the solitudes of the devastated country. In a few isolated districts where the people were left in neighbourly contact, the traditions of the past were, at least, in some degree preserved. But no new singer of any importance was produced. It was not till after a period of silence, relieved only by some translations and other works by Dr. John MacHale, Archbishop of Tuam, that a new school of writers appeared at the end of the nineteenth century.

Publication of Early Literature.—While the creation of *new literature* ceased during most of the nineteenth century a new interest, scholarly

and historical rather than literary, was developed in the preservation and study of existing literature. It was an interest shared in only by an intellectual and cultured minority, but it resulted in the publication of a number of works which had lain in manuscript for many centuries. The patriotism and learning of small groups of individuals who succeeded one another throughout the century rescued from oblivion some of the most important collections of the *ancient literature*. These were now collected and compared and edited with translations and notes by the ablest scholars of the day. In Ireland the greatest of those scholars were *John O'Donovan* (1809–61), a native of Co. Kilkenny, and *Eugene O'Curry* (1796–1862) a native of Co. Clare, and they were followed by many others amongst whom the names of *Standish Hayes O'Grady* and *Whitley Stokes* are prominent as editors of various texts. On the Continent the foundation of modern Irish scholarship was laid in Germany by *Zeuss*, who published his "*Grammatica Celtica*" in 1853, and he was succeeded in Germany by *Windisch*, *Zimmer* and *Kuno Meyer*, and in France by *De Jubainville*, and by others in those countries, and in Denmark, Norway and Italy. Both in Ireland and in various European countries the study and publication of Irish literary works have been carried on in recent years by a numerous band of zealous and able scholars.

Irish Language Societies.—Some of the publications issued by those editors were initiated by private enterprise, and a few were helped by assistance from the State. But most of them were the result of voluntary societies associated for the purpose. The earliest of these was the "*Gaelic Society*," formed in Dublin in the first decade of the century. This was succeeded by the "*Iberno-Celtic Society*," of which the moving spirit was Edward O'Reilly, the compiler of a dictionary (1820), and of a list of "Irish Writers." In Belfast another "*Gaelic Society*" was formed about 1830 by Robert McAdam and Dr. Samuel Bryson. More important and fruitful, however, was the "*Irish Archæological Society*," which was founded in 1840 by the exertions of Dr. George Petrie and the *Rev. J. H. Todd*, and which continued its operations for nearly thirty years. The "*Celtic Society*," founded on a more popular basis by *John O'Daly* in 1846, frequently co-operated with the preceding society. Next came the "*Ossianic Society*," devoting itself to "Fenian" literature, six volumes of which it published. Some of the older texts were also published by the "*Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language*," founded in 1876, and by the "*Gaelic League*," founded in 1893, societies whose other activities will be treated of subsequently. In the meantime official patronage had been stimulated to some extent, and State aid contributed to the publication of some

volumes of Irish literature in a series known as the "*Rolls Series*" (issued in England under the direction of the Master of the Rolls for the time being), and in the six volumes issued by the "*Brehon Laws Commission*," established in 1852. In recent years the "*Irish Texts Society*," founded in 1898 under the influence of the language revival, and devoting itself altogether to publication, has been responsible for the issue of a number of texts. In addition to the volumes issued by those societies, a number of pieces have been published in the Proceedings of the *Royal Irish Academy*, in various archæological and other periodicals, in "*Eriu*" under the auspices of the "*Irish School of Learning*," in the "*Revue Celtique*" in France, and in "*Zeitschrift fur Celtische Philologie*" in Germany.

Publication of Eighteenth Century Poetry.—All the publications just referred to were of works which came from a more or less remote period. No serious attempt had been made to publish the more recent works of the eighteenth-century poets, written in the still living *language of the people*, and still preserved by popular tradition. This defect was remedied by the Gaelic League. From the first it set itself to provide a popular literature, and when it had succeeded in securing an established position, it proceeded to issue a number of modern texts. In the years following 1900, its Publication Committee, with *P. H. Pearse* as its moving spirit and Hon. Secretary, issued in rapid succession a series of volumes of the poetry of the eighteenth century. Volumes of poems and prose collections in the idiom of the people have also been issued by various individuals, and numerous scattered pieces have appeared in national and local journals.

New School of Writers.—This output of popular literature was accompanied by a revival of original literature. The *creative spirit* that had lain dormant for nearly a century began to manifest itself once more. The revival of the language, due to the activities of the Gaelic League, stimulated the intellect of the Gael, and at the same time created a public for it. New writers arose on all sides, to many of whom the language was one which had been acquired by study and assimilated by enthusiasm. The new school wrote consciously under an external impulse, and under conditions in striking contrast to those under which the earlier writers had worked or sung. Consequently the new literature took *a modern form*, which differed from that of any previous period. Some of the writers followed the styles of the later "classical" writers: others used the every-day idiom of the people. Only a small proportion of their productions were in poetry. Most were in prose, and nearly all were in forms hitherto unknown. Novels, short stories, literary criticism, narrative history, dramas, and even operas were a new feature in Irish literature. The

relative or absolute merit of this literature cannot yet be properly estimated —its future, and the fame of its creators, are alike in the hands of the new generation of the Irish people.

B. The Language Revival

Neglect of the Living Language.—The various Irish language societies of the nineteenth century had maintained an almost continuous interest in the study and publication of existing Irish literature. To this the operations of practically all of them were confined. They produced *no new literature*, and they ignored or neglected *the living language itself*. Yet, while they were thus rescuing from the dust of centuries the works of ancient writers, the language in which these were written bade fair to die away. That language, which, despite seven centuries of disorder and five centuries of hostile legislation, had been still vigorous enough to bind together the nation, and to assimilate the latest colonist, was threatened by *internal decay*. The cessation of literary activity had been the first sign of a growing weakness in the power of the language amongst the people. To this decay nearly every element in the country contributed. English became more and more the language of religion and of popular agitation: poetry in English voiced the national feelings, and superseded that of the eighteenth-century poets: the "national" schools, established in 1831, were spreading over the country, and from them the Irish language was excluded, and English-speaking teachers endeavoured to teach Irish-speaking children through a tongue that the latter did not understand: the development of administrative machinery spread a host of officials over the country, and all its operations were carried out in English: the uprooting of the old social life brought final disaster on the language with which it had been interwoven. Every succeeding census showed a steady decrease in the number of speakers of Irish. The area occupied by the language was steadily shrinking: its geographical continuity, and the strength which that gave it, were being destroyed. An Irish-speaking nation was shattered into a number of isolated "*Irish-speaking districts*."

The "Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language."—The first organised effort made to arrest this decay of the language was that of the "*Society for the Preservation of the Irish Language*," which still exists. In 1876 when the last of the "literary" societies—the "Ossianic" and the "Irish Archæological"—had ceased to operate, this society was founded. It produced a useful series of primers, published a few texts, and, in 1878, succeeded in obtaining a place for the language on the programme of the "national" schools. But creditable as were its

labours, either its methods were ineffective or the conditions of the time (which was the period of the fierce Land League agitation), were adverse and its direct influence was slight.

The "Gaelic Union": The "Gaelic Journal."—The more active of the members of the "Preservation" society became dissatisfied with its methods, and determined to establish a more active organisation. This they did by creating the "*Gaelic Union*" in 1880. Its most useful work was the establishment of the "*Gaelic Journal*" in 1882, a periodical which was at once scholarly and propagandist, and it also instituted a system of prizes in the "national" schools for the teaching of Irish. But even this society failed to attract public attention; it soon practically ceased to operate, and eventually became merged in the "Gaelic League."

The Gaelic League Founded.—In 1891 the *Rev. Eugene O'Growney*, who was appointed in the same year as Professor of Irish in Maynooth College, became editor of the "*Gaelic Journal.*" Active and enthusiastic, he got into close touch with all who took an interest in the language. Prominent amongst these were two new men who had not been identified with any society—*Dr. Douglas Hyde*, the son of a Roscommon clergyman and a graduate of Trinity College, and *John* (or *Eoin*) *MacNeill*, a civil servant from County Antrim, and a graduate of the Royal University. These three were the moving spirits in the foundation of a new society. This was the "*Gaelic League*," which was formed on 31st July, 1893, at a meeting attended by only nine persons, possessed of no public influence. The object of the League, it was declared, was "*to keep the Irish language spoken in Ireland.*" Dr. Hyde was the first President a position which he held for twenty-two years.

The State of the Language.—There was, in truth, desperate need for some effort if the Irish language were not to disappear. The census of 1891 returned less than 700,000 speakers of Irish as compared with 1,500,000 thirty years before. These were crowded into *congested districts*, so that the area they occupied was comparatively small. It was not a compact area, but stretched in a narrow belt around the western coast from Waterford to Derry, with some isolated districts in the north. This belt was interrupted by towns and villages which were centres of "Anglicising" influence in which the professional, official, and business classes ignored the language of the people. The people themselves had *no active interest in the language*, but, on the contrary, were too often ashamed of it, or even hostile to it because of its use by proselytising societies. In the rest of the country—five-sixths of the island—the Irish language did not exist: spoken Irish was never heard; printed Irish was never seen; its literary use was almost unknown. In the Universities it was ignored; in the Intermediate schools a few students

studied it as a dead language; in the "national" schools it was taught in only fifty schools, nearly all of which were situated in four counties.

The Early Work of the League.—Amidst such apparently hopeless conditions, the small band of enthusiasts steadfastly carried on their work. Weekly meetings were held in a single room in Dublin, a few branches were started throughout the country, and a vigorous propaganda was carried on in the Irish-speaking districts. Soon it was recognised that there was a new and forceful spirit displayed in advocating the claims of the language. Political and educational bodies supported a vigorous agitation for an improvement in the position of Irish in the "national" and intermediate schools: the Press supported the League, and began to print articles in Irish. In 1897 an annual literary festival was established in the "*Oireachtas*," and next year a bilingual weekly newspaper was founded. But, on the whole, the result of the strenuous early work was not satisfactory: the public mind was not yet aroused to the importance of the issue; the Irish speaker was still apathetic; the position of the language in education had not been improved. "The progress made during the three or four years that followed the establishment of the Gaelic League was, all things considered, *profoundly disappointing*." *

Progress of the League.—At length, however, the national conscience began to realise that the extinction of the ancient language of the country was a matter of more than academical interest. The definite and insistent teaching of the League that the salvation of the language was a vital necessity to Irish nationality caught the public imagination. New branches sprang up everywhere in town and country. Whereas in 1898 there were only fifty-eight branches, there were 120 in 1900, and 412 in 1902. In 1899 the organisation was placed under an Executive Committee, or "*Coiste Gnotha*," elected by an annual congress of delegates at the "*Ard Fheis*." Funds, which had been scanty, began to flow in, aided by contributions from the United States and Argentina, and stimulated by an annual "rally" in "*Irish Language Week*." Books and pamphlets were published with feverish energy, and in 1901 there were sold 200,000 copies of the League's publications. The honorary officers were replaced by permanent officials, and a number of organisers were sent into the Irish-speaking districts. The League became one of the most powerful organisations in the country, and its influence penetrated into every circle.

Reforms in Education.—The strength which it had gained was utilised by the League in a series of fierce struggles for the improvement

* *Rev. M. P. O'Hickey, D.D. (Vice-President of the Gaelic League), "The Irish Language Movement," November* 1902.

of the position of the language in the educational systems. Prolonged agitation by means of widespread propaganda, public meetings, protests of public bodies, Parliamentary debates, etc., at length succeeded in winning some valuable reforms. A new scale of "*extra fees*" for the teaching of Irish in "national" schools was introduced in 1901; the perverted method by which Irish-speaking children had been instructed through the sole medium of English was modified to some extent by the introduction of a "*Bilingual*" *system* which began to operate in 1903; the language of the country was placed on an equality with French and German in the *Intermediate system* in 1901. Irish was made a subject for the examinations for candidates for positions under railways, banks, and local bodies, and official departments were forced to recognise its use in business affairs. The result of these reforms is most aptly shown by the following figures :—

		1893	1902	1910
"*National*" *Schools*	No. of schools in which Irish was taught . .	50	235	1,631*
	No. of pupils learning Irish . . .	903	4,092	55,374
"*Intermediate*" *Schools*.—No. of pupils passing in "Celtic" .		379	1,266	5,167

The Gaelic Colleges.—This great expansion in the teaching of Irish was seriously hampered both in the schools and in the League classes by the lack of an adequate supply of qualified teachers. The official educational bodies did nothing to remedy this defect, and it was left to voluntary effort to take the necessary action. This was done by establishing the "*Colaisti Gaedhealacha*" or "Gaelic Colleges" for the training of teachers of Irish. The first of these was founded at Ballingeary, Co. Cork, in 1905: others were immediately established in Connacht, Ulster, and Leinster, and soon there were twelve in operation. A statement issued in 1915 showed that there were in that year nineteen centres at work attended by nearly 2,000 students. Most of these were working in the Irish-speaking districts during the summer months, the students generally residing with the neighbouring families; others were situated in cities like Dublin and Belfast, and were carried on from autumn till early summer. Primarily intended for training teachers, the "Colaisti" are attended by other students of the language from many countries. The movement had called for the earnest study of methods of language-teaching, and the fruits of this were found in

* *Not including* 190 "*Bilingual*" *schools.*

the "Colaisti," so that Irish soon had a greater number of specially-trained teachers than had any other subject of education.

Features of the Revival.—The development of the movement was very much more than an extension of language classes. It affected every phase of life. The "Oireachtas," which, from being a small gathering on a single evening had grown to be a festival extending over a week, was quickly followed by provincial "*Feiseanna*," and these again by county and district celebrations. These festivals revived the pride of the Irish speakers on the one hand, and, on the other, they stimulated and tested the teaching of the language. They also encouraged and developed music, oratory, story-telling, dancing and other social arts. Concerts, plays, "ceilidhthe," "sgoruidheachta," and "aeridheachta" helped to revive the old sociable instinct, and brought the language into intimate association with the *social life* of the people. These were the result of local effort, for the movement was a spontaneous and decentralised one, and hence they afforded a most useful practical training in methods of "*self-help*."

"Essential Irish" in the National University.—The most difficult and most embarrassing struggle of the Gaelic League was that which took place upon the question of "essential Irish" in the National University. In the agitations and discussions which preceded the establishment of that institution the advocates of the language had been prominent. When it was at last inaugurated in 1908 the Gaelic League, asserting the principle that an educated Irishman should possess some knowledge of the language of his country, claimed that Irish should be one of the "*essential*" subjects for students up to the time for specialisation. The demand was vehemently opposed, even by many sincere advocates of the language. But the League persisted, and carried on a vigorous agitation on the lines in which it was now well trained. It won the people, convinced the County Councils, carried the Nationalist Convention against its most influential leaders, and won its *greatest victory* when in June 1910, the University Senate decided that Irish should be an obligatory subject for matriculation after 1913.

Resignation of Dr. Hyde.—The victory in the University agitation fixes the high-water mark of the direct influence of the Gaelic League. The positions won for the language were retained, but no new development has since occurred. The arduous struggle had absorbed the attention and energies of most of the leaders of the movement; others were engaged in the work of the "Colaisti." Meanwhile, in the ranks of the League, *a new feeling* was developing in favour of a definite manifestation of sympathy with the growing school of advanced National politics. This feeling affected the entire organisation,

and became particularly marked amongst the delegates who attended the annual "*Ard Fheis*." Matters came to a crisis at the Ard Fheis in Dundalk in 1915, when Dr. Hyde, believing, apparently, that the attitude being adopted by the organisation was inconsistent with that which it had hitherto maintained towards political schools of thought, ***resigned the Presidency*** which he had held since the creation of the League. Since that event intensity of political feeling and sweeping political changes have obscured the importance of the purely language movement. On the other hand, however, the language has now definitely become the charge of the nation. Recognised and honoured as the national language by the political party which has secured the adhesion of the great mass of the people, the Irish language now occupies a stronger place than it has held for centuries in the mind of the Irish Nation.

THE END

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